

# DATING THE PAST

## An Introduction to Geochronology

*by*

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WITH 27 PLATES AND NUMEROUS DIAGRAMMS

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## PREFACE

This book has grown from courses of lectures delivered at the Institute of Archaeology of the University of London, and from a number of occasional lectures given at several colleges and to learned societies. It represents a first, and necessarily inadequate, attempt to combine the very diverse methods of dating the past into one discipline, *geochronology*.

Geochronology is a very young branch of science, which draws its methods from geology, botany, zoology, and physics. Its chief objective, the development of time-scales in years which extend back into the distant past beyond the historical calendar, binds the different methods together, but since they have been developed by specialists in their respective fields, the common aim is frequently overlooked, and cross-checking of results obtained by different means is often sadly neglected.

The chief field of application of geochronology is in pre-historic archaeology and human palaeontology. The evolution of man, both from the anthropological and the cultural points of view, cannot be understood properly unless the time element is introduced. The major portion of this book, therefore, has been written with special regard to archaeology.

The second field of application of geochronology, closely tied to the first by the problem of the evolution of man, is that of biological evolution in relation to time. In order to draw attention to this matter, a separate chapter has been devoted to it.

There are, of course, many other fields of application of geochronology, in geology and geophysics, some of which are outlined, in a sketchy manner, in Chapter XI.

It is clear that the great diversity of the material dealt with in this book renders an even and impartial treatment impossible. The author himself has worked chiefly on the climatic phases of the Pleistocene and the chronology of the Palaeolithic, and the chapters describing and discussing this matter naturally contain a fair amount of original work, while the other chapters (except that on biological evolution) are mainly the result of careful compilation. No doubt errors will have crept in in some places, though I hope I have always been cautious in trusting to good authorities. I shall be grateful for any mistakes pointed out to me.

In view of the newness of the subject it has been necessary to describe in some detail part of the actual evidence. Though this might render reading less easy, such disadvantage is, I believe, far outweighed by the increased usefulness of the book as a work of reference.

For the same reason, ample bibliographies have been provided, comprising in all about 650 books and papers written in 15 different languages. The bibliographies cannot be complete, especially since great difficulties have been encountered in the looking-up, checking, and completing of the references under the present war-time conditions. This must also have caused me to neglect or omit many an important publication. I tender my apologies to authors of such works and wish to emphasize that omission does not mean that their work has been regarded as unimportant. Again, I should be grateful if faults of this kind be pointed out to me.

The general reader who is not interested in the special evidence given in some of the chapters will nevertheless be able to profit from the book by concentrating on the numerous general sections and summaries. The plates have been prepared chiefly for the benefit of the reader who is little acquainted with the kind of evidence used in dating, and elaborate explanations of the figures have been provided which, it is hoped, will make the photographs intelligible.

The chronological results have been summarized in numerous tables, a list of which is given on page xix.

In the course of the preparation of this book, which has taken the best part of seven years, I have received invaluable advice and assistance from many quarters, friends, and colleagues, as well as institutions, while travelling, carrying out field-work, and preparing the manuscript. It is impossible to thank them each individually, which does not render my gratitude less profound. Only some of the most conspicuous helpers can be mentioned here.

First and foremost I owe a great debt to those who read the whole or part of the manuscript, above all to my friend, Mr. Day Kimball, who undertook this labour twice over and with whom I have discussed every major problem involved. His invaluable constructive criticism, enjoyed at all stages in the preparation of the book, has substantially contributed to the improvement of its form and contents. The whole or part of the manuscript was further read by, and many valuable



suggestions received from, Messrs. P. G. H. Boswell, V. Gordon Childe, W. N. Edwards, A. Holmes, E. V. Rieu, B. P. Uvarov, and Misses D. M. A. Bate, M. Eates, and D. A. E. Garrod. If this book has any merits at all, they are no doubt largely due to the kind assistance these friends and colleagues have given me in the most unselfish manner.

An enormous amount of information was willingly supplied and guidance provided on travels, often with a considerable sacrifice of valuable time; material for figures was secured and technical help given in the preparation of the book, by the following ladies and gentlemen: Messrs. A. L. Armstrong (Warrington), E. Bailey (London), S. Barral (Monaco), A. C. Blanc and G. A. Blanc (Viareggio), L. C. W. Bonacina (London), Mrs. A. Bowler-Kelley (Paris), H. Breuil (formerly Paris, at present Johannesburg, South Africa), J. P. T. Burchell (London), Miles C. Burkitt (Cambridge), J. G. D. Clark (Cambridge), S. Corbet (London), L. Davidaschvili (Moscow), Miss T. Edinger, (Harvard), S. R. K. Glanville (London), H. Godwin (Cambridge), E. F. Guiton (St. Hélier), M. A. C. Hinton (London), A. T. Hopwood (London), S. A. Huzayyin (formerly Alexandria, now London), Miss M. Johnston (Kew Gardens), Harper Kelley (Paris), A. S. Kennard (London), W. B. R. King (Cambridge), L. Knopp (Rybnik), M. Labande (Monaco), A. C. Lane (Harvard), F. Lorenzi (Grimaldi), C. van Riet Lowe (Johannesburg), G. Mirčink (Moscow), the late J. Reid Moir (Ipswich), S. Morris (London), A. E. Maurant (St. Hélier), the late J. R. Norman (London), K. P. Oakley (London), C. D. Ovey (London), W. C. Pei (Peking), A. S. Romer (Harvard), P. E. Stasi (Castro Marina), W. Szafer (Krakow), G. Talbot (London), D. V. Tchernavin (London), H. Dighton Thomas (London), A. du Toit (Cape Town), Miss Z. Waloff (London), D. M. S. Watson (London), E. J. Wayland (Gaberones, Bechuanaland), F. Weidenreich (New York), R. E. M. Wheeler (formerly London, now New Delhi), B. Zaborski (Krakow), B. F. Zemlyakoff (Leningrad), Mrs. I. H. Zeuner (Kew Gardens).

I would like to record my sincere gratitude to all of them, as well as to the many unnamed friends who have helped me in the same manner.

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London, the Société Jersiaise, St. Hélier, Jersey, and to the Department of Geology of the British Museum (Natural History) for its hospitality, since the Institute of Archaeology had to be closed down as a result of the war.

The Brazilian Embassy, the British Museum (Natural History), the British Standards Corporation, London, the Ray Society, the Royal Entomological Society of London, the Prehistoric Society, the *Geological Magazine*, and Messrs. Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., have kindly permitted me to reproduce certain figures.

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*September 1945*

## PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

The first edition was written at a time when research was more or less at a standstill. Since then a re-orientation has taken place in several fields, especially varve analysis and radioactivity dating, and some of the evidence is in the melting-pot. The revision has thus been a difficult task, especially in view of the constant flow of new publications in all branches of geochronology. It was completed in December 1948, but developments up to December 1949 have been referred to in the appendix so far as possible. As the type of the first edition was still standing, limitations of space have sometimes restricted the treatment of new methods and results, but I hope that this disadvantage is amply compensated for by the large number of new references to original sources, which have been added to the bibliography. The reconstructions of Pleistocene elephants (Plates XXIII-XXIV) have been replaced by new ones.

I wish to record my deep gratitude to the many friends—too numerous for their names to be given—who have contributed to this edition by criticizing the old one and by supplying information. Miss Joan Sheldon has sacrificed much of her spare time in the preparation of this new edition, and I am much indebted to her for her unselfish assistance. No work of this kind can be without faults, and I shall be grateful to all readers who point out deficiencies or offer other constructive criticism.

F. E. Z.

*December 1949*

## PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION

An attempt has been made to include in this new edition of *Dating the Past* developments in the various branches of geochronology which have been published up to December 1951. As it was not always possible to allot adequate space to new developments the appendix has been revised and re-arranged completely and has become an important part of the book. In it can be found, apart from certain technical details, information on the most recent results of workers in the field as well as critical assessments of some work done. The perusal of the appendix, therefore, is highly recommended to all readers who intend to study the subject seriously. The bibliography, which has always been regarded as an important feature of the book, has been increased to 1117 references.

As to the chronology of the Pleistocene and the Stone Age stages of early man, I have been fortunate in being able to visit a large number of sites and to carry out research on some of them. Personal acquaintance with other evidence has proved extremely useful, particularly in areas where climatic conditions differ from those of western Europe. East Africa, India and Morocco have been visited since the first edition was published and many sites have been studied in France and western Germany.

The development of the radiocarbon method of dating has caused some difficulty in maintaining the original plan of the book. It applies to the Postglacial and late glacial periods and its results, therefore, have an important bearing on the material treated in Part II. But the method being based on radioactivity, it is more properly placed in Part IV in which the principles of radioactivity are discussed. This arrangement, although 'unchronological', has the advantage of giving the reader the background of knowledge required to appreciate the implications of this new method.

Again I have to record my deep gratitude to all those friends who have helped by supplying valuable information and by criticizing the earlier editions. My gratitude is also due to those who have assisted me on journeys and expeditions and to Miss J. Sheldon who has again sacrificed much of her spare time in the preparation of the new edition. Among those who have contributed in one way or another are: The Central Research Fund of London University, Director General of Archaeology in India, Director and staff of the Institut Scientifique Chérifien (Rabat, Morocco), Professor F. Firbas (Göttingen), Professor R. F. Flint (Yale University), Dr. L. S. B. Leakey (Nairobi), Dr. K. P. Oakley (London), C. D. Ovey (London), Professor H. D. Sankalia (Poona), J. Scott (Nairobi), Dr. J. Waechter (London), Dr. P. Wernert (Strasbourg).

Although I have made an effort to rely on good authorities only, it is certain that errors will be found in this new edition and I shall be grateful to all readers who will be good enough to point out any deficiencies discovered or offer other helpful suggestions.

F. E. Z.

December 1951

## PREFACE TO FOURTH EDITION

*Dating the Past* has become a textbook for students of a wide variety of subjects. The reader cannot be expected to cope with an even larger amount of technical matter than has already been incorporated. On the other hand, evidence, especially new evidence, must be made available. Much use has therefore been made of the Appendix, and many more references have been included in the Bibliography. The Appendix should be regarded as an essential part of the book. Many inconspicuous alterations have been made in the text, bringing it up to date. Regarding geological evidence for the chronology of the Pleistocene, it may be mentioned that a new edition of *The Pleistocene Period* will be published in the near future.

The number of plates has been increased by the addition of several new reconstructions of extinct mammals. Those of the Irish Elk and the wild horses may be welcomed by archaeologists and biologists. The paintings were made in sepia and white to avoid photographic distortion of colour values. Models have been made also and are on view at the Institute of Archaeology. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Miss M. Maitland Howard, F.Z.S., for her patient and understanding co-operation in the work of reconstruction.

It is a pleasure to record my deep gratitude to the many friends who have again, directly and indirectly, contributed to this edition, and especially to Misses Joan Sheldon and Portia Wallace who have shouldered much of the burden of the technical preparation of this new edition.

I shall be grateful to all who point out deficiencies or offer other helpful criticism.

This edition has been brought up to date to December 1956.

F. E. Z.

July 1957

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## INTRODUCTION

A thousand years in Thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night.—PSALM 90, v. 4.

In these troubled times people are apt to say that the face of the earth is changing more rapidly than ever. If one confines such consideration to one's own restricted world, it is certainly true to some extent, though less so if one applies it to nations and countries. History demonstrates how often periods of disturbance have swept over continents and how little permanent the effects of such storms often have proved to be.

A storm might determine the weather of a day, but not the climate of a region. This comparison is well applicable to the stages of culture and civilization through which the peoples of the earth have passed. There were plenty of stormy periods, yet the Graeco-Roman culture, evolved more than 2,500 years ago, still provides the ground on which we build to-day. The Chinese culture is even older and still flourishes.

Mankind's cultural changes have, indeed, been comparatively slow and have to be measured in thousands of years, and in searching for the roots of the present-day cultures one has to go back to prehistoric times. History has the advantage of written records and of calendars which provide more or less reliable *dates* and therefore allow of estimating the duration of periods of evolution. For Prehistory, no calendars are available. Up to not many years ago, the time-scales suggested for the evolution of early man and his cultures were pure guesses. From a scientific point of view they were worthless. Yet nobody can claim that the time-problem in the evolution of man is of little significance. The study of the remains of fossil man has revealed that the characters of the body have not remained constant since man appeared on the earth, and the study of cultural remains of early man shows that intelligence and mentality were subject to changes, that one group of man influenced the other and that new cultural units were developed on the ground of contact between different groups.

It is of the utmost importance to learn about the time required for these processes. Modern man, indeed, experiments in these matters on a large scale, though rather unsystematically. The most remarkable case is that of the United States of America, where an increasingly homogeneous population is evolving from an extremely heterogeneous stock. But a few hundred years have sufficed to develop a distinct American culture, and there are signs that a physically definable American race might ensue.

The past could teach us much in respect of the rate of the evolution of cultures and the consolidation of races, provided sufficiently reliable *time-scales* were available. It is only in recent years that science has begun to fill this gap in our knowledge. *Time-scales* are now available for the entire period of man's established presence on the earth. One main purpose of the chapters which follow is to explain the methods employed in establishing *time-scales* for the prehistory of man.

Man is but too inclined to regard himself as the main figure on the earth's face. The real face of the earth is its landscape, determined by geographical elements like elevation, relation to rivers, vegetation, animal life and, dominating all, by the climate. It is the *environment* of man. He depends on it in every respect, as regards food, clothing, housing; in short the mode of life of a people is conditioned by its environment. Beyond this—it is almost a commonplace to mention it—environment exerts an immense influence on man's mentality.

Just as man has himself changed in the course of time, so has his environment, the changes being due to geological factors. The greater portion of Prehistory falls within the Ice Age or Pleistocene, a period from which the earth has only just emerged. During this time, ice-caps were repeatedly formed in the polar and temperate regions of the earth and the climate everywhere was profoundly affected. Several such periods of glaciation alternated with periods of a 'normal' climate resembling that of the present day. The man of the Old Stone Age adapted himself to these climatic fluctuations, and evidence shows that they were a first-rate stimulant for migrations as well as for the advance of civilization and culture.

Again the problem arises as to how much time was required to bring about such and other changes in the environment. We now know that tens of thousands of years have to be used as a time-unit in the chronology of the Ice Age. Several of the chapters which follow will describe how a time-scale has been arrived at, dating the environmental changes which occurred during the Ice Age.

Man is not known to have existed for any great length of time before the Ice Age began, but geological and palaeontological research have revealed that man's period on earth is not more than the brief final episode in the long story of life on earth. Though the beginnings of life are as yet obscure, it is evident from the records preserved in the oldest known geological deposits and in those formed subsequently, that an evolution took place, successively more highly organized types of animals and plants appearing and replacing certain others which became extinct. In many instances it has been established definitely that a certain species changed its characters and gradually became transformed into another. These changes obviously required considerable time. For the study of



the processes of evolution it is extremely important to know, if only approximately, how much time was required for such changes.

In recent years the study of heredity has been greatly advanced by biologists, and much of the mechanism governing the changes in hereditary characters has been detected. The problem has arisen whether changes in the environment, such as climatic ones, affect and modify hereditary characters. The evidence contained in the geological deposits very strongly suggests that the species of life do respond to environmental changes. The time required for such response to become effective cannot be determined by means of experiments in the biological laboratory; but the geologist, provided he can establish a reliable time-scale in years for the phases of the earth's history, will be able to supply examples for the time-rate of evolution. It is obvious that such knowledge is almost basic for the understanding of the processes of life, including man. For this reason, the last three chapters of this book are dedicated to the time-scales of the distant geological past and their significance for the evolution of life.

From the earliest phases of history onwards we meet with a desire to date the remote past, and estimates have been put forward for the age of the earth and of mankind in particular. Several calendars are based on assumed dates for the creation of the earth or for the appearance of man. The best known of these is the Jewish calendar which also is one of the shortest; it counts 5,700 years since the creation, though attempts have been made to correct this date. According to the version of the Bible used and to the system of calculation applied, results for the date of creation vary from 3616 to 6984 B.C. The ancient Greeks appear to have assumed a somewhat greater age, as Plato mentions that the Elysian Atlantis became submerged about 9,000 years before his time and that the Egyptian priests were acquainted with this figure. The Persians admitted 12,000 years for the age of mankind, and the Egyptian priests counted 341 generations, or about 10,000 years, between Menes and Sethon.

Further east, however, long-range chronologies were in greater favour. Thus the Chaldeans of Mesopotamia allowed (in their time) 473,000 years for the age of mankind, whilst they said the creation of the earth took place more than two million years ago. The Chinese, too, estimated the age of the world at several hundred thousand years. The longest chronology is that of the Hindu, according to which about 13 million years would have elapsed since the beginning of the Golden Age.

All these chronologies are based on tradition and myth, and therefore are of no scientific value. It is remarkable that most of them make little or no distinction between the age of the earth and the age of mankind. Modern research has shown that the

earth had existed for an almost incomprehensibly long time before man appeared on it. Curiously enough the Chaldeans made that distinction, and their estimate for the age of man is not so far from the correct figure. Yet, none of the early chronologers ever dared to put forward an age of the earth approximating the figure of 3,000 million years now accepted by science as a minimum.

Scientific research, aiming at the establishment of a chronology in years for the long space of time before the records of history provide us with definite dates, has only just begun. Various methods have had to be applied in order to obtain data in years for those times which are called 'pre'-historic. These methods are either biological or, predominantly, geological.

As the historical calendar, so is the geological based on rhythmic occurrences (cycles) of an astronomical character (day = rotation; season = obliquity; year = orbit). Only for very remote periods physical cycles have to be employed, though in recent years the radio-carbon method has introduced them into the dating of the Postglacial period also.

The most elementary cycle is the year. The sunspot period of 11.4 years is another cycle of short duration. Among the longer ones are those of the precession of the equinoxes (21,000 years), the obliquity of the ecliptic (40,000 years) and the eccentricity of the earth's orbit (92,000 years). The longest cycles, or rather periods, employed, are those of the decomposition of radioactive minerals, some of which are counted in hundred thousands and millions of years.

There are several geochronological methods, each capable of covering not more than a limited range of time. Fortunately one method can be applied successfully where the other fails, so that the absolute time-scales so far obtained cover the Postglacial pre-history of man in fair detail (measuring in centuries), the Old Stone Age (roughly equal to the Pleistocene or Ice Age) in tens of thousands of years, and the earlier geological periods in a more general way (measuring in millions of years). Thus, a reasonable idea is conveyed of the time required for the development of the physical features of the earth, for the evolution of life, and for the evolution of man and his successive cultural phases.

The methods, which are described in this book, are the following:

(1) *Tree-ring analysis*, relying on the cycles of the year and the sunspots, covering historic and prehistoric phases, and extending over the last 3,000 years: Chapter I.

(2) *Varved clay analysis*, relying on the cycles of the year, the sunspots, and the precession of the equinoxes, covering the time from the end of the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age, and applying mainly to the last 15,000 years: Chapters II to IV.

(3) *Radiocarbon method*, relying on the disintegration of Carbon 14 in dead organic matter, and covering about 30,000 years : Chapter X.

(4) '*Per cent. of equilibrium method*', relying on the radioactive disintegration of radium in deep-sea cores and covering about 300,000 years : Chapter X.

(5) *Solar radiation method*, relying on the cycles of the precession, obliquity and eccentricity, covering the Palaeolithic and the Ice Age, and extending over about 1 million years : Chapters V to IX.

(6) *Geological methods*, based on estimated time-rates of sedimentation, denudation, erosion, weathering, and chemical changes in minerals and applied to all periods : mainly Chapter XI.

(7) *Uranium and other radioactivity methods*, relying on the periods of decomposition of radioactive minerals, covering all geological formations previous to the appearance of man, and extending over about 3,000 million years : Chapters X and XI.

The biological implications of these time-scales are discussed in Chapter XII.

All these studies aiming at the establishment of absolute time-scales for the past are comprised by the term *Geochronology*. Geochronology literally means time-counting in relation to the earth and implies that counting in years is aimed at, as distinct from stratigraphy which is concerned with the relative ages only. The term was introduced by H. S. Williams<sup>1</sup> in 1893 to designate studies in which the geological time-scale (in absolute time) is applied to the evolution of the earth and its inhabitants. Charles Schuchert<sup>2</sup> interpreted it as the age of the earth on the basis of sediments and life. Both these definitions emphasize the close relationship of geochronology and stratigraphy, and in fact all the methods described in this book rely upon 'strata' of some sort. This applies to the counting of the annual growth-rings of trees as it does to the lava-beds investigated by the radioactivity method, which have to be defined in their position relative to sediments before the figure of age can be usefully interpreted. The term 'geochronology', therefore, is employed here in a comprehensive sense, and not restricted to any particular method ; such as, for instance, de Geer's chronology based on the annual layers produced by the meltwater of glaciers.

Geochronology may thus be defined as the science of dating in terms of years those periods of the past to which the human historical calendar does not apply. It covers human prehistory as well as the whole of the geological past.

<sup>1</sup> Williams, H. S., 1893. 'The Elements of the Geological Time-scale.'—*J. Geol.*, Chicago, 1, pp. 283-95.

<sup>2</sup> Schuchert, C., 1931. 'Geochronology, or the Age of the Earth on the Basis of Sediments and Life.'—*Bull. Nat. Res. Council*, Washington, 80, pp. 10-64.

## PART I

### DATING EARLY HISTORY AND LATE PREHISTORY, ESPECIALLY IN NORTH AMERICA

(Back to about 1000 B.C.)

#### CHAPTER I

#### DENDROCHRONOLOGY, OR TREE-RING ANALYSIS

##### A. PRINCIPLES OF TREE-RING ANALYSIS

*History and principles.* The first of the chronological methods to be described is generally called *tree-ring analysis*, and the branch of science dealing with it, *dendrochronology*. As a scientific method, it was conceived by Douglass in 1901, though the idea of using tree-rings for the dating of archaeological sites is old. As early as in 1811 De Witt Clinton, when examining the earthworks near Canandaigua, in the State of New York, counted the rings in the trees growing upon them and estimated that they were one thousand years old, and hence the work not of Europeans or present-day Indians, but of a prehistoric people. (Note (1), p. 400.)

Modern dendrochronology is, of course, a matter very different from this early attempt. It has established a sort of calendar for the last two or three thousand years. Its results fall entirely within the historical periods of Europe and Asia; but in North America where intelligible written records are not known before the end of the fifteenth century, this method leads back right into prehistoric times. It has been most successfully applied to the dating of prehistoric villages in the south-western United States.

Tree-ring analysis is based on a well-known structural feature of wood, namely the annual growth-rings. These are shown by trees growing in regions with regular seasonal changes of climate, i.e. regions where either a dry and a wet season, or a mild and a frosty season, alternate. As a rule trees produce one ring every year. The annual ring is formed by the *cambium* which lies between the old wood and the bark. In spring or, more generally, when the growing season begins, sets of large, thinly-walled cells are added to the wood. As the season advances towards the end of the summer or of the wet season, the cells added to the wood become increasingly smaller and more thickly-walled, until the production of cells ceases entirely. In the following year this process is repeated, and a distinct demarcation line is thus formed between the summer wood of the previous year with its small cells and the spring wood of the following year with its large cells (pl. I, fig. A).

The growth-rings of each individual tree are not of the same thickness throughout. They vary for two reasons :

(1) The thickness of the growth-rings varies with the age, the rings becoming narrower with the increasing age of the tree (pl. I, fig. B). The central rings, therefore, are always wider than the peripheric ones.

(2) Superimposed on this normal variation in size of the rings is a variation caused by the inequalities of the climate from year to year (fig. 1). In years with unfavourable weather, for instance in years with abnormal periods of drought, abnormally narrow rings are formed. On the other hand exceptionally broad rings will be produced in years with abundant supply of water and food. A curve reproducing the variation in a series of rings observed in the cross-

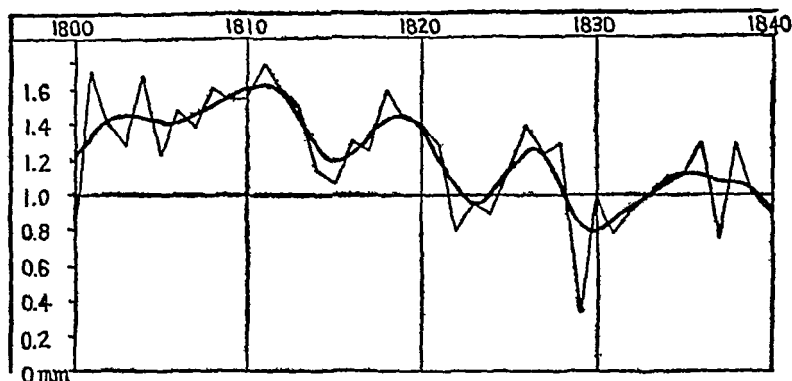


FIG. 1.—Tree-ring graph as used by Antevs and others. The thickness of each ring is given in millimetres, and a broken curve is drawn. The smoothed curve is obtained from the broken one by the application twice over of the formula  $\frac{1}{3}(a + 2b + c)$ ,  $a b c$  being three consecutive ring-widths.—After Antevs (1938).

section of a tree, therefore, reproduces to some extent the variation of the local climate. It is on this fact that the applicability of tree-ring analysis to dating depends, since most trees of one area tend to exhibit similar variations in their ring-records.

The properties of the growth-rings enable one to correlate with one another growth-rings of different trees of the same district (fig. 3) and to count backwards in years, correlating the inner rings of young trees with the outer rings of older trees. The method can be applied not only to trees of a certain wooded area but also to the timber derived from it and used by man in the construction of historic or prehistoric dwellings. In this way it has been possible to assign dates in years to a large number of prehistoric sites, chiefly in North America.

Douglass, Schulman and others, in the course of their research, have worked out in great detail the method of tree-ring analysis.

They have standardized it and studied the ways of overcoming certain difficulties which will be discussed below. Recently, W. S. Glock (1937) has summarized the fundamentals and the technique in his *Principles and Methods of Tree-ring Analysis*, and good summaries are by Harwood (1947), Dobbs (1951) and Huber (1948). Further interesting information may be obtained from the *Tree-ring Bulletin*.

*Collecting specimens.* Samples have to be collected with care. Species of the plant, date of collecting, diameter, height of the sample above the root, topography of the locality, situation in respect to drainage lines, types of soil, bed rock and surrounding vegetation have to be noted. The most perfect type of sample is, of course, a slice across the whole tree as near root-level as possible, though root-buttresses have to be avoided. In view of the bulky nature of this kind of sample it is often necessary to content oneself with a rectangular radial cut across the section, including the centre. V-shaped cuts are still smaller and lighter than rectangular blocks. In recent years special borers have been introduced which enable the worker to extract from the tree long and thin cores which are easily transported.

Samples should not be taken from trees the roots of which have permanent access to water, since they are more or less independent of the fluctuations of the climate and, therefore, do not exhibit sensitive rings (see p. 9).

*Ring examination.* In the laboratory the specimens have to be prepared for examination by smoothing the surface with a razor, or by polishing. Liquids may be used to render the rings more visible. The counting and reading of the ring sequence is carried out along a radius on which, for convenience, every tenth ring may be marked with a hole pricked into it with a pin. According to the method of Dr. Douglass, the variation in thickness of the rings is then plotted on co-ordinate paper (fig. 2). Rings of ordinary thickness are not marked on the plot but merely counted, whilst rings which are unusually thin as compared with their immediate neighbours, are noted by means of a vertical line which is the longer the thinner the ring is compared with its neighbours. Exceptionally broad rings are marked on the plot with a letter 'B', 'BB', etc., according to their relative widths.

The resulting plot is called a 'skeleton plot'. It has the advantage of being independent of the decreasing average thickness of the rings with the increasing age of the tree. Moreover, it can be constructed without carrying out exact measurements and it therefore is eminently suitable for field-work. Skeleton plots clearly show the occurrence and position of rings with unusual features, on which correlation work is based.

For many purposes graphs giving the thickness of each ring in millimetres are to be preferred. As an instance one of Dr. Antevs's

plots is reproduced here (fig. 1). This kind is reminiscent of those used in the analysis of varved clays (see page 22).

In the process of counting and reading a specimen certain difficulties occur. There are not only sequences of rings of approximately equal thickness (called *complacent rings*) and ring-sequences in which the width varies (called *sensitive rings*) but double rings also are sometimes observed and evidence may be found for the partial or total absence of others.

*Difficult rings.* Occasionally, duplication of a ring may be observed which either extends round the entire circle or is restricted to a portion of it. It may be due to two really independent rings lying close together, each of them representing one year. On the other hand an actual duplication may have taken place, the growth

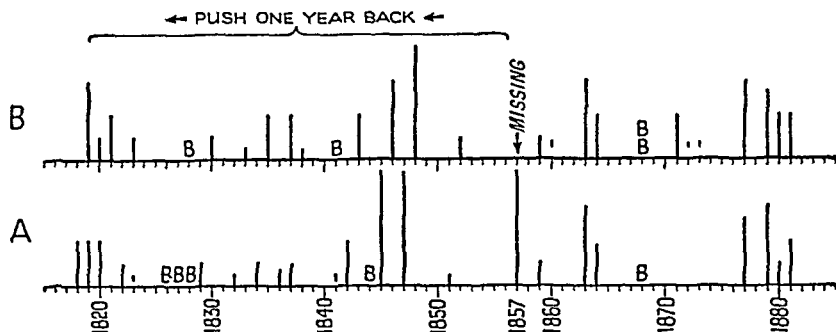


FIG. 2.—Tree-ring plots as used by Douglass. Normal rings are not marked but merely counted. A vertical line indicates a narrow ring; the longer the line, the narrower the ring. 'B' indicates an unusually broad ring.

A.—Rings of an Arizona Pine, between A.D. 1815 and 1885.

B.—Rings of a tree from the same locality, with ring for A.D. 1857 missing. In specimen (A) this year is represented by a very narrow ring.

Both diagrams based on Glock (1937, fig. 10).

having stopped for a short time during the ordinary growing season and having been resumed subsequently. It is obvious that such cases have to be cleared up before dating becomes possible, since one year more or less depends on them. It should be noted that such irregular rings are more frequent in hardwoods than in the soft (coniferous) woods used in the development of dendrochronology. Furthermore, the rings are not symmetrical all round the trunk. The counting should, therefore, be carried out on carefully selected material. This is perhaps feasible on Recent trunks, of which Weakly says that he found one in five or six usable. But Dobbs has rightly pointed out that when house timber, buried logs, etc., are used, selection has to be abandoned, and the chance of obtaining a reliable correlation between different trees is much diminished. This difficulty is unfortunately overlooked by some dendrochronologists who believe that the rings are a faithful picture of the climate, neglecting the local factors affecting growth.

Sometimes it happens that the ring of a certain year is entirely absent in the specimen under examination (fig. 2). The risk of missing a ring is particularly great if only part of the wood section is available for examination, as often traces are preserved in another

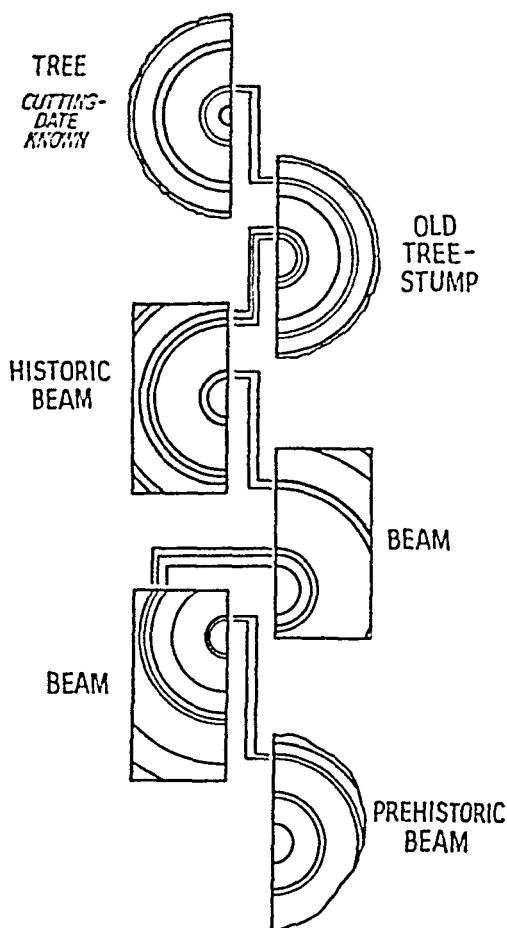


FIG. 3.—Schematic drawings of a series of wood-sections, illustrating cross-dating, and how a chronological sequence is built up connecting prehistoric timber with modern trees.—Based on Glock (1937, fig. 18).

section of the ring-area. For this reason it is invariably preferable to investigate complete slices and to follow each ring round the entire circle. Absence of a ring is, of course, frequently revealed by comparison with another specimen, as shown in fig. 2.



*Cross-dating.* Having constructed a number of plots of individual trees one proceeds to 'cross-date' them. This is the term used by dendrochronologists for correlating the ring-series of one tree with that of another. The ring-series of an old tree overlaps to some extent with that of a younger tree, and the arrangement of narrow and wide rings enables one to identify certain sequences of years in the two specimens (fig. 3). Comparison of a large number of specimens helps to eliminate individual aberrations, and in the course of the work there crystallizes from the numerous individual plots a 'standard plot' which is typical of the region under investigation. If curves of the kind shown in fig. 1 are used, corrections may have to be applied in order to eliminate the decrease in average thickness of the rings with increasing age of the tree (pl. I, fig. B.) Methods of correction have been designed by Antevs, Douglass, and Huntington. Occasionally the curves are smoothed out (fig. 1), a practice that has met with severe criticism, since it reduces the differences present in the original graphs.

*Research.* Modern work on tree-rings is greatly concerned with the relation of tree-growth to climate, and it is done mostly on trees from living forests, the cutting date of which is known. It has confirmed that on the borders of the dry belts of the earth the trees may be regarded as natural gauges measuring precipitation and, less directly, the run-off of rivers (Schulman, 1945). But in subarctic regions, where the trees enjoy a constant water supply, the varying widths of the rings present a picture of fluctuations of summer temperature (Giddings, 1941).

In regions with a humid-temperate climate, the ring-widths are the expression of a complex interplay of precipitation, temperature, and other factors. Yet, dendrochronology may well become a dating-method in such areas when other characters of the rings are used, apart from, or instead of, their width. For example, Dobbs (1942) has found that *false rings* (duplicated rings, p. 9) appear with remarkable constancy in the same years over a large part of southern England. Gladwin (1940) uses the deviation of individual rings from the mean width of a large number of rings. E. W. Jones advocates the use of growth-trends over periods of years. (See also Notes (2, 3), p. 400, p. 402.)

It is essential that as many local chronologies as possible be established in the temperate zone, and this work is being pursued in the north-western United States and Canada (Schulman, 1947), Finland (Hustich, 1947), Sweden (Ording, 1941), Norway (Høeg, 1944), Germany (Huber, 1943, 1948), England (Dobbs, 1942; Jones, 1947; Lowther, 1949) and elsewhere. The methods of dendrochronology have been elaborated in recent years by Douglass (1943), Gladwin (1940), Schulman (1947), Huber (1948, 1950), Dobbs (1951) and others.

## B. DATING OF PREHISTORIC SITES

It is evident that for the purpose of dating not only recently felled trees have to be studied but older specimens also. Such may be procured from wood used as timber in houses or other structures, though it is essential that the provenance of this timber be the same as that of the Recent trees studied. Douglass, working on the prehistoric Indian villages in Arizona, gradually extended his tree-ring scale from modern times to logs and beams in modern Indian villages. In many of these houses beams derived from ancient buildings had been used repeatedly, and a fair amount of early historic and prehistoric specimens were recovered in this way. These provided the required link with the actual prehistoric dwelling sites which thus could be dated in years (see pls. II, A, B; III, A, B). The earliest tree-rings obtained in this region date from about 1,900 years ago, or almost 1,500 years before the Europeans began the conquest of America. An estimated tree-ring chronology for this long space of time is being published by A. E. Douglass in the *Tree-ring Bulletin*. Most of the datable Indian villages, however, were built between about A.D. 1000 and the conquest. The scope of tree-ring dating is extending rapidly, and satisfactory dates for the archaeological phases in the south-western United States go back to the fourth century. The following table summarizes the results so far obtained. It is based on a number of publications which have appeared in the *Tree-ring Bulletin*. As overlaps are bound to occur, the dates have to be regarded as approximate. Those who are interested in more accurate, though local, datings, will find them in the periodical just referred to.

*Dates for Indian dwelling-sites.*

(Nomenclature Roberts, 1939)	Phase	Approximate years A.D.
Historic Pueblo	P. V	1700-1800
Renaissance Pueblo	P. IV	1300-1650
Regressive and Great Pueblo	P. III	1000-1300 (1350 ?)
Developmental Pueblo	{ P. II	900-1100
	{ P. I	750-950
Modified Basket Maker	B. M. III	400-750
Basket Maker	B. M. II	? -400
	B. M. I	?

*Dr. Douglass on the dating of Indian pueblos.* This table summarizes the results of Douglass and his collaborators. As regards the actual work it is best to follow his own words as he describes the story of one of his discoveries which enabled him to connect an undated but certainly very early ring-series from timber of prehistoric villages with the dated tree-ring series leading backwards from the present day to the times of the Spanish conquest.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The succeeding paragraphs follow closely Dr. Douglass's report in the *Geographic Magazine*, 1929; but the story has been shortened and modified so as to suit the subject-matter of this chapter.

Oraibi, a village near the Little Colorado River, has been regarded as the only present-day Hopi settlement continuously occupied since a period antedating the advent of the Spaniards in 1540. Many of its logs were cut by stone axes and obviously are very old. Small chips taken off revealed the species of trees from which the logs were derived. Length also helped in the selection. Pre-Spanish beams are rarely more than eight feet long, Spanish beams are often much longer. They were salvaged by the Hopis when they destroyed the missions in 1680 and have been in use ever since.

A rounded log from a ceremonial chamber gave the year 1475 as its outermost ring, but there was some wear on the outside. It was cut about 1520. A specimen from Walpi gave 1490 as its cutting date. Ladder poles were more recent. One ladder showed one pole cut in 1570 and the other in 1720 which reveals a story of breakage and repair.

Naturally Dr. Douglass wanted the oldest log. It was found in a part of Oraibi village which had been abandoned by the Indians in 1906. Difficult of access, in a room of one of the old houses, there was in the centre an upright post, not more than six inches in diameter, supporting the ceiling. It was partly flattened, and as it was holding up the floor of the room above, no cross-section could be taken, but its longer diameter was bored. The rings of this beam gave a superb series from 1260 to 1344. Allowing for wearing it was probably cut as early as A.D. 1370.

Having made large collections from Oraibi Dr. Douglass thus found that the earliest cutting date was close to the year 1400, and with one or two exceptions no further pieces were found the inner rings of which began earlier than 1300. These pueblos, therefore, were built about 1400.

Thus it became clear that the available Hopi beams were not sufficiently old to link the historic sequence with the ring-records obtained before from the older, prehistoric sites. A survey was made, therefore, of the area known archaeologically to have been inhabited by the Hopis in pre-Spanish times. Fragments of pottery showed a sequence of development, and the relationship between the latter years of the prehistoric and the earlier years of the historic chronologies to the sequence of pottery types was established.

Another village, Kawaiku, yielded further information. The first specimens from here were just pieces of charcoal, but some of them exhibited rings closely resembling those between A.D. 1365 and 1420. Certainty was finally obtained from a specimen of charcoal as big as a fist. Its rings gave a sequence from 1400 to 1468, and this established the correctness of all the other dates obtained elsewhere of the same period. Further specimens came to light and extended the sequence back to 1300 and forward to 1495, showing that no new dwellings were erected in this village for a short time

before the Spaniards reached the district in 1540. There was ample evidence that Kawaiku was occupied both in the latter years of the prehistoric sequence and the earlier years of the historic chronology.

Excavations at another place, Showlow, at last provided the final link between the two sequences. It was found in a horizontal position and resembled an ordinary beam which had been burnt off at the end in the form of a cone. Its outer parts were at once recognized as belonging to the fourteenth century, rings being traceable nearly to A.D. 1380. The record it gave after 1300 was satisfactory, with no question remaining as to the dating. Following its rings inward to the core there was the record of the 'great drought'. Very small rings told of the hardships the tree had endured in 1209 and 1295, in 1288, 1286, 1283, and 1280. All these, and more, rings corroborated the diary entries other logs had given. Even near the centre the rings of this specimen were clear and easily understood. The one at the very core showed that this pine log began life in A.D. 1237, just ten years after the Sixth Crusade moved eastward to compel the Saracens to restore Jerusalem.

The investigators felt that this was an exciting discovery which might provide the tie binding the prehistoric chronology to the historic.

Later that day, by the use of Dr. Douglass's skeleton plots, they began to determine whether the historical chronology, now extended back from 1260 to 1237 by the Showlow beam, might not overlap the prehistoric chronology. As the rings were studied the answer came. The ring that represented the 551st year of the prehistoric chronology matched perfectly with the ring for the year 1251 in this beam. This was a great surprise. There was no gap to be bridged as had been assumed; the gap had been closed without knowing it.

The two chronologies had covered an overlapping period. But the rings of the prehistoric series which overlapped the historic at 1260 had been gathered from such small fragments that Dr. Douglass had never been willing to accept their evidence.

*Difficulties encountered in dating ruins.* Individual dated ring-series, however, are no reliable evidence for the exact date of the ruin from which they were taken. It is necessary to make sure that the outermost ring preserved was the last put on by the tree before it was felled; if the beam is worn, one has to allow for an unknown number of missing rings.

If the dated beams of a ruin are compared, it is usually found that the felling dates cover a period of several, sometimes many, years. The difficulties arising out of this have been discussed at some length by Roberts (1939). If the majority of beams yield dates within a year or two, there is little doubt about the time of the erection of the building. Older beams are then regarded as material salvaged from earlier structures, and later beams as replacements.

*Records of the Californian 'big trees'.* It is natural that at an early date investigators of tree-rings cast an eye on the forests of the 'big trees', *Sequoia washingtoniana*, found along the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada in California. These trees are not only the largest single organisms known at present to exist, but also—as tree-ring analysis has shown—the longest-lived. In 1911, Huntington began to study the rings of the *Sequoia*-trees, and he as well as Douglass have since done a great deal in interpreting the results of the countings. More recently, Antevs, an authority on varved clay analysis (see the following chapter), undertook a careful survey of the work so far done on *Sequoia* (Antevs, 1925). After the elimination of disturbing factors several climatic curves have thus been obtained for very nearly 8,250 years backwards, but it has as yet not been possible to use this evidence for direct dating of prehistoric sites or objects in North America.

*Tree-ring dating in Scandinavia.* The *Sequoia*-curve has been applied, however, to date prehistoric sites far distant from California. Ebba Hult de Geer, collaborator of Gerard de Geer, the inventor of the varved-clay analysis (see p. 20), studied the growth-rings in the poles of a prehistoric water-fort found in Lake Tingstäde Träsk in Gotland (1935). She compared the ring-sequences with the *Sequoia*-curve of California and believes she has obtained satisfactory agreement in the records of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., at which time therefore the fort is considered to have been erected. E. H. de Geer has further studied wood from an earthwork in Romerike in southern Norway (1938). 'Raknehaugen' is an artificial hill 19 metres high and containing a large amount of timber. No burial has yet been found in it, but smaller barrows are mostly of Viking age, ninth to eleventh century. Four specimens of wood were obtained from it, the best providing a series of 66 years. The method of biennial maxima (amplified by triennial ones) was used in correlating this series with parts of the *Sequoia* from California, and of a varved-clay curve from Angermanland, Sweden. E. H. de Geer finds the agreement satisfactory (see Note (4), p. 402).

*Tree-ring time-scales.* In all, well over one hundred 'chronologies' have been published. By far the longest is that of *Sequoia* from California. But the only one of great value to the prehistorian is that based on the Yellow Pine in the south-western United States. Partly with the help of material from caves containing remains of the Basket Makers it has been extended back to A.D. 11. Other chronologies are of interest for the climatologist, but may at any time assume significance in prehistory, as shown by the attempts at tree-ring dating recently made in northern Europe.

*Teleconnexion.* This practice of correlating series of annual layers (tree-rings or clay-varves) over wide distances is called *teleconnexion* by G. de Geer and his fellow-workers. It will be discussed more

fully in the second chapter (p. 39), since much importance has been attached to it in respect of the interpretation of clay-varves. Here it suffices to say that this practice has not met with general approval.

### C. CYCLES IN TREE-RING SERIES

Teleconnexion is to some extent rendered possible by the occurrence of cycles, or rhythmic variations, in the tree-ring curves. They are caused by a more or less regular alternation of groups of relatively thick and relatively thin rings which obviously correspond to changes of certain external factors influencing the formation of wood. For many years Douglass has been particularly anxious to study the cycle phenomenon and he has obtained results the importance of which extends far beyond the limited scope of tree-ring analysis as we shall see later on.

*Sunspot cycle and tree-rings.* In some ring-records of trees from temperate Europe, where a fair amount of precipitation falls in

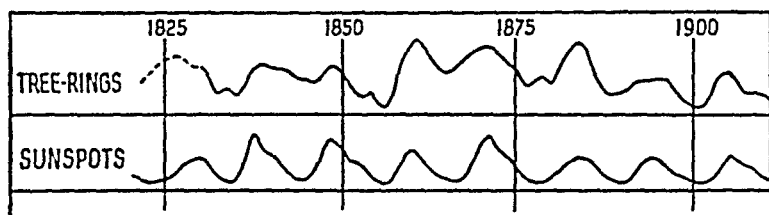


FIG. 4.—The single-crested 11-year cycle exhibited by north European pine trees in the nineteenth century. Upper curve: tree-rings. Lower curve: fluctuations in the number of sunspots during the same period. The agreement of the two curves is remarkable.—Based on Glock (1937, fig. 39).

summer, a simple cycle of an average length of a little over 11 years is very obvious (fig. 4). Curiously enough the average duration of the sunspot cycle<sup>1</sup> also is just over 11 years (Clayton, 1939). After a careful examination of the available evidence Douglass identified this tree-ring cycle with the cycle of the sunspots.

Douglass, Glock and others have shown that this single-crested 11-year cycle in the tree-rings is characteristic of regions with a comparatively damp climate, i.e. where droughts are rare in summer. So they found that it is prominent in the Recent mammoth-trees (*Sequoia*) of California, in accordance with the foggy summer climate. They discovered the same type of oscillation in the rings of *Sequoia*-

<sup>1</sup> The dark spots which are observed on the sun vary periodically. It has been found that their periods are between 5.6 and 10.9 years, though of 96 spots no fewer than 63 have periods between 9.9 and 11.9 years. The composite periodicity of the sunspots is about 11.2 years (Clayton and others) or 11.4 years (Douglass and others); it is, of course, not constant. For details, consult Clayton's recent papers, also Schostakowitsch (1928) and other papers in the same volume of the *Meteorol. Zs.*

trunks of Tertiary age from the same district also, and therefore argued that the Tertiary climate must have been similarly damp as that of to-day. Moreover, the single-crested 11-year cycle occurs in tropical rain-forest regions, too, as has been established for two kinds of west African woods of the mahogany type (Zeuner, 1938).

In districts such as Arizona, however, where the climate tends to be dry in summer, two oscillations instead of one are frequently observed in the tree-ring records during an 11-year period. This short cycle (fig. 5) is called the Hellmann cycle, and two of them combined are often called the 'double-crested 11-year cycle'.

The difference between the double-crested and single-crested cycles is puzzling from a climatological point of view. One is inclined to think that tree-growth depends entirely on rainfall and temperature. It certainly does depend on these two factors to a large extent. Schwarz, for instance, found that the Scotch pine (*Pinus silvestris*) in Germany follows the fluctuations of temperature,



FIG. 5.—The double-crested 11-year cycle exhibited by Arizona pines in the fifteenth century. Upper curve: tree-rings, thickness in millimetres. Lower curve: a regular succession of two oscillations in 11 years, for comparison. The sequence of maxima and minima in the tree-ring curve agrees fairly well with a double oscillation in 11 years.—Based on Glock (1937, fig. 38).

and Hesselman established the same for Sweden. It also became clear that in the comparatively damp climate of temperate Europe the growth in thickness of the trees depends more on temperature than on the amount of rainfall. Douglass's work on the Arizona pine, on the other hand, showed clearly that in drier regions the thickness-growth of trees responds primarily to changes in the quantity of rainfall.

Thus there is no doubt that temperature and precipitation do influence the growth of trees to a certain extent, though not exclusively and not everywhere in the same manner.<sup>1</sup> A great many tree-ring records, in fact, show no distinct relations between precipitation or temperature, and the thickness of the rings. The records of *Sequoia* were considered by Douglass as in fairly good agreement with the rainfall curve, but Antevs admits this only for

<sup>1</sup> The species of the tree also plays an important part, some being sensitive, others not. Most of the work has been done on conifers. Note (2), p. 400.

limited periods and finds that on the whole the correspondence is not good. It is particularly noteworthy that the great precipitation in 1862, 1867, and 1868, is not recorded by wide rings in the *Sequoia*-trunks. Thus, the relation between climatic conditions and tree-growth appears to be a complicated matter, and the possibility that factors other than precipitation and temperature influence the growth of trees has to be considered.

*Solar constant and tree-rings.* The fact that the cycles observed in tree-ring sequences agree so closely with the sunspot cycle strongly suggests that one of these factors may be solar radiation, especially since an indirect influence of the sunspots on the tree-rings via precipitation or temperature can apparently be ruled out. Only occasionally may be found a resemblance of the curves of rainfall or temperature of a certain district to the curve of the sunspots, though some connexion of the average fluctuations of atmospheric pressure with the sunspot cycle has been established by Clayton (1939, 1940)<sup>1</sup> and others. If, therefore, the deviations from the normal of the climate of a district show less resemblance to the sunspot curve than do the tree-rings, it becomes probable that the influence of the sunspots on the trees is a more direct one than through the meteorological conditions resulting from an influence of the sunspots on the climate.

What then is the actual effect of the sunspot cycle on the growth of trees? This question cannot be answered at present. We have to content ourselves with stating the fact that some sort of connexion exists. Sunspot maxima increase the value of the *solar constant*,<sup>2</sup> particularly owing to an increase in ultra-violet radiation. According to H. T. Stetson this has been established by Dr. Petit's work in the Mount Wilson Observatory in California. Professor Stetson has written a stimulating book on sunspots and their effects which contains a great deal of information concerning the influence of the sunspot cycle on life generally. The reader is left in no doubt that the influence of solar cycles on life as well as on climate is considerable, and also that it is probably produced by correlative fluctuations of radiation.

There were scientists who for many years regarded with reserve Douglass's striking discovery of the sunspot cycle in the records of tree-rings. But the evidence which he and others have been able to accumulate has in the course of time convinced almost everybody, and in several cases observations which at first glance seemed to contradict his claims have later turned out to corroborate them perfectly. One of the most surprising cases of a 'happy end' to

<sup>1</sup> 'The smoothed plus and minus annual departures from normal pressure observed in the earth's atmosphere are displaced in position in unison with variations in intensity of sunspot maxima.' (Clayton, 1939, p. 1.)

<sup>2</sup> The amount of radiation received from the sun, measured in gramme calories per square centimetre per minute, at the upper limit of the atmosphere.



a worrying discrepancy between theory and observation is that of the absence of the 11-year cycle in the Arizona tree-ring records between 1645 and 1715 of our era, when it was replaced by a 10-year cycle. One cannot conclude this short introduction to tree-ring analysis better than by quoting H. T. Stetson's words telling how the solution was found.

One day early in 1922 Professor Douglass's morning mail brought a letter from Professor Maunder of the Royal Observatory in Greenwich, England. In this letter Professor Maunder told Professor Douglass that he had been searching into early records of sunspot observations with some surprising results. This search of the English astronomer had revealed that a great dearth of sunspots had been observed during the entire period from 1645 to 1715. Maunder knew nothing of Douglass's difficulties but merely wished to convey to him the information of this remarkable discovery in sunspot data. He ventured to remark to the Arizona scientist that if there were any real connexion between his tree-growth theory and the sunspot cycle, he should have found evidence lacking as to sunspots in his tree-ring records between 1645 and 1715. Thus we see how a strange failure of sunspots to appear during the middle of the seventeenth century actually corroborated Douglass's findings at a time when he nearly gave up the idea of the connexion between sunspots and tree-rings on account of an apparently unexplainable discrepancy.

*Summary.* Summarizing the results so far obtained by tree-ring analysis the following three points may be emphasized:

(1) In spite of the limited applicability of tree-ring counting to archaeological dating a reliable calendar has been established for the dwelling-sites and cultural phases of the south-western United States, covering 1,900 years. This is a spectacular success indeed.

(2) Countings, which cannot yet be correlated with prehistoric phases in a satisfactory manner, extend back for more than 3,000 years in California, and for over 500 years in Germany.

There are obviously good chances for applying tree-ring dating to other regions, especially temperate Europe, but progress will be slow and a good many years may elapse before reliable results are achieved even for the latest prehistoric periods, as these are earlier in Europe than in America. Yet tree-ring analysis may one day provide a help in dating historic objects in Europe as well as parts of the Mediterranean.

(3) A definite connexion has been established between the growth of trees, the climate, and the cyclic changes in solar radiation. The sunspot cycle of 11 years is prominent in the tree-ring records. This result is of more general importance. It agrees well with observations bearing on the varved clays (see p. 43) and suggests that even minor fluctuations of solar radiation have left traces on the earth. It therefore indirectly supports the dating methods based on major fluctuations of solar radiation as described in Chapters V to IX.

## PART II

### DATING THE METAL AGES, NEW AND MIDDLE STONE AGES, AND THE CLIMATIC PHASES WHICH FOLLOWED THE ICE AGE

(Back to about 15,000 years ago)

#### CHAPTER II

#### VARVE ANALYSIS

##### A. MODE OF FORMATION OF VARVES, AND METHODS OF INVESTIGATION

*De Geer's conception of counting annual layers in sediments.* The credit of having designed the first scientific method of dating geological events in years belongs to Baron Gerard de Geer in Stockholm. As long ago as 1878, during his field-work in the Stockholm region, he was struck by the regularity of the lamination present in certain clayey deposits.<sup>1</sup> These laminae were generally regarded as annual layers deposited in meltwater basins by the retreating ice. Such layers are called '*varves*' in Swedish, and the deposits are known to geologists as varved clays or sands. De Geer soon began to study the varying thickness of the varves, to identify them in different sections, and to count them wherever possible. Since then, the method of varve analysis has been considerably improved and successfully applied to the varve sections formed in front of the retreating margin of the ice-sheet of the Last Glaciation in Scandinavia, Finland and elsewhere. In addition to de Geer's own and his collaborators' work (de Geer, 1940), I may refer to Sauramo's countings in Finland (1923, 1929), to Antevs's in North America (see Antevs, 1925*a*, with chapter on varved sediments and exhaustive bibliography), and to Vierke's (1937) in Pomerania.

The varve method is the earliest geochronological method and, therefore, well known to geologists and archaeologists. It also is one to which the term '*geochronology*' has been most often applied.

De Geer's varve method is necessarily restricted in its application. It leads to a fairly complete record in years of the late Glacial and Postglacial periods, but beyond that there is little hope so far of arriving at more than time-scales for isolated periods which cannot be linked up in years with Recent times (see p. 36).

*Formation of varves.* Varved clays were, and still are, formed where glaciers discharge their meltwater into quiet water. The latter may be a lake, in many cases one dammed up by a terminal

<sup>1</sup> An informative appreciation of de Geer's work is contained in the obituary written by E. B. Bailey (1943).

moraine built by the ice at an earlier stage (fig. 6), or it may be a bay or sound of the sea, or even a quiet river.

Let us consider the case of a lake. In summer, when melting is intense, a lake ponded up in front of the ice receives a large supply of meltwater which is laden with a fine suspension of sand and clay derived from the morainic matter carried in and under the glacier. This suspension, called 'Gletschermilch' = glaciers' milk, because of its opaque, often whitish colour, gradually spreads over the whole lake and very slowly settles down. During this process of sedimentation the coarser grains contained in the suspension fall to the bottom more rapidly than the finer, and they form the first layer of the deposit. This layer, however, is never quite pure since a certain amount of fine grains which happen to be near the bottom will be incorporated in it. Yet on the whole coarser material settles first from the suspension, finer material later, and the finest

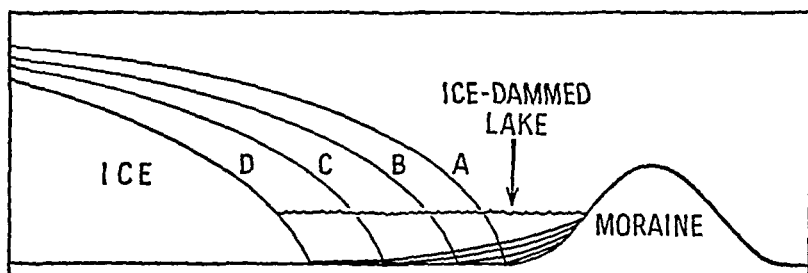


FIG. 6.—Formation of annual varves during the retreat of the ice from a moraine. Successive winter-halts of the ice, A, B, C, D. Each varve ends at the line to which the ice had receded in the particular year.

may remain in suspension until winter comes and the gradual freezing up of the lake helps it eventually to reach the bottom. In the following year, after the lake has lost its cover of ice, the process is repeated, and so forth. The result is a regular sequence of annual 'varves' (pl. IV, figs. A, B), which often are as conspicuous as growth-rings of trees, owing to the change of colour accompanying the change from coarse grains to fine.

*Composition of varves.* The size of the grains composing varves is usually small. Occasionally, very thick varves may be observed composed of sand below (grain-size chiefly 1.0–0.1 mm.) and silty clay in their upper portion (grain-size under 0.1 mm., chiefly 0.1–0.01 mm.). An example of such coarse varves is shown in pl. IV, fig. A, from Opava (Troppau) in the Czechoslovakian Sudeten Mountains, where subaerial meltwater gravels are overlain by varved lake deposits, the first six varves being thick and exceedingly sandy. Another instance, from Sperenberg near Berlin (pl. IV, fig. B), represents a section of sandy varves which, however, are finer

than those at Opava. Very fine-grained, clayey varves are, as a rule, thin.

Fine-grained varve deposits are much more frequent than coarse ones. Sauramo analysed a great many Finnish samples, and from his figures for fourteen of these it is seen that in the average not less than 85.7 per cent. of the material is under 0.02 mm., and 52.1 per cent. under 0.002 mm. This means that more than half of the material is finest colloidal clay-matter.

Chemically the varve deposits offer no special interest.

*Thickness of varves.* In the majority of varved deposits the individual laminae average between a few millimetres and a few centimetres in thickness. Sometimes they may be abnormally thin, measuring as little as a fraction of a millimetre. On the other hand

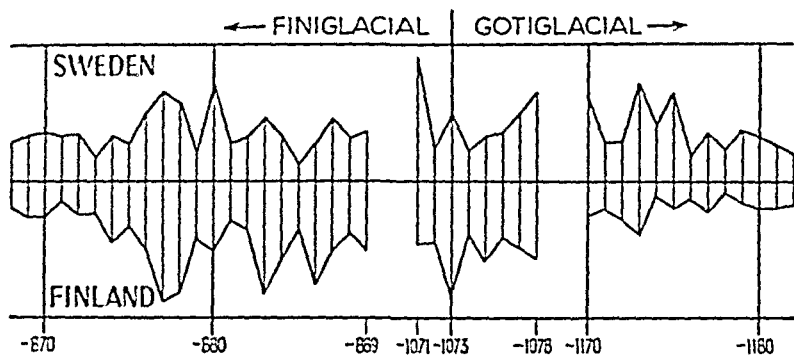


FIG. 7.—Examples of de Geer's varve plots, showing significant agreement. Sweden above, Finland below. Note that the maxima of Finland are reversed. The earliest varves appear on the right. Years on de Geer's time-scale, counting from the Bipartition (Ragunda drainage varve).—After de Geer, 1930.

unusually thick annual layers are not infrequently observed, and Sauramo records some measuring as much as 40 cm. It is obvious that exceptionally thick or thin varves make the plotting of long series on the same scale somewhat difficult, but such varves also afford most valuable land-marks in a sequence which, perhaps, is otherwise fairly uniform. De Geer's well-known varve-curves from Sweden (figs. 7, 12) mostly show variations in limits smaller than those given above.

*Varves and moraines.* Since varves demand for their formation quiet water in the neighbourhood of glaciers, they are almost invariably connected with some kind of moraine. Very often a terminal moraine, formed at an earlier stage, dammed up a lake fed by meltwater, into which the gradually receding ice-front discharged a suspension of mud. This mud, when deposited, formed the varves, as described above. As the ice-margin retreated the varves followed

it, and, assuming a northward retreat, each succeeding varve is found to begin farther north than the preceding one (fig. 6), its northern limit indicating the exact position of the ice-margin in the year of formation of the varve in question. If the gradual retreat of the ice-margin was interrupted by a stationary phase or a slight re-advance, a new terminal moraine was formed. The duration of such a halt can be determined from the varves deposited in front of the moraine. When the ice-recession was once more resumed the process of varve-formation continued normally. Conditions of course varied a great deal locally and the story given here must be regarded as no more than an example.

The ice-recession in Scandinavia and Finland usually proceeded at a rapid pace (between — 1150 and — 600 of the Swedish Timescale it varied between 120 and 400 m. per year; de Geer, 1940, p. 154), and the areas of ponded water were very extensive. The individual varves, therefore, often cover wide areas, and this fact is of considerable help in identifying them in sections which are distant from one another. Furthermore, an overlap of sections occurs frequently, the top varves of one lake being of the same age as the bottom varves in another lake which began to deposit varved sediments later than the first.

*De Geer's method of investigation.* Thus, in theory, all one has to do is to count the varves and to measure their thicknesses in as many sections as possible and then to try to identify the overlaps, duly considering all the known geological facts. When, in 1905, de Geer started field-work on a large scale, he applied the simple practice of smoothing with a suitable instrument the sections in the pits and transferring the thicknesses of the varves directly to long strips of paper. In the laboratory the records thus obtained were used to construct curves which in turn were cross-identified with others in the same way as described for the annual growth-rings of trees in the previous chapter (fig. 8). This method has the great advantage of allowing of expeditious work, and there is little need to take home heavy sample-columns of the deposits, provided the varves are clear and not too thin. It has obviously been applied most successfully in Sweden, but in areas where the varves are very thin, this method is no longer practicable.

*Sauramo's method.* Moreover, Sauramo was able to prove that the thickness of an individual varve need not be constant over the whole of its area, and that, in deposition-areas not directly connected, varves of the same year may be quite different. He therefore prefers to supplement the original method of cross-identifying on the base of relative thickness only by a close study of other features of the varve-sequences. He says:

A better method must be independent of the variation of thickness of the varves, the inconstancy of which is the main source of trouble,

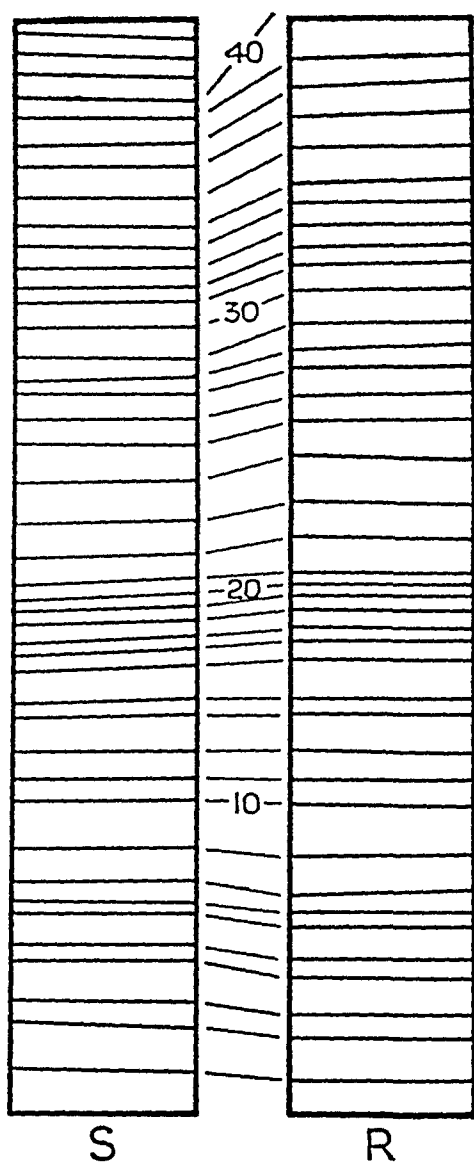


FIG. 8.—Example of cross-dating of two sample columns of varved deposits, from Finland. Localities, Sipilä (left) and Rauhaniemi (right), connected by M. Sauramo. Note the group of very thin varves around 20, and the very wide varves between 20 and 30.—Half natural size.—After Sauramo, 1923.

and rely upon other characters, inherent in each individual varve or group of varves and more constant than the relative thickness. Such characters in fact exist among the physical properties of the sediments. Of course, primary properties only must be considered and not secondary ones, such as those due to weathering, or the action of ground water. Those primary properties that may serve for the purpose of connexion are: colour of the sediment in the state of natural humidity above the ground water level, coarseness of grain and hygroscopicity, plasticity, arrangement of grains of different coarseness in the varves, i.e. whether the coarser and finer materials are mixed together or arranged in separate layers, and in the latter case, whether these layers of definite coarseness of grain limit each other with sharp lines or by gradual transition.

Such characters are, as a rule, not confined to one or two varves only; they are typical of parcels of varves. It is possible, therefore, to recognize certain particularly characteristic groups of varves or, as Sauramo calls them, *varve series*. In order to identify varve series it is necessary to take sample-columns from the sections and to study them in the laboratory. Sauramo thus investigates first the larger units and, having identified these, proceeds to the smaller, i.e. the individual varves. There is no doubt that in this way the possible error is reduced to a minimum.

*Construction of plots or curves.* As in the case of tree-ring analysis, the varying thickness and other features of the annual layers have to be plotted. The most convenient method for varve-plotting is to mark the varves at equal intervals along a horizontal line and to show their thicknesses at right angles to this. A connexion of the top ends of the thickness lines then yields a kind of 'curve'<sup>1</sup> which is easy to read and to interpret. The earliest varves may be shown either on the right or on the left.

*Biennial maxima.* Such curves often attain considerable length and it then becomes difficult to compare several of them, to identify similar series, and to correlate these. For this reason, de Geer introduced another kind of plot which is derived from the original curve. He calls this the *method of the biennial maxima*. The idea is to mark down only the 'maxima' shown by the original curve (fig. 11). A 'maximum'<sup>1</sup> results from an increase of varve thickness from a certain year to the following, and a decrease in the year thereafter. Such sequence thinner-thicker-thinner requires two years for its formation; hence the term 'biennial' maximum. De Geer plots biennial maxima, as shown in fig. 11, by short marks on a horizontal line. The marks are directed upwards for odd and downwards for even years. As a rule, de Geer does not plot biennial maxima when they occur singly, but mostly when they appear in groups of two or more (de Geer, 1934).

<sup>1</sup> Mathematically, the 'varve curve' is not a curve, and a 'biennial maximum' not a maximum. Both terms are unfortunate, but as they are in common use, they are best retained.

It must not be overlooked that the plots of biennial maxima no longer give a complete record of the varve section. They single out a particular kind of oscillation. Although they do help to establish likeness in varve-records from different localities they cannot claim to be as accurate as the original curves, and certain risks are implied in their application. One example may suffice to make this clear. A biennial maximum in which the thickest varve is about twice as thick as any of the thinner is, of course, a perfectly plain and characteristic feature, but a series of varves of, for instance, 16 mm., 17 mm., 14 mm. also represents a biennial maximum. In a neighbouring locality, however, the sequence may be 16 mm., 15 mm., 14 mm., and no maximum is observed. Where slight variations of thickness decide between the presence and absence of such maxima, the method obviously cannot work satisfactorily.

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#### B. VARVE CHRONOLOGY

*Results of countings in Sweden.* Before entering upon the question of dating climatic events and human industries by the varved clay method the outstanding results of varve counting have to be reviewed briefly. In Sweden, de Geer succeeded in counting varves along sections from the extreme south up to a point high in the mountains where the melting ice-cap finally became divided into two parts, remnants of which are still preserved (fig. 9).

*The zero-varve.* Not far from the place where the bipartition occurred, at Ragunda, a lake existed until 1796, when it was accidentally drained. The varves of this lake added 3,000 years to the time-scale, and among them a particularly thick varve, which de Geer interpreted as the result of the great run-off of ponded water which followed the bipartition. Since he was able to recognize this varve in many sections, he chose it as the zero-point of his chronology. He marked all the later years with a *plus*-sign and called them collectively *Postglacial*, whilst the years preceding it (with *minus*-sign) are grouped into the *Finiglacial* phase (see de Geer, 1940, p. 171).

*Link-up with present day.* The varve series of Lake Ragunda proved disappointing in so far as they did not provide the expected link with modern times. Varve formation had ceased long before A.D. 1796. But along the Ångerman River, in northern central Sweden, Lidén (1913, 1938) found *Postglacial* varves which continued into Recent deposits. From these, Lidén determined the calendar date of the zero-varve as 6839 B.C. This date marks the beginning of the *Postglacial* in de Geer's sense (1940, p. 178).

*End of Glacial and beginning of Postglacial.* There has always been a difficulty in drawing a line between the last stages of the Ice Age, which naturally have to be included in the Pleistocene, and



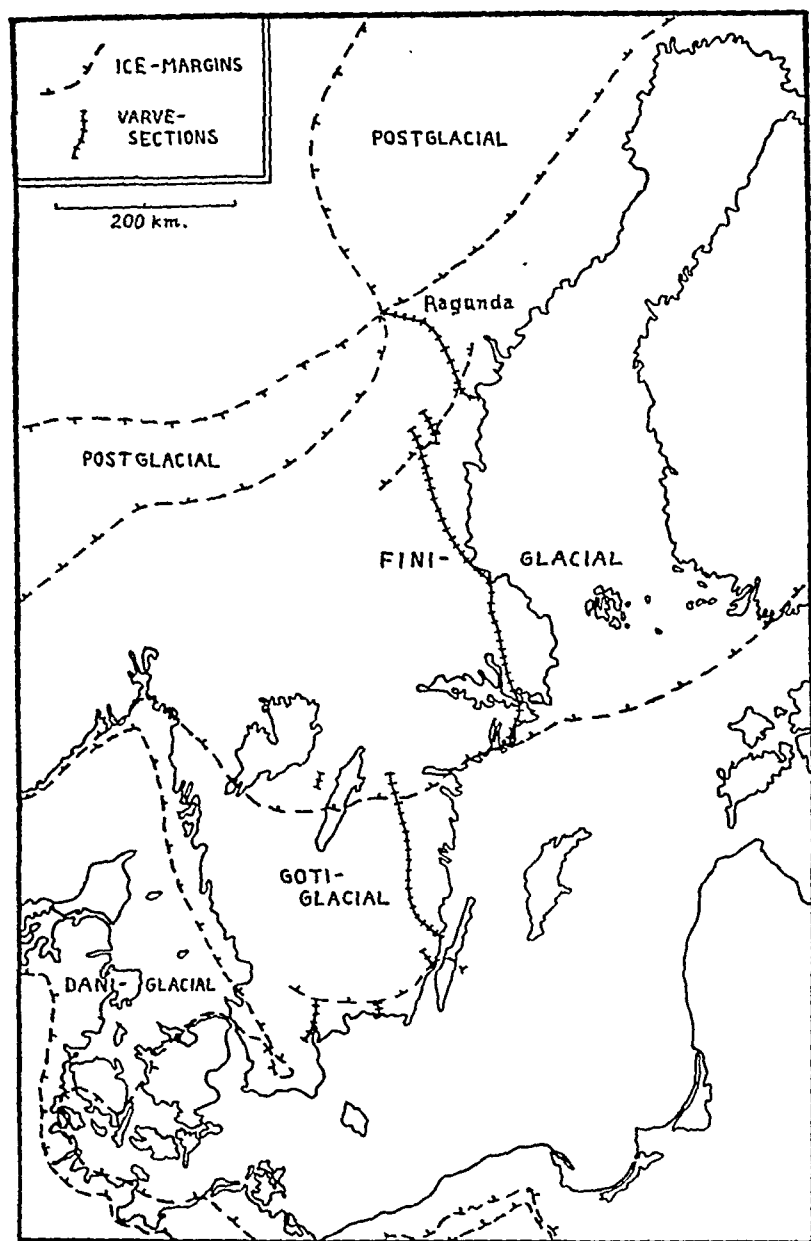


FIG. 9.—Ice-recession and varve countings in Sweden, according to de Geer's report to the International Geological Congress at Stockholm, 1910. The varve sections are shown to cover almost the entire distance from the Dani-Gotiglacial moraine to Lake Ragunda.—After de Geer (1912).

the early Postglacial or Holocene. As conditions did not improve suddenly, the retreat of the ice having been more or less gradual, no clear distinction can be made which would apply not only to Scandinavia but to the rest of the world.

It is obviously advisable to appoint some event as the dividing mark and to apply it arbitrarily everywhere, even in regions where no corresponding climatic evidence is available. But the difficulty is, which event to choose. De Geer took his zero-point, corresponding to 6839 B.C., as designating the end of the 'late Glacial' and the beginning of the 'Postglacial'. Jessen, Nilsson, Gams, and others, however, prefer to use the halt at the central Swedish moraines, i.e. the limit between Gotiglacial and Finiglacial, at about 7912 B.C. This coincides with the breakdown of the glacial anticyclone (Zeuner, 1945, p. 157), and with the beginning of great changes in the vegetation of northern Europe; it is therefore more easily recognizable outside Sweden, and should be preferred generally.<sup>1</sup>

*Finiglacial phase.* The extension of the time-scale from the zero-varve into the past depends chiefly on sections in the Stockholm area, where the method of varve chronology was first conceived and practised by de Geer and his 20 collaborators. This is the only area for which a sufficient amount of evidence has so far been published in detail. Several series of measurements, which agree well, extend back to - 1400 (= 8239 B.C.); they are of especial importance since they comprise the belt of the great *Central Swedish Terminal Moraine*, a conspicuous zone of hills which marks a well-defined halt of the ice during its retreat from the Last Glaciation. In order to assign a definite year to this halt, an event was chosen which left traces in many varve sections, i.e. the draining of the Baltic Ice-lake. This event occurred in the year - 1073 (= 7912 B.C.), according to de Geer. It is taken as the beginning of the Finiglacial phase, and the end of the Gotiglacial phase of the ice-retreat. De Geer (1940, p. 147) describes it as follows:

Immediately above the Goti-Finiglacial limits the varves become thicker and exhibit at the same time a very striking change in colour and consistence, which has been traced to that very point in the province of Västergötland, where the land-ice border receded from the north end of Mt. Billingen. This was the northernmost cape of the South-Scandinavian land barrier, which had been damming up the great South-Baltic ice-dammed lake. When the ice-dam thus became opened, the ice-lake was lowered by some 28 m. down to the sea-level, and

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<sup>1</sup> The limit Postglacial-Pleistocene is the first stratigraphical boundary to be defined in terms of years. It is only a matter of time that a figure will be agreed upon to divide the Pleistocene from the Pliocene epoch. Everywhere purely geological or palaeontological divisions become increasingly difficult to maintain as research goes on, and no doubt the day will come when all geological divisions are defined by absolute time rather than unconformities and appearance and extinction of certain forms of life.

an under-current of sea-water entered into the Baltic basin. (See this book, figs. 16-17.)

This catastrophe happened in the year -1073. Before that year the varves were rather grey and silty. Immediately afterwards they became thicker, brown and more rich in fine clay, probably because a greater portion of the sediment, when entering into the brackish water, at once became flocculated and deposited in the neighbourhood of the ice-border. (Note (5), p. 402.)

*Gotiglacial phase.* The *Gotiglacial* phase is reckoned by de Geer to begin with the withdrawal of the ice from certain moraines in southernmost Sweden (South Scanian Moraines). Since 1912, de Geer has tentatively connected the South Scanian Moraines with the Baltic Terminal Moraines of the European mainland (the Pomeranian phase, see p. 113) as shown in fig. 9. The South Scanian Moraines form a peculiar loop near the town of Bara, enclosing a small ice-free area, and are supposed to continue from there across the Danish Isles to Jutland, where they turn south and south-east to link up with the Baltic Terminal Moraine. This arrangement of terminal moraines, if it can be substantiated, is not impossible; it might be due to an icestream pushing forward in the depression now occupied by the Baltic Sea, whilst the moraine north and east of the Bara loop marks the edge of the Swedish ice that came down from the Scandinavian mountains. Acceptance of de Geer's combination means that any date for the stage of the Bara loop would directly apply to the Baltic End Moraine, or the Pomeranian phase, also.

In 1926, de Geer gave the common age of this morainic belt (which marks the beginning of the *Gotiglacial*) as approximately between - 9650 and - 9437, or 16489 to 16276 B.C. (roughly 18,000 years before the present).<sup>1</sup> In 1928, and again in 1933, de Geer reported that he had used wrong figures. The figure to be inferred from his suggested corrections was somewhere between 12000 and 14500 B.C. Unfortunately his latest, comprehensive, book (1940) does not discuss the time-scale of the *Gotiglacial*, and the original measurements have, to the best of my knowledge, never been published. On his plate 90, he supplies a general time-scale, noting the *duration* of the *Gotiglacial* as 6,379 years. This, again, is an accidental slip since, on plate 87 B, the *beginning* of the *Gotiglacial* is indicated at about - 6380, i.e. 13219 B.C., or about 15,000 years ago. In the opinion of Antevs (1947), however, the varve chronology cannot be extended to south Scania, and the earliest ice-border which can be dated by varves is in north-eastern Scania (13,500 years ago).

<sup>1</sup> In de Geer's map there appears, by mistake, 18000 B.C. He corrected this in 1928, but the error has caused much confusion in literature.

**SOUTHERN LIMITS of  
GLACIAL PHASES  
AS INTERPRETED BY  
M. VIERKE  
1937**

- I. BRANDENBURGIAN
- II. FRANKFURT-ROSEN
- III. SOUTH POMERANIAN
- IV. MIDDLE POMERANIAN
- V. NORTH POMERANIAN
- VI. NORTH RÜGEN
- VII. FINISGLACIAL
- W. WARTHE
- SAALE
- B. BARA
- ELSTER

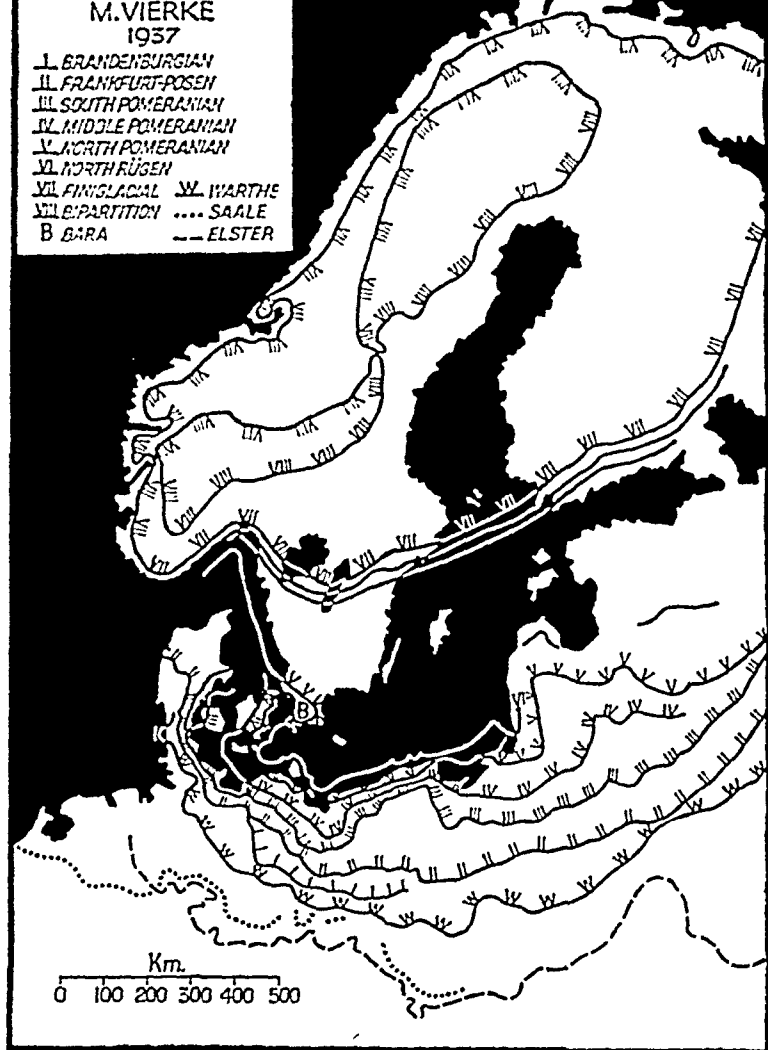


FIG. 10.—Morainic belts and phases of the Last Glaciation. Note that according to this version, the Pomeranian moraine (III) is distinct from the phase of the Bara loop (V). Note also the conspicuous triple belt of the Central Swedish Salpausselkä moraines.—After Vierke (1937).

*Problem of connexion of terminal moraines across the western Baltic.* As has been said above, de Geer considers the Pomeranian (Baltic End Moraine) as contemporary with the beginning of the Gotiglacial in South Scania. De Geer's connexion has, however, been contested, especially by Danish workers. Hansen (1940) checked de Geer's sections in Denmark and southern Scania and came to the conclusion that, with the exception of eleven short diagrams (none with more than 35 varves), all Danish diagrams, comprising up to 1,000 'varves', do not represent annual deposits, but shorter periods, of weather. And long before this result was published, Antevs (1928) regarded the Pomeranian as decidedly older than the South Scanian Moraine and attributed them to two successive and approximately concentric stages of retreat. If he is right, the age of the Pomeranian must be greater than that of the South Scanian by an unknown amount, which may be considerable.

More recently, Vierke (1937) has combined the results of various workers in a new map (fig. 10), in which the Bara lobe is preserved, but connected with a *north Pomeranian* belt of moraines which is later than the terminal moraine usually called the Pomeranian stage (this is Vierke's south Pomeranian belt). This interpretation, too, makes the Pomeranian stage proper older than the South Scanian, though less so than does Antevs's interpretation.

As de Geer and everybody else have in practice identified the Gotiglacial with the retreat from South Scania to the Central Swedish Moraine, the term *Daniglacial* of de Geer would apply to the chronological gap between the South Scanian and the Pomeranian (*sensu stricto*) stages.

Furthermore, though de Geer's estimate of 18,000 years for the Pomeranian phase has been accepted very widely, it no longer can be regarded as based on direct evidence. It was suggested in connexion with the South Scanian Moraine, for the age of which there is no direct evidence. De Geer's estimate may, after all, not be far off the right mark for the Pomeranian, but further research is urgently needed either to confirm it or to replace it by a more accurate figure.

Thus, the results of the varve method in Sweden and north Germany are far from being satisfactory for the earlier phases of the retreat of the Last Glaciation and further research, especially varve countings between the Pomeranian and South Scanian stages, are pressing requirements. All one can say at present is that the Pomeranian is at least about 15,000 years old, and probably more.

For the later stages of the retreat of the ice, from the Central Swedish Moraines onwards, however, the figures appear to be more reliable, and accurate enough to provide a time-scale for the development of the Baltic Sea as well as for the Mesolithic and Neolithic industries of man (Chapter IV). The following table summarizes Swedish varve chronology:

Phase	Years before or after zero (de Geer)	Date (based on Lidén)
Present Day	+ 8730	A.D. 1900
Postglacial (de Geer)		
Ragunda drainage varve	$\pm 0$	6830 n.c.
Finiglacial		
Ice-lake drainage (Central Swedish Moraine)	- 1073	7912 n.c.
Gotiglacial		
South Scanian Moraine		? c. 15,000 years ago
Daniglacial		
Pomeranian (Great Baltic) End Moraine		? c. 18,000 years min.

*Results of countings in Finland.* On the other side of the Baltic, varve countings have been carried out independently in Finland, chiefly by Matti Sauramo. He accepted as zero-point the beginning of the ice-retreat from the second of three closely connected and excellently preserved morainic belts called Salpausselkä. This zero-point is earlier than the Swedish one. Since the Salpausselkä moraines are reminiscent of the Central Swedish Moraines in structure and preservation, many authors have considered the two groups as contemporary, especially as it is easy to connect them across the Baltic (fig. 9). At present, however, the view predominates that they are not of exactly the same age. Antevs (1928) puts the Central Swedish Moraine about 300 years later than the second Salpausselkä, and Sauramo connects the Central Swedish Moraine with the third Salpausselkä stage. In 1929, Sauramo deplored that the Swedish results had not yet been published in detail and that one had to rely on figures instead of detailed evidence when trying to establish a correlation between Finland and Sweden. The Finnish scale is several hundred years longer than the Swedish. For this reason Sauramo, for some time, adopted de Geer's positions of the ice-margin only and applied to them the numerical results obtained in Finland. Lately, however, he has been able to accept some of de Geer's figures (1939). The ensuing correlation of the two chronologies is shown in the following table:

	de Geer		Sauramo	
	Relative	Years n.c.	Relative	Years n.c.
Ragunda drainage varve . . . . .	$\pm 0$	6830 n.c.	c. + 1350	6800 n.c.
Ice-lake drainage (Central Swedish Moraine) . . . . .	- 1073	7912 n.c.	+ 202	7858 n.c.
Finnish Moraine, second Salpausselkä	- 1365	8204 n.c.	$\pm 0$	8150 n.c.

Considering that these figures cannot be more than approximate, the agreement must be regarded as excellent.

*Antevs's work in North America.* Not only in Fennoscandia but in North America also has the varve method been applied successfully. Here, E. Antevs is the leading worker. He studied the ice-recession from the terminal moraines on Long Island near New York to as far as northern Ontario. The difficulty in North America is that no link with the present day, such as the varves of the Ångerman River, has so far been found, and that estimates have to replace countings for certain portions of the time-scale. (Note (10), p. 406.)

Antevs used for his countings two independent zero-points, corresponding to two long series of sections. The first series runs up the valley of the Connecticut river, and the second is situated north-east of Lake Huron. The gap between the two series is partly filled by the calculation of the recession of the Niagara Falls. The northern terminus of the second series is at Cochrane, near the Abitibi river, and the final recession of the ice from there is still largely a matter of conjecture. The sequences from New York to James Bay were summarized by Antevs (1928, 1931, 1947) as follows :

Long Island moraines (Ronkonkoma to Harbor Hill)	2,000
From Harbor Hill to Hartford, Conn.	5,500
Hartford to St. Johnsbury, Vt.	4,100
St. Johnsbury to Stony Lake, Ont.	} 10,000
Stony Lake to Mattawa Valley, Ont. (based on Niagara Falls)	
Mattawa to Cochrane, Ont.	{ 1,000 estimated 2,000 counted
Oscillations of ice-margin near Cochrane, Ont.	
Final retreat to James Bay	2,000 partly counted
Retreat from James Bay to present position	1,000 estimated 9,000 estimated
	<hr/> 36,600 years

The retreat from James Bay to the present-day remnants of the ice-sheet in northern Canada is believed to coincide with de Geer's 'Postglacial', i.e. from the Bipartition, and thus to have lasted about 9,000 years.

The retreat from Mattawa to James Bay (the southern part of Hudson Bay) can be estimated in a different way (Antevs, 1947). Assuming that the oscillations of the ice-margin at Cochrane correspond to the Central Swedish Moraines of northern Europe (10–11,000 years ago), the drainage of the glacial Lake Ojibway-Barlow must be placed near the beginning of this phase of oscillations, say about 11,000 years ago. To this figure have to be added 3,000 years for the retreat from Mattawa to Cochrane, making 14,000 years in all, compared with 15,000 (i.e. 6,000 + 9,000) in the first estimate.

It must not be overlooked, however, that only about one-half of 36,000 years is derived from actual countings, the remainder being

made up of various estimates. Of these, the estimate for the Niagara Falls is highly questionable (Flint 1947, p. 382), and the assumption that 9,000 years is the length of the 'Postglacial' in North America is very daring. Bryan and Ray (1940) have reconsidered the problems of varve chronology in North America and rightly remarked that this figure accounts for as much as one-third to one-fourth of any of the estimates for the American ice-recession.

In view of the many pit-falls of the North American varve chronology, which are certainly well known to Antevs himself but, unfortunately, neglected by many non-experts over-anxious to obtain figures, Bryan and Ray attempted to revise the reckoning. They have introduced the following important points:

(1) The authors claim that the outer moraine on Long Island (Ronkonkoma) belongs to a *considerably* earlier glacial phase than the inner (Harbor Hill). The Last Glaciation proper, therefore, should be counted from the Harbor Hill stage only (see also p. 33), and the 2,000 years assumed for this interval by Antevs should be dropped.

(2) The stage between Harbor Hill and Hartford (5,500 years according to Antevs) is based on countings of varve series which, according to Bryan, are older than the last retreat of the ice. In his opinion, they cannot be used in this sequence, and he replaces them by an estimate of 2,000 years, based on the rate of recession during the following stage.<sup>1</sup>

(3) According to Antevs, the age of the Mattawa stage is 14,000-15,000 years. Bryan and Ray arrive at 12,350 years.

(4) Bryan and Ray stress that the figure of 9,000 years for the 'Postglacial' is entirely arbitrary and that it constitutes a source of great uncertainty.

On the whole Bryan and Ray arrive at lower figures than Antevs does. They give 22,300 years for the age of the St. Johnsbury moraine (Antevs, 25,000), and 28,400 for the Harbor Hill moraine (Antevs, 34,500). The margin of uncertainty in both these calculations is still very great owing to the many estimates included.

According to a personal communication from Professor Flint, none of Antevs's terms is part of the standard nomenclature Iowan-Tazewell-Cary-Mankato, for it has not yet been found possible to carry the standard correlation eastward into New England.

*Man in North America according to Antevs.* There has been considerable controversy among experts in the United States as to whether man was present during the Ice Age or not. Geological and palaeontological evidence has recently been summarized by

<sup>1</sup> Bryan relies on observations of chemical weathering and solifluction in the top portion of the varved clays. It appears to me that the clays could still be of the age claimed by Antevs, if one accepts the view expressed elsewhere by Bryan, that the following St. Johnsbury stage corresponds to the Pomeranian and, therefore, was preceded by a mild oscillation. The possibility of such oscillation, by the way, introduces another unknown interval into the sequence.



Howard (1935), Bryan (1937), and by Roberts (1937, 1945). Problems centre round the discovery of artefacts called Folsom points. Many of them are reminiscent of Solutrian blades, and they were found associated with bones of extinct animals. Folsom artefacts occur superficially in a wide area from southern Canada to New Mexico, but it is in the south-western United States that they were discovered in indisputable geological sections. At Folsom, New Mexico, J. D. Figgins, Barnum Brown, F. H. H. Roberts, and others found them associated with bones of a large deer and an extinct species of bison. Other sites, at Clovis and Portales, New Mexico, near the border of Texas, were studied by E. B. Howard and others. Here, evidence was brought forward for man having been contemporary with mammoth as well as extinct bison. At Burnet Cave, in the Guadalupe Mountains, south-eastern New Mexico, Howard found a point in association with extinct bison and an extinct musk-ox like bovid, overlain by a stratum of earliest Basket-maker material. More corroborative material was discovered at the Lindenmeier site in Colorado where extinct bison and camel were found with the implements. This site has been dated by Bryan and Ray (1940) with the aid of Antevs's tentative varve chronology as falling between 10,000 and 25,000 years ago. It is slightly later than the Corral Creek substage of the Rocky Mountains glaciation, which they consider as the equivalent of the St. Johnsbury moraine of eastern North America.

Evidence is plentiful at all these sites that man had occupied North America at a time when the climate of the south-west was cooler and damper than now and when several now extinct mammals were still abundant. Antevs calls this the last pluvial phase of North America. In the basin of the Silver Lake, about 140 miles north-east of Los Angeles, he established that the primitive Mohave culture was contemporaneous with the overflow levels of the pluvial Lake Mohave. Since, in California, this 'pluvial' phase appears to have occurred somewhat later than the last mountain glaciation, that is according to Antevs's estimate between 25,000 and 20,000 years ago, the overflow levels in question and the enclosed culture are considered as at least 15,000 years old (Antevs, 1937). In a similar manner, Antevs determined the minimum age of the Cochise culture in Arizona as 10,000 years. All these datings are ultimately based on Antevs's varve counts in the northern part of the continent (Antevs, 1925*f*, 1936). Today, the radiocarbon method lets them appear in a fresh light (pp. 282, 341). See also Note (11), p. 406.

*The Problem of the annual character of the varves.* It has been assumed quite generally that varved sediments found in the neighbourhood of glaciers or glacial deposits display an annual rhythm. Whilst this is likely to be so in many cases, and perhaps in the majority, doubts have been cast on this assumption by several

workers. In the preceding paragraphs this difficulty has been referred to on one occasion only, namely in connexion with the varves of Denmark investigated by Sigurd Hansen (1940). In that country Anderson (1928) and also Hansen (1929) had pointed out long ago that certain varves have to be interpreted perhaps as 'day-laminae'. Both Antevs (1931) and Nordmann, therefore, agreed that the Danish varve deposits are best left out of geochronological considerations. But the difficulty is not restricted to Denmark. Schwarzbach (1940), for instance, studied varves, probably of Middle Pleistocene age, in Silesia and found that they contained short cycles perhaps corresponding to periods of weather. Other middle Pleistocene varves from Ipswich, England, also show subdivisions within major units marked clearly by clay bands, probably winter clay. The silt between two successive clay bands, up to 10 mm. thick, is subdivided by very fine and regular, dark and, occasionally, somewhat clayey lines. Their number varies from 0 to 16. It appears reasonable to interpret these deposits as another example of weather-lamination combined with true annual varving.

Furthermore, Schneider (1945) notes that even in the classical Swedish varve area not all varves need be annual. He reports that de Geer cut in his presence a sample of an 'undoubted' winter layer formed between two eskers and regarded by de Geer with certainty as a single-season deposit. This specimen was 4.6 cm. thick and contained four 'varves', proof that even in a late-glacial winter thawing took place occasionally. For this reason, Schneider is inclined to doubt the annual character of those parts of the varve series of the Faulensee in Switzerland for which Welten (1944) did not expressly establish an annual rhythm of sedimentation (see p. 91). In this he may be going too far, but his critical attitude illustrates the urgency of further research on the formation of varved sediments. It appears that we have in the past been too confident in the belief that all varves are annual.

### C. PRE-PLEISTOCENE VARVE-SERIES

*Varve countings in pre-Pleistocene formations.* The study of annual varves is by no means restricted to the late Ice Age of Scandinavia, Finland and North America. Glacial varves comparable with those of the Last Glaciation, but infinitely older, have been reported, for instance, from the Huronian Glaciation of North America (about 7 to 800 million years ago, compare Chapter X) and the early Cambrian or Precambrian Glaciation of Australia (Coleman, 1926; about 500 million years ago), the Permo-Carboniferous Glaciations of Australia (Süssmilch, 1922) and South Africa at Nooitgedacht near Kimberley (pl. XX, fig. A; Coleman, 1926; Haughton and du Toit, 1929; du Toit, 1930; about 220 million years ago),<sup>1</sup> and from glacial

<sup>1</sup> Also known from Brazil; see pl. V, fig. A.

deposits of Carboniferous age, called the Squantum Tillite and found in the neighbourhood of Boston, Massachusetts (Sayles, 1916). Proper countings have not yet been carried out in these early witnesses of glacial phases. Further examples and references may be found in Antevis (1925a), Schwarzbach (1950) and Banks (1955).

There are, however, laminated annual deposits which look exactly like glacial varves although they were formed under the influence of some other seasonal rhythm, such as wet and dry seasons, or alternation of chemical deposition of carbonate with biological deposition of plankton. Annual layers of this kind have been discovered and counted in various formations, and valuable results obtained for the duration of some of the earlier geological periods. Furthermore, most investigators concerned have recorded cyclic variation of the thickness of the varves (see p. 43). A few outstanding examples of varve-studies in pre-Pleistocene formations may be mentioned :<sup>1</sup>

(1) The Precambrian Nama Beds, South-west Africa. Age according to Radioactivity method (see p. 334) about 500 to 1,000 million years. Thickness of varves varying from 0.3–7 mm. Sunspot cycle observed (11.5 years). (See Martin and Korn, in Korn, 1938.)

(2) Shales of the upper Devonian and lower Carboniferous of Thuringia. Age according to Radioactivity method about 275 million years. Varves varying from fraction of mm. to about 10 cm. Duration of lower Carboniferous up to middle Visée horizon about 800,000 years. Cycles very distinct and numerous, especially 11.4 years (sunspot cycle), one of 23 years, of 56.5 years, of about 21,000 years (precession of equinoxes). (See Korn, 1938.)

(3) The Carboniferous varved shales of Paterson, New South Wales (Caldenius, 1938.)

(4) The Permian anhydrite of Texas. Age according to Radioactivity method about 200 million years. Layers in the Castile formation are probably annual. Apart from other rhythms, cycles from 11 to 14 years are prominent. (See Udden, 1924.) Other Permian anhydrite and salt deposits also have been interpreted as seasonal. (See Antevis, 1925a.)

(5) Upper Permian anhydrite, Harz Mountains, Germany. Cycles of about 11 units observed. (See Korn, 1938.)

(6) The varved sediments of the Permian Shihhotse Series in Shansi, North China. They were formed under a tropical climate with a dry and a wet season. (See Norin, 1924.)

(7) The varved sediments in the states of Trengganu and Pahang, Malay Peninsula. They were mapped as Triassic but are possibly upper Carboniferous. (See Fermor, 1939.)

(8) The Triassic Red Beds of Colorado. Age according to Radio-

<sup>1</sup> For further references compare *Rep. Comm. Meas. Geol. Time, Washington*, 1937, pp. 38–43.

activity method about 165 million years. Sandstones with indistinct, possibly annual, layers showing cyclic variation of thickness. (See Vail, 1917.)

(9) The middle Eocene Green River formation of Colorado, Utah and Wyoming. Age according to Radioactivity method about 50 to 60 million years. Varves of calcareous and organic mud. Cycles observed of a little less than 12 years (sunspot cycle), about 50 years, and 21,600 years (precession of equinoxes). Green River formation lasted about 5 to 8 million years. Total duration of Eocene about 23 million years. This agrees well with results of Radioactivity method (compare Chapter X). (See Bradley, 1929.)

(10) Oligocene freshwater clays, Linz on the Rhine, Germany. Cycles of about 11.5 years observed. (See Korn, 1938.)

(11) The fish shales of Glarus, Switzerland. They form part of the Oligocene Flysch formation and are marine. (See Heim, 1909, p. 331.)

(12) The laminated marls and shales of middle Sarmatian (upper Miocene) age, found near Gleichenberg, Styria. Age according to Radioactivity method about 20 million years. Formed in a shallow sea. (See Winkler, 1913, p. 577.)

(13) The upper Miocene marls and shales of Oeningen, near Lake Constance. Formed in freshwater lakes in a warm climate with a dry season. Lamination seasonal according to Heim, 1909, p. 331. (See also Heer, 1865, and Zeuner, 1936.)

These examples make it clear that work on varves is not restricted to glacial deposits and that a study of laminated beds of any age affords opportunities of establishing longer or shorter chronologies in years and of amplifying our knowledge of cycles. It is therefore not surprising that the same problems have been attacked in Recent and sub-Recent deposits. References to papers may be found in Bradley's excellent contribution (1929), and in Antevs, 1925a.

#### D. LONG-DISTANCE CORRELATION OF VARVE-SERIES

Returning from this excursion into remote periods to the Pleistocene Ice Age it remains to be said that varve-series dating either from the end of the Last Glaciation or from some earlier phase have been counted in many regions of the world apart from Fennoscandia and North America. As regards varve-sections dating from earlier phases of the Pleistocene, de Geer (1936) described some studied by Norin in the Sudeten Mountains, by Bettenstaedt south east of the Harz Mountains, and by Fraser, Trotter, and Ting in Scotland. All these are attributed to the Penultimate (Saale) Glaciation. Interesting though they are and important though they may become in the future, they cannot be linked up with definite dates at the present moment. They merely convey an idea of the time required for the formation of a certain deposit, or a phase of a glaciation, but

we cannot say with certainty how many years before the present they were deposited.

The same applies to a good many countings of varve-sections which are distributed over wide parts of the world and which are supposed to be of late Pleistocene age, i.e. roughly contemporary with the retreat of the last ice-sheet from Germany to the mountains of Scandinavia. Those from countries outside Scandinavia and eastern U.S.A. and Canada are contained in the following list :

European Alps (de Geer, 1932*b*; 1940, p. 227, pl. 90). About 25 localities, no details published.

Scotland (de Geer, 1935*c*, 1935*d*). At Dunning on the River Earn, south-west of Perth, 59 varves were counted. De Geer compared them with a series from Lyngby, near Copenhagen and dated them as from — 4313 to — 4371 of the Swedish scale, or early Gotiglacial.

Ireland (Charlesworth, 1939). One hundred and twenty years counted at the Silent River reservoir and at Martin's brick-pit, Belfast. Summer and winter layers distinct.

Iceland (H. Wadell, in E. H. de Geer, 1928).

Poland (Halicki, 1932; Krygowski, 1934; de Geer, 1935).

Estonia (*teste* de Geer, 1940).

Russia (Schostakowitsch,<sup>1</sup> Perfiliev,<sup>2</sup> de Geer, 1940, p. 232, pl. 90).

North-western Himalaya (Norin, 1925, 1926, 1927).

Newfoundland (Lundberg, 1929).

Southern Chile (Caldenius, in de Geer, 1929).

Argentina (Caldenius, 1932, and in E. H. de Geer, 1927, 1934).

New Zealand (Caldenius, in de Geer, 1940, p. 225, pl. 90).

East Africa (Nilsson in de Geer, 1934*b*). See Zeuner, 1945, p. 211.

*Teleconnexions.* Readers, however, who study some of the papers enumerated in this list, will notice that the authors, and especially de Geer himself, hold a more positive view than that expressed above, and consider themselves justified in dating varve-series found, for instance, in South America directly on the Swedish time-scale. The agreement of the annual variations in varve-thickness is claimed to be good enough for the purpose of direct correlation (de Geer, 1940, p. 35). Similarly de Geer (1926, 1935*b*) correlated varve-series obtained in North America with those of his home country, dating the former in years on the basis of the Swedish time-scale. To this practice of correlating varve-series over wide distances de Geer applies the term *teleconnexion* (see also p. 15). It is natural that the agreement of series from distant localities is less good than that of series from neighbouring localities, and similarities therefore are less easily detected. For this reason, de Geer employs

<sup>1</sup> Reference not traced.

<sup>2</sup> Reference to results not traced. Preliminary announcement, Perfiliev and Chernov (1939).

the method of the 'biennial maxima' described on p. 25 in order to simplify the curves and discover correlatable sequences. He is satisfied that, in this way, varve-series of North America, South America, the Himalayas, East Africa, and Iceland, can be correlated with, and dated in years by means of, the Swedish standard time-scale (fig. 11). It would indeed be a great help if this procedure were reliable.

But quite apart from the question of whether the Swedish time-

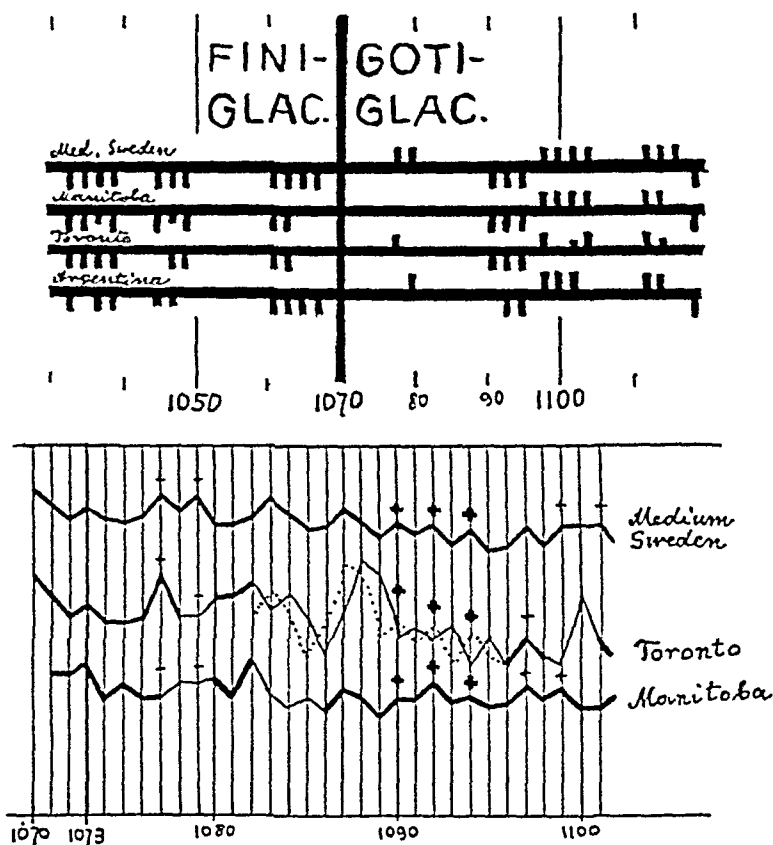


FIG. 11.—Plots of biennial maxima (above) and a varve diagram, illustrating de Geer's practice of 'teleconnexion'. The lower diagram shows several of de Geer's symbols (thick line, thin line, heavy cross, thin cross, minus sign for absent biennial maxima, &c., which are not always placed where one might expect to find them). The dotted line in the Toronto curve indicates a parcel of measurements shifted so as to agree more closely with the lower curve, on the assumption that a varve is missing.

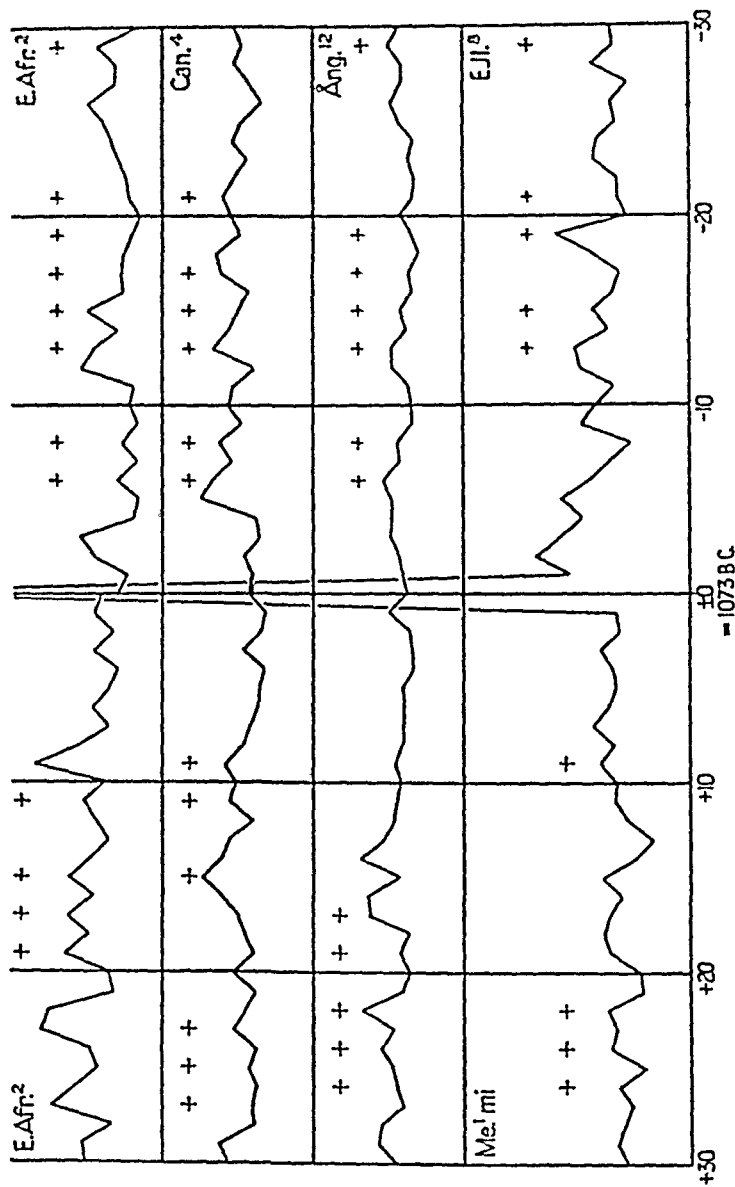
The upper diagram shows series of biennial maxima, including the section of the time-scale shown in the lower diagram, for Sweden (average curve), Manitoba and Toronto in Canada, and Argentina.—After de Geer, 1934.

scale can be regarded as final or not, serious objections have been raised against teleconnexions. Antevs in particular denies that teleconnexions are possible on the available evidence (1935). He says that the greater the distance between two localities the greater has to be the degree of accuracy required for the agreement of the curves, and expresses his view in the following words (slightly shortened) :

The relative thickness of the varves primarily records the summer weather: thick varves signify warm, clear, and long summers; thin varves denote cool, short, and foggy summers. However, the varves are not perfect records of the weather summer after summer, for the deposition of the clay and the thickness of the laminae were influenced frequently by other local conditions. Graphs from adjacent localities, however, usually match well. Those derived from widely separated localities in the same large lake, or from different lakes in the same limited region, normally show a less detailed, yet good agreement. Correspondence among curves diminishes, as the conditions of climate, ice wastage, and clay deposition diverge, and as the supply of meltwater and glacier mud changes. Finally, stages are reached when a considered correlation on the conformity among the curves is doubtful, or when no correlation can be made. The correlator himself decides when these border stages are reached. His responsibility is the greater, as the degree of correspondence that is needed to establish a correlation is reversed to the probable conformity of the graphs. Curves of adjacent clay deposits which were formed under similar conditions and which by striae, moraines, etc., are known to have been deposited at the same time may be correlated on much smaller resemblance than curves from widely separated regions. In other words, the more remote the clay localities, the greater conformity in the details of the curves is imperative.

Antevs further shows that de Geer uses the term 'biennial maximum' in a very wide sense and that thereby agreement is sometimes introduced in the curves where other investigators would hardly be inclined to admit it. The results of studies in teleconnexion, therefore, largely depend on the worker's inclination to find resemblances in the curves under consideration (fig. 12), and it is evident that correlations from continent to continent cannot, at present, be regarded as satisfactory. As yet, 'tele-dating' by means of varves can hardly be carried out successfully.

There is another important point concerning teleconnexion. The method implies that the summer-weather suffered the same or similar fluctuations in widely distant regions, since the thickness of the varves depends on the melting effects of summer-heat. Meteorological observations have not yet proved such parallelism of weather conditions between continents, and it is significant that whilst papers have been written which were intended to demonstrate parallelism of weather development in North America and Europe, other papers undertake to prove the contrary, i.e. an alternation



Me'mi. Very thin varves ('micro-varves') from Indal, Sweden, including the Zero drainage varve.  
 E.Jl.⁹. From Dövi-ken in the Rungunda valley, beginning with the zero varve.  
 Ång.¹². Angerman River valley.  
 Can.⁴. Haileybury, Timiskaming, Canada.  
 E. Afr.². Laminated lake deposits, East Africa.

FIG. 12.—Four sections of varve diagrams, dated and 'teleconnected' by de Geer. All symbols omitted, except crosses for those biennial maxima which were marked by the author. Except for very short stretches, the curves do not resemble each other, yet de Geer considered them as sufficiently similar for correlation.—After de Geer (1940, pls. 75, 76).



(for Greenland and Europe, Loewe, 1937). Further meteorological research of this kind is an essential preliminary to teleconnexion of varve-series.

#### E. CYCLES IN VARVE-SERIES

*Cycle analysis.* Before proceeding to the application of varve chronology to peat sections, raised sea-levels and, above all, human industries in Europe, the cycle phenomenon has to be considered. As in the case of tree-ring records, the variation in thickness of the annual layers in varve-sections is often to a certain extent periodical, groups of particularly thick or thin laminae appearing at more or less regular intervals. The average period of these cycles can be investigated by certain methods,<sup>1</sup> and the periodicities discovered in this way may then be interpreted. The most striking of all is that which equals or approaches the sunspot cycle (11.4 years). As explained in the first chapter, it is frequently observed in tree-ring records. In varved deposits, however, it is decidedly rare. Antevs (1929a) says that 'perhaps the most important result so far obtained from the analyses of the varve curves is the almost complete absence of the 11-year cycle in the curves studied by C. E. P. Brooks. The nearest approach to an 11-year periodicity is one of 10.4 years in a varve-series from Argentina, but even this has nothing of the compelling rhythm of the modern sunspot curve.' Subsequently it became apparent that in phases with weak sunspots the 11-year cycle is often absent, and Antevs, Brooks, Douglass, Glock, and Reeds now agree that, instead, a 10-year cycle is more frequently observed in glacial varves (fig. 13). This is sometimes called the 'dearth-cycle'. Its presence in tree-ring records of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was mentioned in the first chapter (p. 18), and it was found that during the same time the cycle of sunspots apparently was reduced to an average of 10.2 years (Douglass, 1936). Moreover, Antevs (1929b) claims that the glaciers of western Norway expanded between the end of the seventeenth and the middle of the eighteenth century. Douglass, who analysed for cycles Antevs's varve measurements from the Connecticut Valley (Douglass, 1933), found in some 4,000 years of varve records only two good examples of the 11-year cycle, covering not more than about 400 years. All this suggests that the weakness or absence of the 11-year sunspot cycle, and the presence instead of the 10-year dearth-cycle, may have something to do with deterioration of climate and with the increase of glaciers. One cannot state yet what the connecting factor actually is, though it is known that fluctuations of solar radiation are associated with sunspot fluctuations (p. 18). Several authorities therefore have suggested that fluctuations of solar radia-

<sup>1</sup> A. E. Douglass has spent much time on designing and improving such methods. See bibliography of Chapter I, Douglass, 1936.

tion, among other factors, are figured in the varve records. De Geer even goes so far as to call his varve plots 'solar curves', thus replacing in the term the observed phenomenon by one of its possible causes.

Various other cycles have been observed in varve records. Some of them, as those of 23 and 56 years, are reminiscent of similar cycles detected by meteorologists. A few of these cycles are referred to in the list of pre-Pleistocene varve deposits on p. 37, and others are mentioned in the reports on the second conference on cycles (see Antevs, 1929a, b). There is, however, one very long cycle which

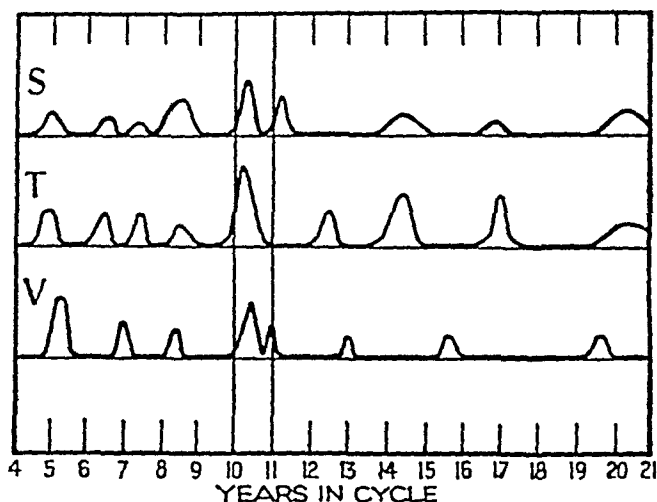


FIG. 13.—The 10-year dearth-cycle appearing in sunspots (S), tree-rings (T) and varves (V) from North America. These are not actual plots but diagrams showing the average frequency of cycles in a large number of plots. A cycle of just over 10 years stands out strikingly in all three diagrams, but otherwise the varve diagram contains cycles which differ appreciably from those of the other two.—After Douglass (1933) and Glock (1937).

needs to be discussed here, namely that of about 21,000 years. It has been observed in varved deposits by Bradley (1929) in the middle Eocene of the United States and by Korn (1938) in the lower Carboniferous of Germany. Furthermore, G. K. Gilbert (1895), who studied the regular alternation of limestone and shales in the upper Cretaceous of Colorado, came to the conclusion that this was caused by the astronomical rhythm known as the precession of the equinoxes the duration of which is about 21,000 years (see p. 136). It is, in fact, most surprising to find the same rhythm in varve shales of two other geological periods, and there confirmed by an actual counting of the annual layers. It will be shown later on that the precession

of the equinoxes had an important influence on the development of glacial and interglacial phases during the Pleistocene, and Bradley's and Korn's findings are extremely valuable evidence confirming the correctness of the astronomical chronology of the Pleistocene Ice Age and its human industries, which will be expounded in chapters V to IX.

The discovery of cycles of this kind has yet another bearing on our dating work. It shows that the length of the astronomical year has not altered, at least since the beginning of the Carboniferous. Otherwise, the shorter of the cycles observed could not agree so perfectly with corresponding cycles observed at the present day.

*Summary.* Summarizing briefly the results so far obtained by varve analysis the following points must be regarded as important.

(1) De Geer's method of analysing series of annual laminated deposits has provided a considerable number of shorter or longer time-scales in years, chiefly of late Pleistocene and Postglacial age.

(2) The most complete is that of the late Glacial and Postglacial of the Baltic region. It covers about 10,000 years and is linked up with the modern historical calendar.

(3) In North America a corresponding though less complete calendar has been worked out and suggestions regarding the age of man in America have been based on it.

(4) Cycle analysis has detected in varved deposits the sunspot cycle and that of the precession of the equinoxes among others, and thus provided evidence for solar influence on climatic fluctuations.

(5) It is necessary, however, to emphasize that the accuracy expressed by the use of exact dates A.D. and B.C. is largely fictitious. Whether the Baltic Ice Lake was drained in  $-1073 = 7912$  B.C., is doubtful, but it is most convenient to accept some such date to construct the time-scale on. De Geer himself has frequently used round figures instead of accurate dates. The time-scale used in the present book hinges on Lidén's work on the Ångerman River and on de Geer's latest pronouncements and corrections of earlier datings.

A further source of uncertainty lies in the correlation of the varve curves themselves. A glance at figs. 7 or 12 will show that the resemblance of the correlated sections sometimes leaves much to be desired, especially with regard to sections from different continents.

(6) In Denmark and some other places the annual character of the varves has been questioned.

Thus, varve chronology promises to produce results, and the time-scale for the last 10,000 years appears to be trustworthy. But more systematic research is needed to strengthen and to straighten out the fabric of cross-dated local chronologies.

## CHAPTER III

## APPLICATIONS OF VARVE ANALYSIS IN THE DATING OF PEAT-BEDS, AND ANCIENT BEACHES OF LAKES AND SEAS, CONTAINING HUMAN REMAINS AND IMPLEMENTS

*Introduction.* As in other geological dating work so in the chronology of the Postglacial and late Glacial, an intermediary 'relative chronology' is required which places the various human industries in relation to climatic or other geological phases established by geological evidence. As usual, the correlation of the archaeological finds with climatic phases has been the dominant subject of study, and the number of cases in which the absolute time-scale can be applied is decidedly small. These cases, however, serve as fixed points and therefore are important. Generally speaking, two ways are available for linking up prehistoric finds and varve-countings. The first applies to finds made in Fennoscandia on raised beaches which represent certain phases in the evolution of the Baltic Sea which, in turn, can be correlated with varve-sections. The other relies on finds made in peat or other organic or semi-organic sediments. The climatic phase during which these layers were formed is often determinable by means of botanical investigation, and, since the climatic development of the late Glacial and Postglacial depended on the recession of the ice, connexions with the phases of the Baltic, with certain moraines, or even with sections of varved clay, may be established. It is evident that, in this manner, varve dates can be linked up with certain events in climatic history and therefore with certain archaeological horizons, but owing to the several intermediaries the dating work is bound to progress slowly, and the results are usually reliable within certain limits only. Inaccuracy is introduced by the drawbacks of varve-counting itself (with its chances of missing varves and of counting the same series twice in different sections), by the difficulty of correlating sea-levels with the varves, the possibility of a time-gap between beach-formation and human occupation, the possibility of objects in peat-sections sinking through soft layers or being otherwise dislocated, and other factors. It is therefore not surprising that the calendars proposed by various workers do not agree entirely and are regarded as tentative by the authors themselves. As research goes on, however, evidence accumulates, and though the individual results may not be entirely satisfactory, if taken together they do afford information regarding the time during which a cultural phase was at its climax. T. Nilsson (1935) has demonstrated this for Scania (fig. 25), where the majority of finds belonging to some cultural phase are concentrated in certain levels of the peat sections.

From the Bronze Age onwards indirect historic dating greatly predominates over geological dating, and an unfortunate tendency of dating geological horizons by means of archaeological finds is sometimes observed.

Before reviewing some of the important localities a few more words have to be said about the two chief 'intermediaries', namely the raised beaches and the pollen-contents of peat-sections.

#### A. RAISED BEACHES OF THE BALTIC

The two causes of changes in area and geographical position of the Baltic are (1) the *eustatic* rise of sea-level and (2) the *isostatic* uplift of Fennoscandia.

*Eustasy.* (1) As the ice was melting at the end of the Last Glaciation, a large quantity of water, hitherto stored in the form of ice, returned to the ocean. The general water-level was thus made to rise gradually. Correspondingly, when a glaciation began, much water was absorbed in forming the ice-caps, and the sea-level fell. Such movements of the sea-level are called *eustatic*, and the phenomenon, *glacial eustasy*.

*Isostasy.* (2) On the other hand, as the process of melting went on over Fennoscandia towards the end of the Last Glaciation, the earth's crust in this particular area was gradually released from the considerable weight of the ice-cap. Under this weight, Fennoscandia had been elastically depressed during the glaciation and, as the ice was waning, the region responded and gradually rose again. It did so much more in the central parts than near the periphery (fig. 14). This 'isostatic' reaction, which still continues, inevitably influenced the geographical position of the Baltic Sea. In the early stages, when Scandinavia was deeply depressed, the Baltic covered a large portion of southern and middle Sweden, but as this zone emerged, the Baltic tended to spread southwards. At the same time (and this is the main point in connexion with dating) the beach-lines of the earlier phases were lifted up in Fennoscandia, and the more so the nearer they were to the centre of the uplifted region. The fossil shore-lines, therefore, of the Ice Lake, Yoldia Sea, and other stages of the Baltic now are no longer horizontal as they certainly were when the sea was building them. Instead, they rise northwards or inland as shown in fig. 15. This fact enabled workers in Finland and Scandinavia to reconstruct the development of the Baltic basin in great detail (Sauramo, 1939, 1955).<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the entire history of the Baltic can be interpreted as the result of the interplay of isostasy and eustasy.

*Raised beaches of the Baltic. Baltic Ice Lake.* In the region surrounding the waning ice-sheet of Fennoscandia a series of raised

<sup>1</sup> Numerous earlier papers on the subject will be found in the *Bull. Comm. géol. Finlande*. For geophysical discussion of isostasy, see Gutenberg (1941).

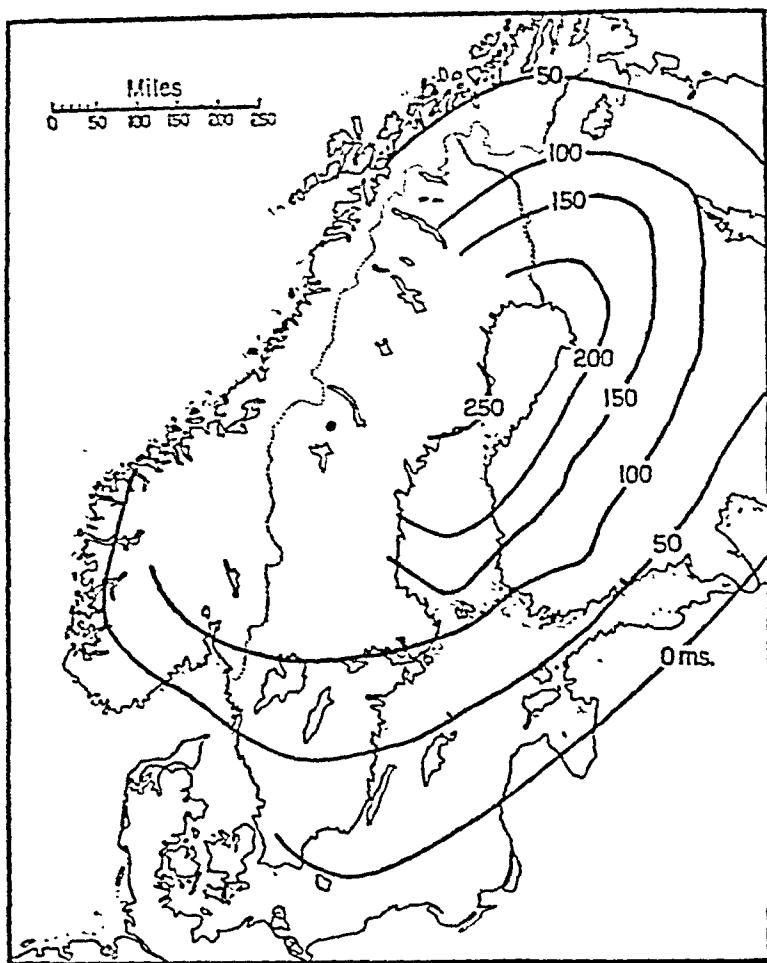


FIG. 14.—Map of the Baltic Region showing the isostatic rising of the beach of the first Rhabdonema Stage (Rha I) since about 6800 B.C. The centre of upheaval is a small area on the west coast of the Bothnian Gulf where this shoreline has by now risen to 250 metres above the sea-level. The amount of uplift decreases radially, and from Lake Ladoga through the Gulf of Riga to south Scania runs the hingeline along which the ancient beach has retained its original height. South of this line no movement, or even submergence, has taken place.—After Sauramo (1939).

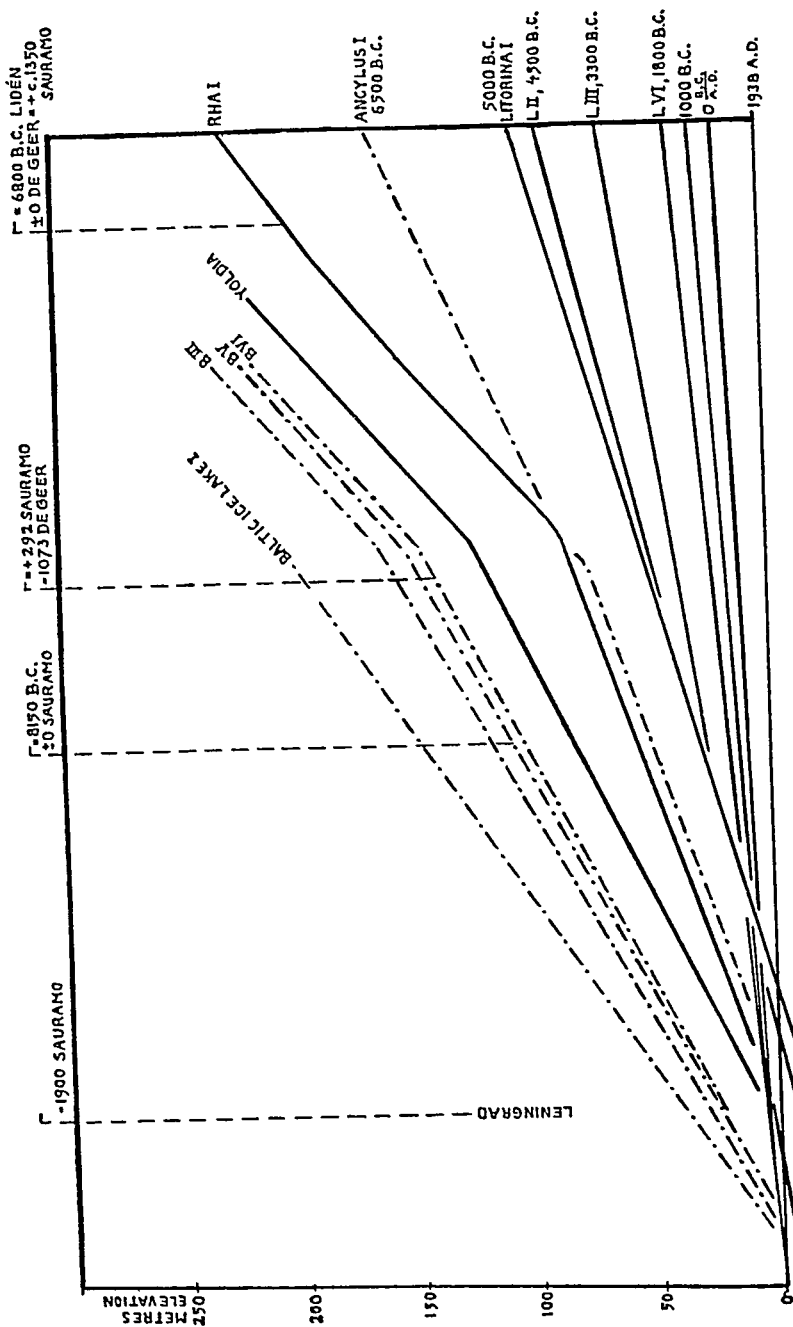
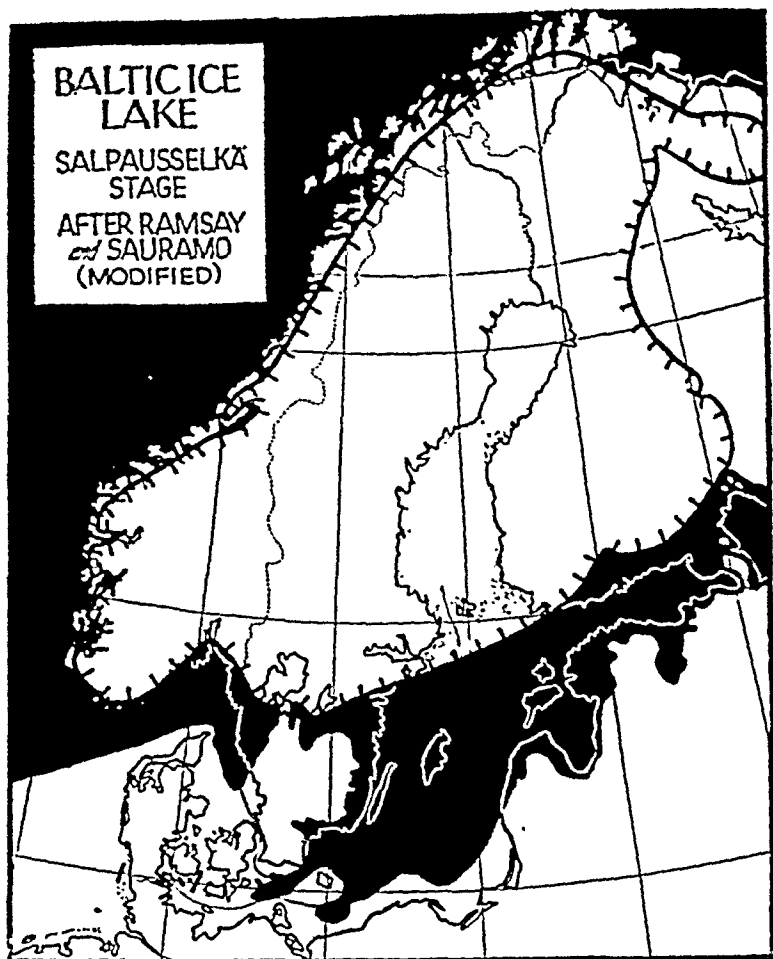


FIG. 15.—Diagram of the most important shore-lines of the Baltic, their present-day position, connexion with certain moraines, and dates based on varve countings. The older a shore-line, the greater its uplift. The uplift is increased also towards the centre of upheaval (on right of diagram, see fig. 14).  $\pm 0$  in Sauramo's chronology represents the second Salpausselkä Moraine in Finland. It is associated with Stage V of the Baltic Ice Lake.  $\pm 0$  in de Geer's chronology represents Ragunda Drainage varve. The Central Swedish Moraine is associated with Stage VI of the Baltic Ice Lake, and 292 years later than Sauramo's zero point.—Simplified, after Sauramo (1939).



FIGS. 16-19.—Four stages in the development of the Baltic Sea.

FIG. 16.—The Baltic Ice Lake at about 8800 B.C. Water escapes through the Billingen Gap. Climate of the ice-free region subarctic (Younger Dryas Time). This is the geographical background of early Mesolithic man (Ahrensburg, Lyngby, &c., cultures).

beaches was formed in late Glacial and Postglacial times.<sup>1</sup> During the maximum of the Last Glaciation the depression which is now filled by the Baltic Sea was entirely covered with ice, but when the ice-margin had retreated to some extent, a lake was formed which was supplied with meltwater and not yet connected with

<sup>1</sup> The same applies to the North American ice-sheets (pl. VI, figs. A, B).



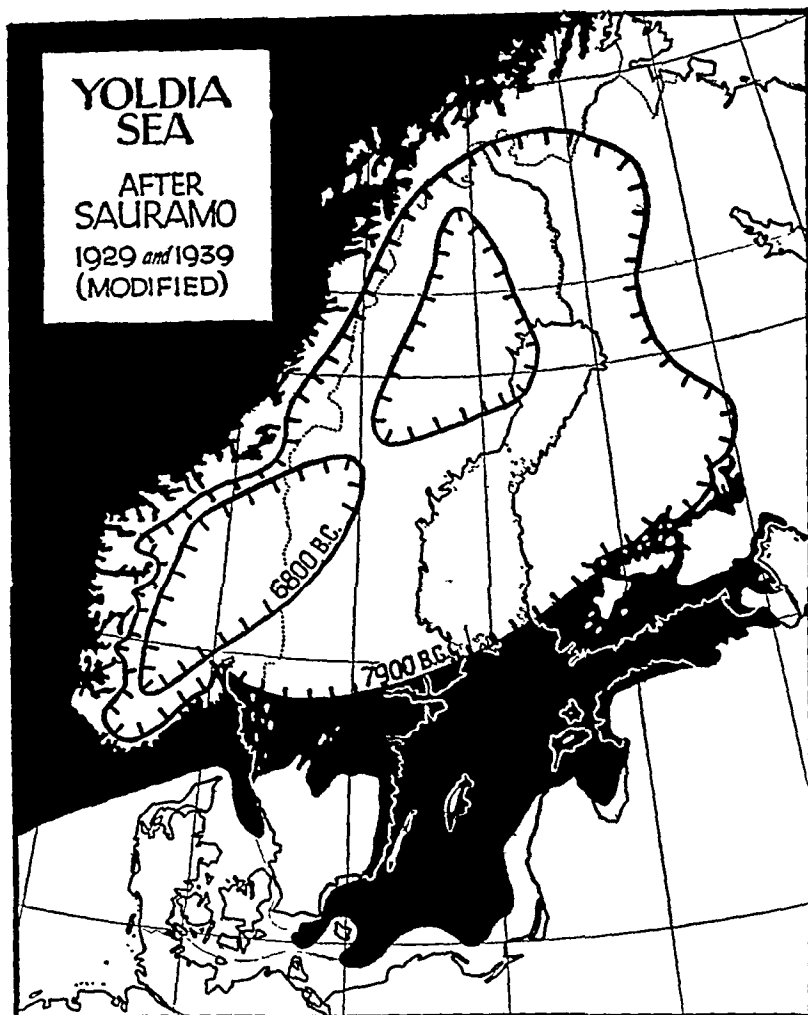


FIG. 17.—The Yoldia Sea at about 7900 B.C. South Scania connected with Denmark. Wide connexion with the North Sea. By about 6800 B.C., the ice had melted away to form two small separate areas ('bipartition' = de Geer's zero point), and the Bothnian Gulf had become part of the Baltic. This later phase is the 'First Rhabdonema Stage'. Climate of the ice-free region subarctic to Preboreal. This is the geographical background of Mesolithic man of the Mullerup, or Maglemose culture.

the ocean except by an overflow. This earliest phase is termed the *Baltic Ice Lake* (fig. 16); it ended when the ice had receded sufficiently to free the Billingen Gap in southern Sweden. This event was connected with the retreat from the Central Swedish Moraine, and it produced a sudden lowering of the Ice Lake level by about 28 metres (year - 1073 of de Geer's chronology, p. 28).

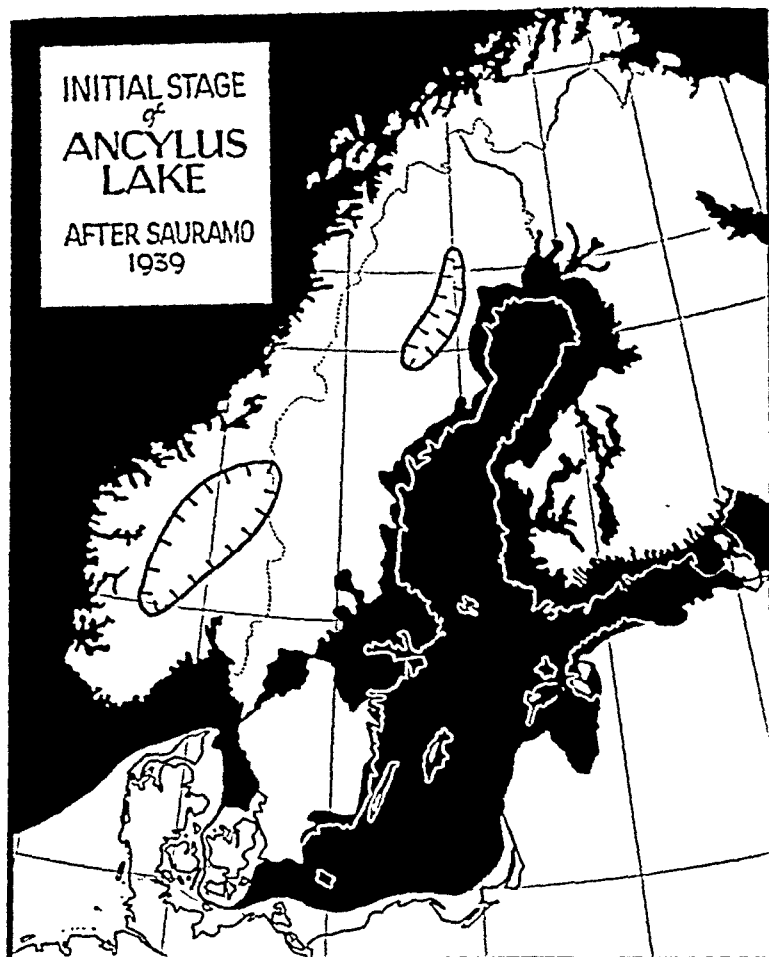


FIG. 18.—The Ancylus Lake at about 6500 B.C., drained by Svea River and Närke Sound. Climate Boreal. Maglemose culture continuing.

*Yoldia* Sea. Saltwater now entered the Baltic,<sup>1</sup> but owing to the presence of ice along its northern shores the temperature was still low, and arctic and subarctic shells lived in the water. Among them was the genus *Yoldia* after which this stage is called the *Yoldia* Sea (fig. 17).

*Ancylus* Lake. These conditions did not prevail for long, and in consequence of the isostatic upheaval of Scandinavia temporarily

<sup>1</sup> The complicated oscillations established by Sauramo (1934, 1930) are omitted here. See also Wright (1937, pp. 354-8).



FIG. 19.—An early stage of the Litorina Sea, at about 5000 B.C. Connexion with the North Sea through the Danish Sounds as to-day. Climate Atlantic. Following the Ertebølle or Kitchen-midden culture, Neolithic man appeared.—Several transgressions and minor regressions occurred. They were followed by a major regression, chiefly in the north and largely in connexion with the isostatic rising of Fennoscandia.

proceeding at a faster rate than the eustatic rise in sea-level, the Baltic once more became separated from the ocean, forming a lake with its surface about 30 metres above the present sea-level and with an outlet along the Svea River (von Post, 1928). After a typical genus of mollusca this second freshwater phase is termed the *Ancylus Lake* (fig. 18; for details, see Note (6), p. 403).

*Litorina Sea.* Later on, as the rise of the land slowed down

relative to the rise of sea-level, an open connexion was re-established with the North Sea, this time no longer across southern Sweden, but through the Danish Sounds only, whilst the southern (north German) coasts were partly submerged. This is the *Litorina Sea* (fig. 19) with the *Litorina transgression*, named after the Common Periwinkle (*Litorina littorea* L.).

The interference of this eustatic rise of the sea with the isostatic rise of the land had the result that the maximum transgression (which produced the highest Litorina beach-line) occurred at different times in different areas. In the north (e.g. in Finland), where the isostatic rise was rapid, the first Litorina beach represents the maximum of the transgression; it has since been raised to a considerable height, at a rate which was greater than that of the rise of the sea-level (fig. 15).

In the south, however (e.g. in Denmark), the rise of the land (if any) was slower than that of the sea, so that the sea gained on the land until, after several oscillations, the eustatic maximum was reached. Here, the highest Litorina beach is therefore the latest.

The '*Litorina maximum*' has, in the past, often been regarded as an event which proved contemporaneity all over the Baltic. That this is not so has been established by Troels-Smith, (1937, 1942), Iversen (1937) and others. Details of the transgressive phases of the Litorina period in Denmark are discussed in Chapter IV (p. 78).

*Limnaea and Mya phases.* The present-day beach-line is, as a rule, below the highest Litorina level everywhere around the Baltic. Since the outlines of the present Baltic were established by the Litorina transgression, one might say that this stage still continues. Actually, its later sub-stages have received special names, *Limnaea* phase, and *Mya* phase, respectively.

This, in a very few words, is the story of the Baltic Sea. Detailed research has revealed a great many complications and the actual course of events was not so simple as outlined above. Those interested in the matter may be referred to Sauramo's latest work (1939) for Finland, and that of Iversen and Troels-Smith for Denmark.

*Prehistoric sites on ancient beaches.* Many phases of the Baltic are closely connected with deposits of varved clay formed in the neighbourhood of the ice-margin which, for a considerable time, itself formed the northern shore of the sea. Moreover, Sauramo and de Geer found that changes of salinity, as they occurred for instance when the Ice Lake was replaced by the Yoldia Sea, left their traces in the varved clays. For these reasons certain ancient shore-lines could be dated in years (compare fig. 15). On the other hand some of the prehistoric sites, especially those of the Kitchen-midden culture (Ertebölle) are situated on certain ancient beaches

and their industries have not been found below the height of sea-level corresponding to these beaches. The example of the Esbo and Kyrkslätt district in southern Finland (fig. 20) is clear enough. Here, kitchen-midden dwelling-sites are almost entirely restricted to the shore-line indicating the highest level of the Litorina Sea at an altitude of 34 metres. Elsewhere, this sea-level has been

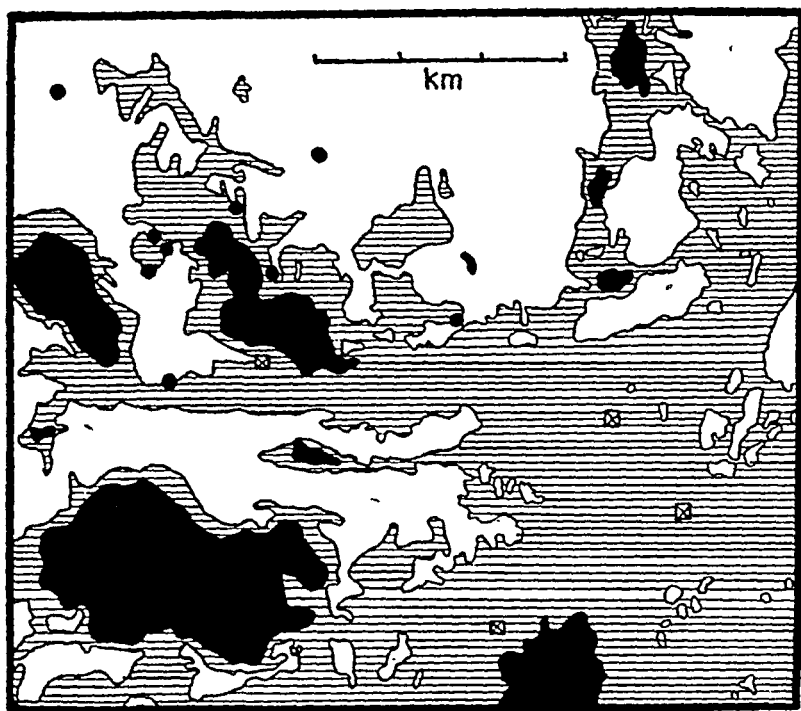


FIG. 20.—The dwelling-places of the Kitchen-midden culture in the district of Esbo and Kyrkslätt in south Finland, in relation to the beach-line of the maximum transgression of the Litorina Sea.

White : Land during the Litorina phase.

Black : Water at the present day.

Hatched : Areas submerged during the Litorina phase.

Black circles : Kitchen-midden sites.

Squares : Present-day settlements.

The association of the Kitchen-midden culture with the beach-line of the Litorina Sea is evident.—After Europæus, and Sauramo, 1929.

correlated with varves and dated in years. It is in this indirect way that a number of prehistoric industries in the Baltic region and on the west coast of Scandinavia have been dated. Results thus obtained will be described later on, after an outline has been given of the second important intermediary method required to establish a late Glacial and Postglacial chronology.

## B. BOTANICAL METHODS AND CLIMATIC PHASES

This other line of research is almost entirely botanical and based on the lake and peat deposits which have accumulated since the ice receded from the area under investigation. In a few important cases such deposits were found resting on varved clays or on raised beaches, or they could be safely connected with either of these or with moraines. The results of varve-countings, therefore, could be applied and approximate dates in years obtained for the deposits as well as for any enclosed prehistoric industries.

*Lake deposits and peats.* The lake deposits and peats are studied in the first instance in order to reconstruct the plant associations which, in turn, indicate certain climatic conditions. The deposits in question may be classified as follows (based on Gams, and Godwin, 1938):

## I. Freshwater deposits:

Gravel } chiefly deposited from moving water, with little or  
Sand } no action of organisms.  
Clay }

Marl: clay with a large amount of calcium carbonate which sometimes is of organic origin.

Nekron mud (gyttja, sapropel): chiefly organic lake deposits derived from plankton and other organisms.

Gel mud (dy): colloidal humic material often derived from peat bogs, carried in solution by the water, and precipitated.

## II. Peats growing under or at the water level:

*Phragmites* peat (peat formed by the Common Reed and similar plants growing in shallow water).

*Equisetum* (horse-tail) peat and other varieties.

## III. Peats growing above the water level:

*Sphagnum* peat (moss peat).

*Calluna* peat (heather peat).

Pine-bog peat.

Brushwood peat.

Grass-bog peat.

*Eriophorum* peat (Cotton-grass peat).

Of these sediments by far the most important are the various kinds of peat.<sup>1</sup> The second in importance are the nekron muds. Plant remains are, as a rule, abundant, especially the minute grains of wind-transported pollen caught on the wet surface of the bog or the water itself. Remains of leaves and seeds also are found frequently. In addition, diatoms, remains of insects, fishes, &c., may be observed, but it is the contents of tree pollen that afford the real basis for a climatic analysis of the deposit.

<sup>1</sup> A useful summary on peats is by Fraser (1943).

*Macroscopical plant-remains.* The coarser remains of plants contained in the sample are washed out and examined macroscopically or under a low-power microscope, and seeds and leaf-remains are determined. Before the time of pollen-analysis this was the only method used. It was brought to high perfection by Clement Reid in his studies on the Pleistocene flora of Britain, and by Blytt and Sernander in Scandinavia.

*Technique of pollen-analysis.* In the finer material, fossil pollen-grains occur, having been brought in large numbers by wind. The pollen-contents of a peat are more or less characteristic of the tree-associations that grew in the neighbourhood of the spot under investigation, and it is therefore worth while to submit them to a close examination. This method, developed chiefly by Lennart von Post and now used very widely in many countries, is called *pollen-analysis*. See Note (12), p. 406.

For the analysis a small quantity of the material is treated with sodium or potassium hydroxide or some other dissolving agent which removes most of the organic matter but leaves the pollen which is extremely resistant. Centrifuging is often useful to separate the light pollen from the heavier grains of inorganic matter. The pollen is then studied under a microscope, the grains of each genus or species present are counted and the percentages of frequency calculated.

*Presentation of results.* In tabulating the result many authors exclude the hazel (*Corylus avellana*) from the total of 100 per cent. and instead add it as a supernumerary component, as shown in the following instance :

Depth (cm.)	Pine	Spruce	Alder	Birch	Willow	Mixed Oak Forest	Hazel
(I) 85	6.7	74.0	10.0	4.4	—	4.7	15.3
(H) 100	17.3	62.7	5.3	3.3	—	11.3	4.7
(G) 115	8.7	58.7	18.0	5.3	—	9.4	12.7
(F) 130	12.0	58.5	13.5	4.5	0.5	11.0	35.5
(E) 145	54.4	32.2	3.9	2.4	0.5	6.0	12.2
(D) 160	84.0	12.7	1.3	2.0	—	—	8.7
(C) 175	83.5	2.5	1.0	8.5	3.5	0.5	3.0
(B) 190	74.5	1.0	—	12.5	12.0	—	1.0
(A) 205	95.0	—	—	4.5	0.5	—	—

Table showing the pollen-contents of the Weisswasser bog, Glatzer Schneegebirge, Sudeten Mountains. From L. Stark, *Bot. Jahrb.*, vol. 67, 1936.—Illustrates the method of excluding the hazel from the total of 100 per cent. It also shows the early Postglacial development of vegetation in Central Europe, from a pine-phase (A), pine-birch-phase (B), hazel-phase (F), to the mixed-oak-forest (H). Superimposed on this development is the immigration of the spruce, a tree preferring a continental climate and typical of mountainous regions in Central Europe. This bog is 830 metres above sea-level.

The reason for this procedure is that hazel produces pollen in great abundance. It therefore tends to dominate in samples derived from spots close to which one or a few hazel-shrubs were growing, and

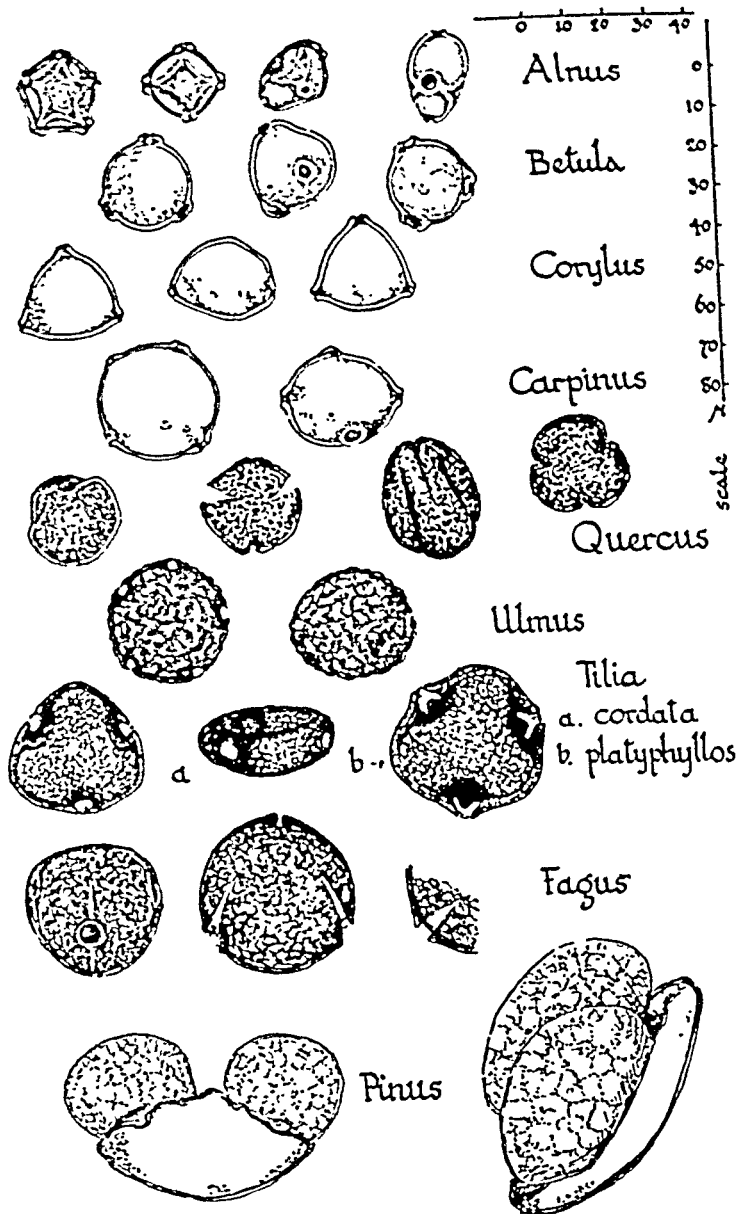


FIG. 21.—Pollen-grains of the more important trees as found in Postglacial deposits. From Godwin (1934), with permission.



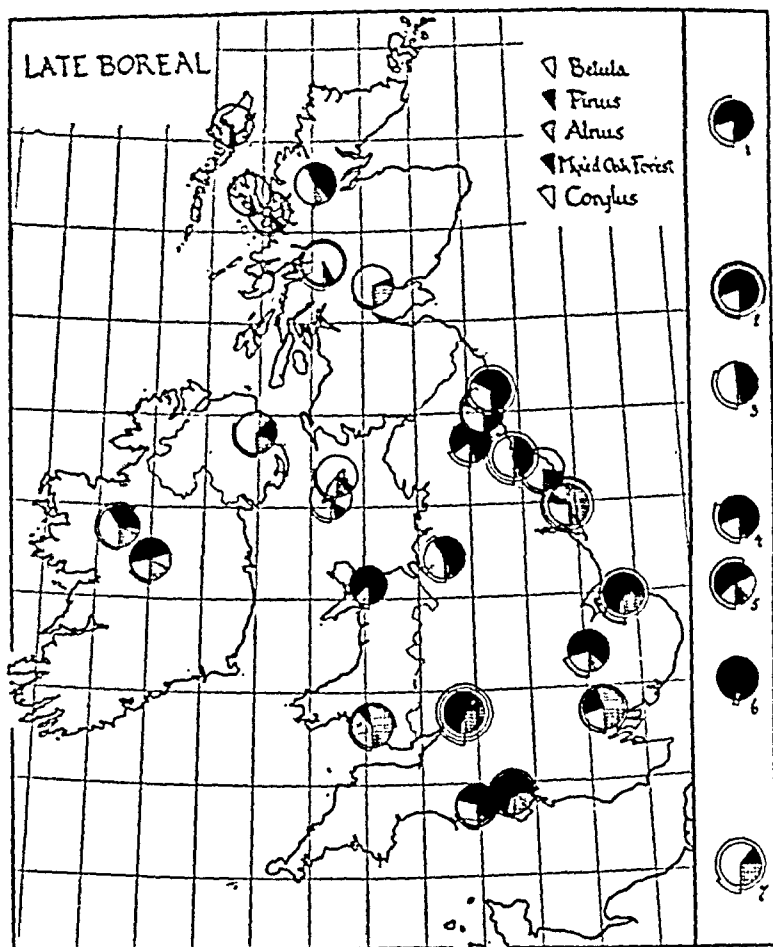
its frequency cannot always be regarded as representative of the frequency of the species in the plant association. To a lesser degree the same applies to other species also, and this is why some workers prefer to treat all groups on an equal footing. Only where pollen of grass and herbaceous plants are included in the diagram, is it usual to add these as a surplus to 100 per cent.

One of the principal aims of pollen-analysis is to study the changes in the composition of the tree- or forest-flora. It is therefore most essential to investigate complete sections from which samples are taken at close intervals. A single sample cannot show the alterations in the composition of the flora in the course of time, though in well-investigated districts a trace of peat on an implement that has been kept in a collection for many years, may be sufficient to identify the level from which it came (compare Nilsson, 1935).

The results of pollen-analyses are often given in the form of diagrams rather than in tables (compare von Post, 1929*b*). Certain symbols are used for the various kinds of pollen, as for instance in fig. 31. The use of different symbols is avoided in another kind of diagram which shows each species separately. Naturally, the scale is smaller, but the changes stand out very clearly (fig. 33). For use on maps, circles are the appropriate means of demonstration. A circle with sectors giving the frequency of the most important species in the local pollen-spectrum can be inserted on a map exactly where the locality lies, and maps constructed in this way are eminently suitable for regional work (figs. 22, 23). Some authors use one map for each genus or species of tree and vary the size of the circles with the frequency of the pollen in the local spectrum (fig. 24). The circle methods show the essential features at a glance, but inevitably they are less accurate, and they cannot entirely replace tables or large-scale diagrams.

For the purpose of understanding the chronological import of pollen-analysis there is no need to go into greater detail. Those who are more particularly interested in the matter may be referred to Godwin's (1934, 1941) and Erdtman's (1943) summaries of the method and its potentialities. Further treatises on the principles and practice of pollen-analytical datings have been published in many countries. Bertsch's (1942) *Lehrbuch* comprises an excellent atlas. The most up-to-date text-book is by Faegri and Iversen (1950).

*Climatic phases of the Postglacial.* As a result of intensive research it has become clear that the climate has undergone marked fluctuations since the Last Glaciation. They were first recognized in the latter half of the nineteenth century by Blytt and Sernander who worked on the macroscopic remains of plants in southern Scandinavia, and they have since been largely confirmed by pollen-analysis.

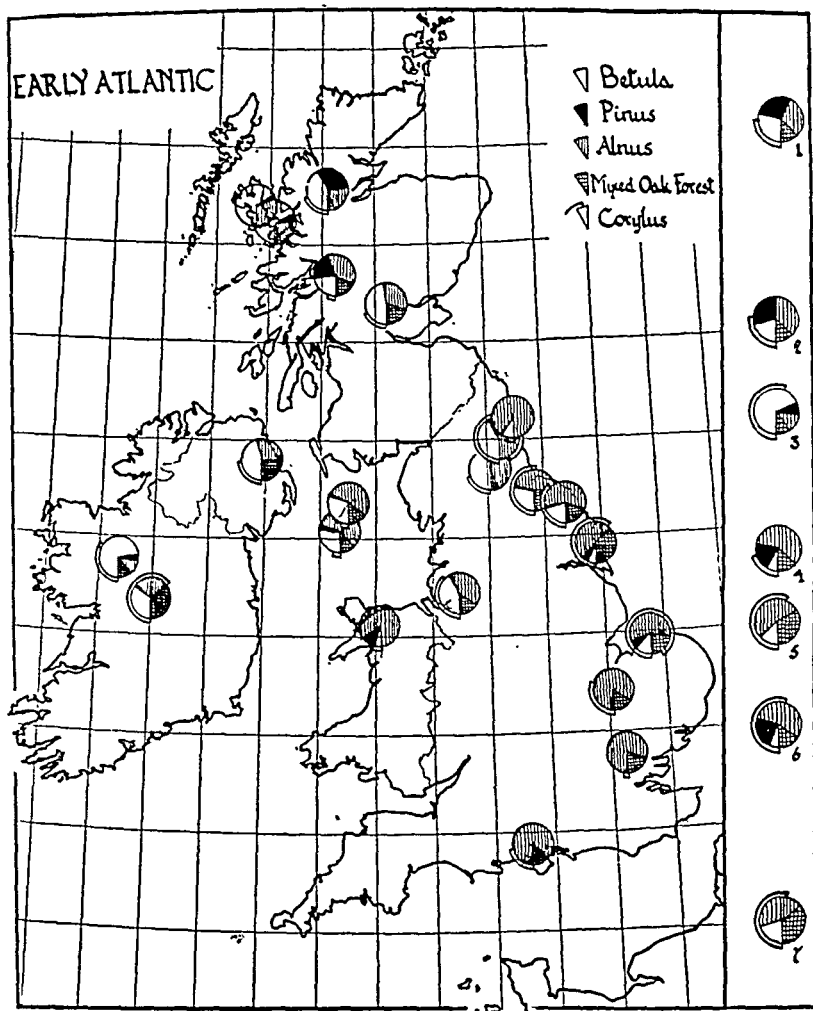


FIGS. 22 and 23.—The percentage pollen composition of samples of the late diagrams of the sectorial type, 360 degrees being equal to 100 per cent. The Birch. Hatched: Alder. Crossed: Mixed Oak Forest.

The columns on the right of each figure are analyses of comparable age from is shown at its proper geographical latitude. They are (1) Göteborg, Sweden, Germany, (5) Valthermond, Holland, (6) Soesterveen, Holland, (7) south Belgium.

Reproduced from Godwin (1934,

*Late Glacial phases.* Blytt and Sernander's original subdivisions comprise (1) a *Subarctic* phase following immediately after the retreat of the ice from the region under investigation. The term 'subarctic' is not satisfactory since the climate must have differed from the present arctic climate owing to the much lower geographical latitude. The term 'subglacial' has been suggested by Hyypä.



Boreal (22) and early Atlantic (23) in the British Isles. Represented by circular hazel is exempted and shown by subsidiary circles. Black : Pine. White :

lowland stations on the North Sea border of the Continent and the Baltic. Each (2) Schona, south Sweden, (3) Zeeland, Denmark, (4) Dannenberg, north-west

figs. 18, 19), with permission.

It is pre-occupied by its use in connexion with meltwater channels. It appears best, however, to use the term Late Glacial. *Preboreal*, which was sometimes applied to part or the whole of the Late Glacial phase, is now applied to the transition to the Boreal phase, and usually placed at the beginning of the Postglacial period.

The Late Glacial (subarctic) phase begins with the earlier *Dryas* time, so named after a characteristic plant found in tundra-like environments. Treeless biotopes with tundra and grasslands prevailed though dwarf willows and birches, and perhaps a few pines, were present. The older *Dryas* time, the duration of which may have been considerable, appears to comprise one or more minor fluctuations, such as the Bölling oscillation of Iversen (1942), the Bröndmyr interstadial of Faegri (1940) and the 'Alleröd I' which Gross (1937) found in East Prussia.

*Alleröd oscillation.* In many localities, the earlier *Dryas* time is followed by a very remarkable oscillation, called the *Alleröd oscillation*. This was a time with climatic conditions more genial than before and after, when trees were able to grow in places from which they disappeared once more during the later *Dryas* time. In other words, it appears to have been a phase with a generally higher temperature, or with a continental climate with hotter summers and possibly colder winters. In the varve chronology, the Alleröd oscillation is placed at about 9000 to 10000 B.C. by Milthers, the ice having been on Danish soil as late as a little before 11000 B.C., whilst the later *Dryas* time corresponds to the Fennoscandian moraines. The Alleröd fluctuation has been discussed by Godwin (1947) and Firbas (1949). *See: 74, 76, 104*

*Blytt and Sernander's subdivisions.* The remainder of the Post-glacial was divided by Blytt and Sernander into four parts, namely the *Boreal* phase, which was of a continental character, comparatively warm and dry; the *Atlantic* phase, which was oceanic in character, humid and mild; the *Subboreal* phase, supposed to have been drier and more continental; and finally the *Subatlantic* phase, which is marked by a return to cooler and more oceanic conditions. The continental character of the Subboreal has since been doubted and some recent authors consider it as merely a phase transitional between Atlantic and Subatlantic (see pp. 64, 107). According to von Post (1924) the evolution of the forests of south Sweden during these four phases may be summarized as follows.

(1) *Boreal.* At the beginning of this period there immigrated the first forest-forming trees requiring a comparatively warm climate. (*Preboreal*). The dominating types of the Boreal forest were made up of pine and birch, with alder and mixed oak forests (forests with elm and lime in addition to oak) as generally subordinate associates. In parts, hazel woods had a great extension. Later during the Boreal, mixed oak forests and forests of the river-floodplain type ('*Auwälder*') spread and replaced the hazel woods.

(2) *Atlantic.* The mixed oak forests culminate, and the hazel now mainly occurs as undergrowth. No regional differentiation is observed in south Sweden except that determined by latitude and character of the soil.

(3) *Subboreal*. The mixed oak forests, alder and hazel now begin to retreat. The reduction of the mixed oak forest is less striking in south-west Götaland where *Quercus sessiliflora* now begins to increase. Pine also increases. Beech (*Fagus silvatica*), hornbeam

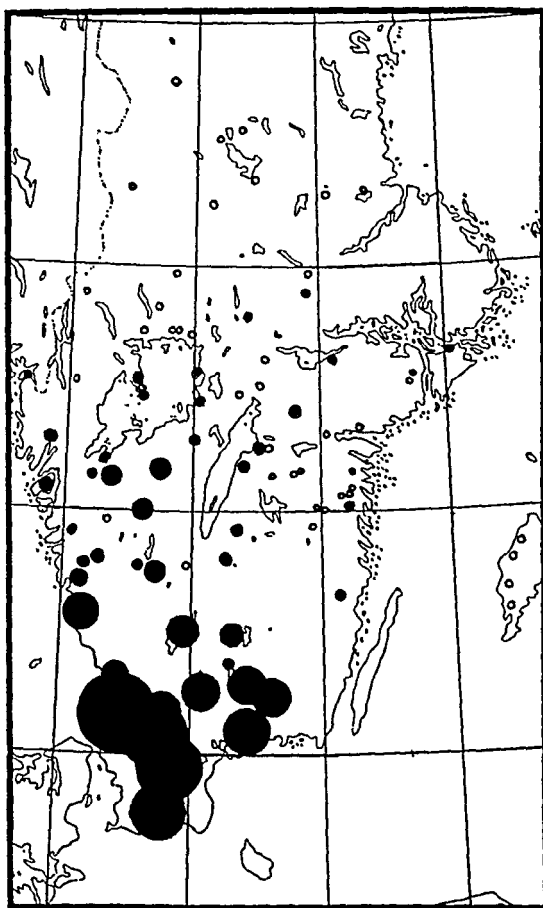


FIG. 24.—Distribution of beech and hornbeam during the middle Subatlantic in Scania. Frequency shown by the size of the black circles, the largest being 80 per cent., the smallest 1-3 per cent. Small white circles indicate localities from which the pollen in question is absent. At this period the two trees occupied several localities north of their present area of continuous distribution.—After von Post (1924), slightly simplified.

(*Carpinus betula*) and spruce (*Picea excelsa*) are added, but as yet are rather subordinate as forest-forming elements.

(4) *Subatlantic*. The retreat of the mixed oak forest continues. During the middle of this period the beech culminates in the south-west of the region, replacing the hitherto dominating *Quercus sessiliflora*. The spruce continues to extend its area.

*Regional applicability of subdivisions.* More or less similar subdivisions can be distinguished not only in south Sweden generally but for instance in Finland, north and south Germany, and the British Isles also. Even in the area of the North Sea the Boreal is well known from the Dogger Bank (see Godwin, 1934, p. 341), from which a fair amount of peat has been dredged and studied.

*The Grenzhorizont and the Subboreal.* The conception of the *Grenzhorizont* ('boundary horizon') was introduced by Weber about 1910 for the north-west German succession. At the horizon so named a change was observed from highly humified older peat to a less humified *Sphagnum*-peat. Weber interpreted it as the result of a period of sub-aerial weathering, during which the older peat disintegrated. It therefore would represent a dry period, and this was generally thought to be the Subboreal of Blytt-Sernander. This view was for some time current, especially in Germany, though there were dissentient voices. A different explanation of the *Grenzhorizont* emanated from Sweden, according to which it is due to a change in the rate of peat-growth from a slow one (allowing humification to begin in the layers near the surface) to one so fast that the structure of the plants is more completely preserved. Moreover, sections with several such horizons were found, and they were re-named 'recurrence' levels (*Rekurrenzflächen*; for Sweden, see Granlund, 1932). It has since been found that the recurrence surfaces regarded as Weber's *Grenzhorizont* are not contemporaneous; hence their value as evidence for the 'dry' character of the Subboreal is very doubtful.

The climatic character of the Subboreal is perhaps more clearly preserved in the areas away from the wet habitats of the peat bogs which have so far provided most of the climatic evidence. In the Rhine valley and elsewhere in central Europe, buried soils suggest a period of comparatively hot summers comprising the 'End-neolithikum' and Urnfield periods (Lais, 1940; Zeuner, 1951). This non-botanical evidence deserves to be taken seriously, as it provides a check independent of pollen-analysis.

*New detailed subdivisions. Sweden.* In recent years a new series of subdivisions has been worked out which embodies more details and at the same time enables one to avoid Blytt and Sernander's terms which many workers consider as unsatisfactory partly because of the doubtful character of the Subboreal. It was elaborated for middle Sweden (von Post, 1928) and by Nilsson (1935) for Scania (south Sweden), and may be summarized as follows:

#### A. *Postglacial*

- I. Climax of beech forest.
- II. Beginning of beech forests.
- III. Transition from the period of mixed oak forests to that of beech forests.

IV. Mixed oak forests, late phase. Elm and lime play a more subordinate part compared with oak.

V. Early phase of fully-developed mixed oak forest. Oak dominant, but elm and lime frequent.

VI. Transition from VII to V. Elm dominant or alternating with oak. Lime increasing.

VII. Beginning of alder-mixed oak forests. Alder increases at the base and dominating in the middle of this zone. Mixed oak association increases, hazel decreases.

VIII. Hazel zone. Mainly birch, pine and hazel, pine attaining its Postglacial climax.

IX. Birch-pine zone. Birch dominates over pine.

#### B. *Late Glacial*

X. Younger Dryas Time. Much less pollen than in Postglacial zones. Birch more frequent than pine.

XI. Allerød phase. Pollen more frequent than in X and XII. Birch dominates over pine.

XII. Dryas Time. Pollen rare. Pine dominates over birch.

*Denmark.* Jessen (1935) has introduced new divisions for Denmark. Unlike von Post's and Nilsson's Swedish zones, his zones are counted from the *lowermost upwards* as follows :

#### B. *Postglacial period*

IX. Beech zone (Subatlantic). Beech the typical tree ; spruce in north Jutland. Earliest strata indicate swamping of the relatively dry surface of the Subboreal bogs. Iron Age finds always above this limit.

VIII. Later part of the Mixed Oak Forest zone (late Atlantic and Subboreal). Latest Stone Age, and Bronze Age.

VII. Early part of Mixed Oak Forest zone (larger part of Atlantic). Flourishing of oak forests. Lime prominent. The Litorina transgression, the Ertebölle (kitchen-midden) culture and presumably the earlier part of the Neolithic belong to this phase.

VI. Hazel zone (Late Boreal). In most diagrams a high maximum of hazel occurs. Pine reduced ; elm, oak, alder and lime increasing. Maglemose culture.

V. Pine zone (Early Boreal). Pine dominates. Maglemose culture.

IV. Birch-pine zone (Preboreal, or transition from Subarctic to Boreal). Birch dominant, pine increasing. Nörre-Lyngby arrow-head presumably from beginning of this zone.

#### A. *Late Glacial*

III. Later Dryas period (Upper Dryas clay). *Dryas* flora. Maximum of pollen of pine and willow, but pine pollen probably

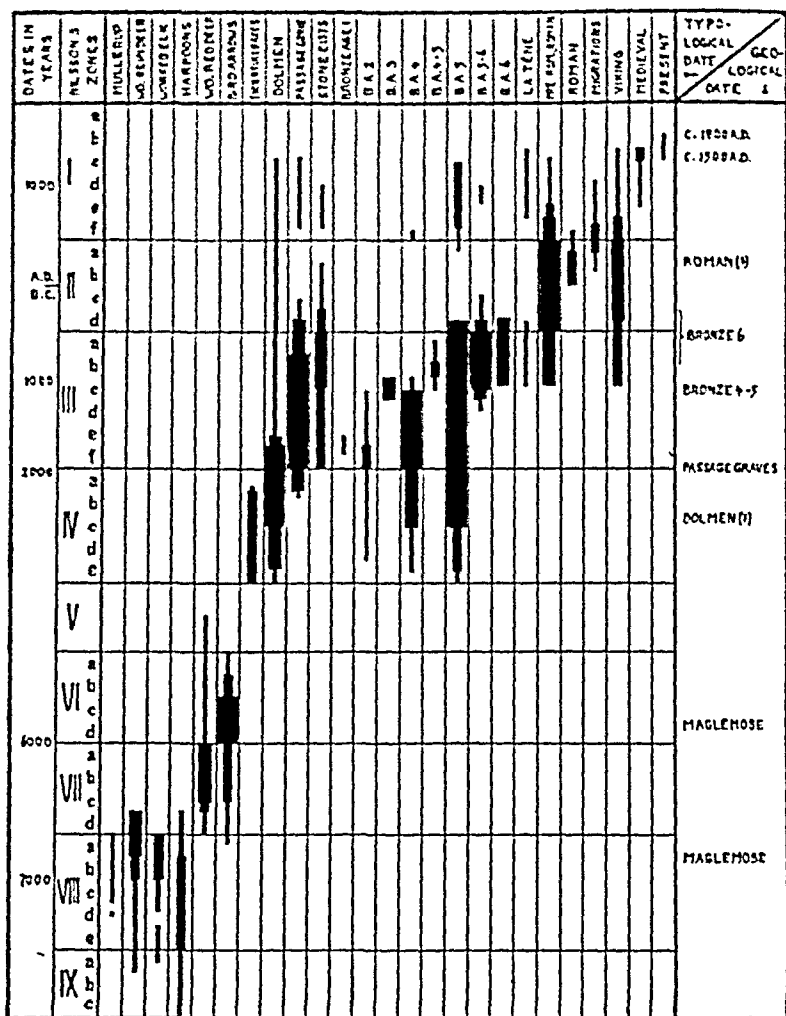


FIG. 25.—The stratigraphical distribution of archaeological finds in Scania. Objects dated typologically were fitted by Nilsson into the climatic sequence on the evidence of pollen found attached to them. Since many objects were contaminated, or had been displaced by sinking into a lower horizon or by other disturbances, the stratigraphical records sometimes cover a period far surpassing the actual period of use of the object. Taking into consideration the degree of precision obtainable in the various localities, Nilsson arrived at the geological dates given in the column on the extreme right.

The terms of the top row of the table explain themselves, except 'worked' reindeer, elk and red deer, which refer to axes made of these materials; 'harpoons' meaning bone points, and 'bird arrows' meaning bone points fitted with flint.—Based on Nilsson (1935).



derived from some distance, no macroscopic remains of pine having been found. The same applies to II and I. Lyngby culture.

II. Alleröd oscillation. Birch forest. Maximum for pollen of birch.

I. Earlier Dryas period (Lower Dryas clay). *Dryas* flora. Maximum for pollen of pine and willow.

These subdivisions have proved to be particularly convenient. They have been applied (though with different numbering) to England by Godwin, as will be shown later on (p. 92). For further details concerning Sweden and Denmark, compare p. 76.

*Postglacial climatic optimum.* So far, one important observation has not yet been mentioned here, namely that of a distinct maximum in the spreading of warmth-loving plants in Europe. At some time during the Postglacial, certain warmth-loving plants were more widely distributed than at present, reaching higher latitudes as well as higher altitudes. A climatic explanation has been put forward for this phenomenon. A valuable account of the evidence was provided by Bertsch (1935), and a chapter in W. B. Wright's book on the Quaternary Ice Age (1937) is devoted to what is generally called the *Postglacial climatic optimum*. Bertsch mentions no fewer than twelve species which at some time during the Postglacial extended farther north than now in the Baltic region. Particularly interesting are the hazel (fig. 26), and the Slender Naias (*Naias flexilis*, fig. 27). In the Alps the retreat of the flora since the climatic optimum is equally obvious. Here, the limit of the trees was two to four hundred metres higher than at present, and the limits of the more sensitive species were correspondingly higher than now. From observations made in Scandinavia Andersen calculated that the annual mean temperature has dropped by 1.9–2.7 C. since the Postglacial optimum, and Bertsch arrives at 2.0–2.5 C. for the Alps.

The maximum of this warm phase of the Postglacial coincides in many regions with the later part of the Atlantic, but evidence for conditions warmer than now extends over a long space of time, from the Boreal to the Subboreal. The maximum seems not to have been reached everywhere at the same moment. It may be that optimum conditions occurred earlier in south Germany than in Scandinavia. Bertsch dates them for south Germany at about 8000 B.C., during the Mesolithic (Boreal), whilst in Sweden they coincide with the Atlantic phase, at about 4500 B.C., and in Denmark they are supposed to have occurred between 1000 and 2000 B.C. during the Subboreal. Some of these differences may be due to misinterpretation of evidence, but to some extent they seem to have a sound basis. Emiliani (1955), using O<sup>18</sup>, gives 4000 B.C.

*Pollen-analysis in North America.* Thanks to the efforts of Paul Sears, pollen-analysis has been taken up in North America also.

In a recent summary of this work by Cooper (1942) it is shown that on that continent the climatic sequence was 'from glacial through boreal to a warm and probably dry middle period, followed by

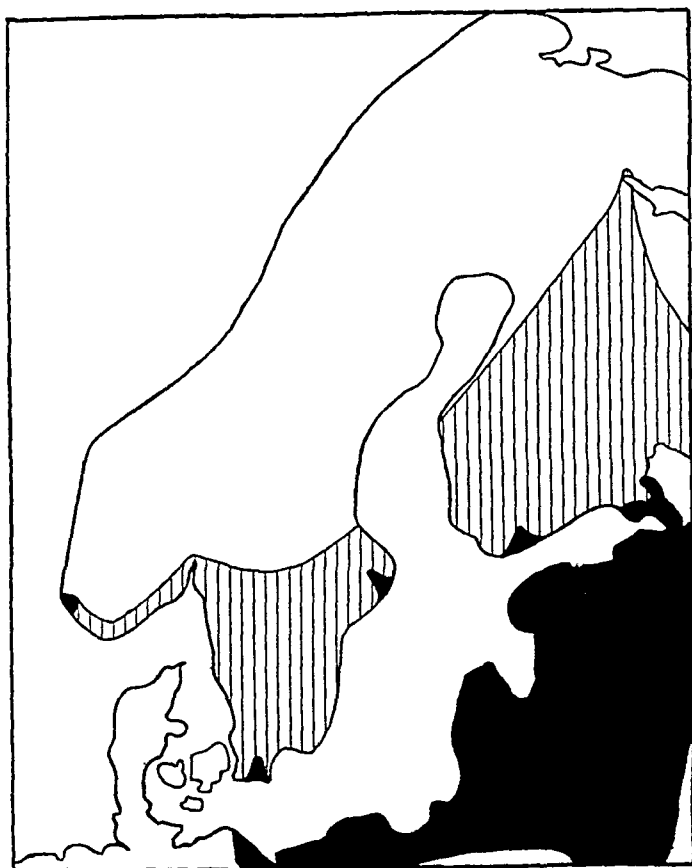


FIGS. 26 and 27.—Two examples of restriction of distribution after the Boreal present-day distribution, from which fossil finds of Postglacial age have been

FIG. 26.—Hazel (*Corylus avellana* L.). In Boreal times this shrub covered large areas in central Sweden and central Finland from which it has since disappeared. The hazel may have played an important part in the economy of the food-gathering Mesolithic tribes, and their replacement by Neolithic people may be connected with the setback the hazel suffered with the beginning of the Atlantic phase.

a return to the cooler and probably moister conditions of the present'. Cooper advises caution, however, in calling the middle period dry, since evidence for dryness apart from warmth is very

scanty. Raup (1937) has inferred from the contemporary plant distribution that a warmer and drier period occurred in New England within the past 3,000 years.



Phase. Black: present area of distribution. Hatched: area outside the recorded.—Both figures after Bertsch (1935).

FIG. 27.—*Naias flexilis* Rostk., an annual monocotyledonous freshwater plant. It is now frequent all over North America and requires warm summers for the ripening of the seed. During the Boreal it had a wide distribution in Scandinavia and Finland but is now restricted chiefly to the south-east side of the Baltic. In Sweden, 28 localities of Boreal age are known, compared with 5 Atlantic and Subboreal localities (Neolithic and Bronze Age), and only two from historical times.

This work has been carried on, among others, by Deevey (1943*b*, 1944) who has found the following succession, which he correlates tentatively with the phases of the European Postglacial:

European phases	Vegetation eastern North America	Connecticut zones	Climate
Subatlantic	Oak—Chestnut—Spruce (Oak—Beech)	C-3	Cool, wet
Subboreal	Oak—Hickory	C-2	Warm, dry
Atlantic	Oak—Hemlock (Oak—Beech)	C-1	Warm, moist
Boreal	Pine	B	Warm, dry
Preboreal	Spruce—Fir	A	Cool
Arctic Subarctic Arctic	} Missing in North American pollen diagrams		

Deevey is further drawing attention to the archaeological possibilities of pollen-analysis in North America, but the determinations of relative age of archaeological remains by means of pollen-analysis are, so far, of a highly tentative character, such as Hansen's suggestion that man was present during and before the dry period which is regarded as the climatic optimum, and the attempted pollen-analytical dating of buried fish-weirs near Boston (Deevey, 1944; Johnson, 1942, 1949). Deevey developed ideas of how to extend pollen-analytical dating to Mexican prehistory (1943a). These experiments in climatic dating in North America are most promising, though the drawback in that continent is, for the time being, the absence of a tolerably reliable connection of vegetational phases with varve-countings.

These investigations of the North American Postglacial are important not only for that area, but for the problem of the causes of the Postglacial climatic fluctuations. The results indicated in the preceding paragraph raise the question of whether the sequences of Europe and North America agree in the presence of a Postglacial climatic optimum and perhaps even of a late dry phase of the Subboreal type; but much research will have to be done on both sides of the Atlantic before these questions can be answered and the results used in correlating the Postglacial successions of the two continents.

*Correlation of sea-levels and climatic phases with varve-countings and prehistoric chronology.* These introductory remarks may suffice to show how a correlation between the observed heights of former sea-levels, the climatic phases of the Postglacial and the varve-countings could be effected and how such correlation has led to the establishment of an absolute chronology for the Postglacial and its prehistoric phases.

In the countries around the Baltic peat-deposits are sometimes found resting on varved clays or otherwise connected with moraine

and glacial deposits. Although the possibility of a gap between the two cannot always be excluded varve-countings yield a maximum age for the bottom-bed of peat. The climatic phase during which the peat was formed is known thanks to pollen-analysis, and it is evident that a series of sections of this kind narrows down the possible limits for the ages of the climatic phases of the Postglacial.

On the other hand, raised beaches are sometimes connected with peat deposits which began to form soon after the beach was abandoned by the sea. The raised beaches, also, can thus be correlated with the climatic phases.

It has been mentioned above that certain prehistoric sites occur on raised beaches. In a well-investigated district as that of the Baltic, the climatic phase would therefore be known also, as would be, in many cases, the approximate age in years on the base of varve-countings. The knowledge of the climatic phase links such sites with those not situated on a beach, where pollen-analysis affords the only means of relative dating. Sites of this kind often occur in sections of peat. This means that the occupants settled on the surface of the peat at that time, and their dwelling-site was covered by a further growth of peat later on. This applies, for instance, to many Bronze Age sites (compare Federsee, Swabia, p. 86, fig. 31). Alternatively the settlement may have been on higher ground in the neighbourhood and the detrital layers only extend into the peat-bog (Magdalenian of Meiendorf for instance, p. 74, and Bronze Age of Peacock's Farm, Cambridgeshire; Clark, Godwin and Clifford, 1935). In both cases the relation of the culture to the climatic phase can be established. In this manner numerous Mesolithic, Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age sites have been dated in relation to the climatic phases of the Postglacial, and since the age in years of the latter is known for reasons explained above, approximate dates can be assigned to most of the cultural phases of the Postglacial.

In the peripheral zone outside the Baltic, however, where the isostatic rise of the land after the Last Glaciation is replaced by a compensating sinking movement, or no movement at all, and where the eustatic rise of the general sea-level owing to the return of meltwater from the ice-caps resulted in a transgression of the sea, most of the early Postglacial deposits are now covered by the sea. A typical locality of this kind is the Dogger Bank which, on the evidence of its peat deposits, was dry land during the Boreal. Dredged implements of Maglemose age confirm this. Since peat of Atlantic type is restricted to a zone much nearer to the present coasts of the North Sea, the transgression must have taken place chiefly during the late Boreal and proceeded rapidly. Submerged Neolithic and even Bronze Age sites, and the many submerged forests observed along the British coasts, however, show that the trans-

gression of the sea continued into the Subboreal (fig. 34), and the final severance of Great Britain from the Continent appears to fall at the Atlantic time.

The introduction into the methods of late Glacial and Post-glacial chronology given in the present and the preceding chapter will enable the reader to appreciate the evidence from selected sites and areas, which forms the subject-matter of the following chapter. After this regional review, however, it will be necessary to return to some of the striking features of this period, like the Allerød Oscillation, the Subboreal, &c., in the concluding summary (p. 102).

## CHAPTER IV

### IMPORTANT SITES OF THE END OF THE OLD STONE AGE, THE MIDDLE AND NEW STONE AGES AND THE METAL AGES, AND THE PREHISTORIC CHRONOLOGY OF THE POSTGLACIAL

The number of late Glacial and Postglacial localities of temperate Europe, which are of interest from the chronological point of view, is very great. The selection presented in this chapter cannot claim to be a fair cross-section of the work done in the various countries involved; it has been made for the purpose of developing a picture of the climatic phases and their correlated prehistoric industries, preference being given to evidence obtained in recent years. Those interested in a more comprehensive review of the late Glacial and Postglacial are advised to consult the publications by Clark (1936*a*), Firbas (1939), Godwin (1940*b*, 1941, 1946), Gross (1931, 1937), and the relevant chapters in Wright (1937). On the other hand, readers not interested in regional details will best pass on directly to Part G of this chapter, p. 105. The correlation tables, figs. 30 and 38, might help in understanding the somewhat complicated relations between climatic and prehistoric phases. The terminology of the floral phases is summarized in fig. 28.

Since the countries around the Baltic Sea are by far the best explored as far as the late Glacial and Postglacial formations are concerned, they are regarded as the typical region. Much of Scandinavia and Finland was covered by ice until long after the maximum of the Last Glaciation, so that the earliest deposits and prehistoric finds may be expected in the south-western part of the area. Here, they have indeed come to light in the course of the last few years.

#### A. HOLSTEIN

*Meiendorf near Hamburg (Hamburgian).* The important site of Meiendorf, in the province of Holstein, a short distance east of

Hamburg, was discovered in 1933. A detailed account has been published by Rust (1937), describing the industry and comprising contributions by Schütrumpf on the botanical finds and pollen-analytical results, on the geology by Gripp, and on the bones by W. Krause.

	S.W. Norway N	Sweden S	Denmark D	England E	Ireland OI	New Irish NI	N.W. German G	Central Europe CE
Sub- Atlantic	XI	I II	a IX b	VIII	VIII VII	VIII	XII XI	X IX
Sub- Boreal	X	III IV	VIII	VII-VIII VIIIb	VI	VII	X IX	VIII
Atlantic	IX	V VI	VIIIb VIIa	VIIa			b VIII a	VII VI
Boreal	VIII	VII VIII	VI b V a	VI V	V	VI V	VII VI	c V a
Pre- Boreal	VII	IX	IV	IV	IV	IV	V	IV
Late Glacial	VI V I-IV	X XI XII	III II I	III II I	III II I	III II I	IV III II I	III II I

FIG. 28.—The approximate correlation of the pollen-analytical phases established in Europe north of the Alps, according to Faegri (1939-40), von Post (1924), Nilsson (1935, 1943a, b), Jessen (1949), Godwin (1940, 1945), Mitchell (1951), Overbeck (1950) and Firbas (1949).

Underneath a peat section of several metres thickness a reindeer hunters' settlement was uncovered, resting on a glacial varved clay (figure in Clark, 1938, p. 161). Gripp holds the view that hardly 200 years elapsed between the end of the glacial lake phase and the arrival of the reindeer hunters. The cultural horizon contains innumerable remains of reindeer, many of them worked, and a large number of bone and flint implements. The flint implements are clearly of the Upper Palaeolithic type ('Magdalenian'), and Rust compares them with the finds from the Petersfels in south

Germany (see p. 161), from Mezine (Ukraine), and the Creswellian of Derbyshire (see p. 198). The bone artefacts (harpoon, bâton de commandement, strap-cutters, &c.) also are Magdalenian in workmanship. Whilst Gripp's geological investigation shows that the occupation took place soon after the retreat of the ice from the locality, Schütrumpf's pollen-analytical and macrobotanical results demonstrate that it falls within the earliest Subarctic, tree-less phase of the Postglacial succession, i.e. the early part of the *Dryas* time. The varves underlying the deposit have not been counted yet, but since the place is just within the extreme morainic belts of the last great phase of the Last Glaciation (Pomeranian), the authors, relying on de Geer's erroneous date of 18000 B.C. (Gross, 1931, puts 19000 B.C.) suggested that the hunters' camp at Meiendorf was occupied roughly about 17000 B.C. As explained on p. 29, de Geer's figure has to be reduced, and the age of the Pomeranian is at present very uncertain. One can safely say, however, that the minimum date for the Meiendorf site is about 13000 B.C. This has been confirmed by radiocarbon dating (p. 345).

Apart from Bromme (p. 76), the Hamburgian represents the latest known true Palaeolithic. Immediately after the Meiendorf phase, the transition to the Mesolithic occurred in central and north Europe.

In view of the scarcity of late Glacial or earliest Postglacial sites the pollen-analytical succession at Meiendorf, as found by Schütrumpf, is of outstanding interest. He distinguishes the following phases:

(1) Tundra-phase without forests, but with dwarf shrubs of subarctic type. Pollen of grass and herbaceous plants is up to seven times as frequent as that of 'tree' pollen. The latter mainly consists of birch and willow (subarctic dwarf species confirmed by macroscopic finds), pine, and *Hippophae* (Sea Buckthorn). Leaves of *Dryas octopetala* were found also. This is the phase of the Hamburg-culture. It is followed by—

(2) The Birch-phase, during which the two tree-birches *Betula pubescens* and *B. verrucosa* immigrate (confirmed by macroscopical finds). Birch increases, and pine (*Pinus silvestris*) becomes more frequent in the latter half of this first forest phase, thus leading to—

(3) The Birch-pine-phase during which pine and birch compete for dominance. Their curves cross one another several times. During this phase the history of the locality as a lake is interrupted and the earlier series of lacustrine calcareous nekron-mud is replaced by a Caricetum-peat. Schütrumpf (1935) correlates this phase with the Alleröd oscillation. After this oscillation, however, the area once more is transformed into a lake and more nekron-mud is deposited. Towards the end of this phase the pine finally defeats the birch, and—



(4) The Pine-phase begins. The lake now is nearly filled up, and *Phragmites*-peat is formed. We are in the Boreal phase of the Blytt-Sernander scheme. While pine dominates, the birch, which is frequent at first, is gradually replaced by more warmth-loving trees like hazel, oak, elm, and lime. This phase also is linked up with a prehistoric industry which Rust is inclined to consider as Tardenoisian and which in all probability is related to the Mesolithic Ahrensburg-culture described below. In fact, nearly everywhere the Mesolithic is connected with the Boreal phase.

(5) The Mixed Oak-phase (Atlantic) is the last represented in the Meiendorf section. Its brushwood-peat in which alder is frequent produced an artefact, a possibly Neolithic core. Younger peat-beds are absent.

*Stellmoor near Hamburg (Hamburgian and Ahrensburg).* Only 600 metres north of the Meiendorf site another locality of equal importance was excavated in 1934-5. Rust, Gripp, and Schütrumpf (1935) published preliminary reports, and Rust (1936) a more elaborate description, which show that the situation of this Stellmoor site (near the town of Ahrensburg) is similar to that of Meiendorf, namely on the slope of an elevation protruding into a subglacial valley. Two distinct implementiferous levels, however, were found at Stellmoor, at depths of 5 and 6.5 metres respectively. The lower proved to belong to the Hamburgian (Meiendorf) culture, whilst the upper yielded an abundance of reindeer material worked in a manner completely different from the Hamburgian. It included a few axes of the Lyngby type (p. 76). The flint implements leave no doubt that this upper cultural level in the peat is identical with the Ahrensburg Mesolithic found on the surface in the neighbourhood.

The pollen-analytical investigation of the peat section was carried out by R. Schütrumpf (1935). He found close agreement with the Meiendorf section. The Hamburgian level lies at the beginning of the birch-pine phase, which continues through lacustrine beds until, in a horizon of *Caricetum*-peat indicating drier conditions, the pine dominates temporarily over the birch. The same horizon was observed in Meiendorf and, as mentioned, Schütrumpf is inclined to regard it as the equivalent of the Alleröd oscillation. Above this horizon lacustrine conditions return and a second birch-pine phase begins. This is the time of the Mesolithic Ahrensburg culture. The final dominance of pine, however, marking the beginning of the Boreal, did not set in until after the habitation site was covered with a further two feet of nekron-mud.

Thus Ahrensburg proves that the Lyngby-axes belong chronologically to a cool phase of the pre-Boreal, intercalated between the Alleröd oscillation evidenced by a pine-phase, and the Boreal proper. It is the earliest Mesolithic site that has been dated pollen-analytically, and therefore of outstanding importance.

## B. DENMARK, SWEDEN AND NORWAY

*Denmark.* Meiendorf and Ahrensburg lie at the base of the Jutland peninsula where Danish workers, especially Jessen (1920, 1935), have established a succession which in all essentials agrees with that of Scania (Southern Sweden). Several points in this succession are of particular interest. The Alleröd oscillation once more figures in it, dividing in two the *Dryas* time.

*Bromme (Palaeolithic).* The oldest Danish site is Bromme, which on pollen-analytical evidence belongs to the Alleröd phase. Its flint industry (Mathiassen, 1946) with burins and tanged points may be regarded as Palaeolithic, though it is related to the Lyngby culture. Its points are like Lyngby, but axes are absent. Lyngby, however, contains axes, and Mathiassen takes their presence as delimiting the Mesolithic from the Palaeolithic.

*Nørre-Lyngby (Mesolithic).* The second earliest finds in Denmark are the well-known Nørre-Lyngby axes (Clark, 1936a) which were made of reindeer antler. The typical site, Lyngby, is situated at the extreme north end of Jutland. Here, a specimen was found lying on the foreshore. A tanged flint flake was extracted from a section of early Postglacial freshwater deposits in the neighbourhood (zones D III-IV), and it is likely that the axe was derived from the same deposit. The beds contained a fauna composed of tundra and forest forms and associated with a flora comprising tundra species such as *Salix polaris* and *Betula nana*. A pollen-grain of *Pinus*, however, was present, and the deposit probably dates from the end of the younger *Dryas* time (D III). Evidence for equally early dates of the Lyngby-axes has come forward in Sweden (see p. 82).

*Maglemose (Mesolithic).* Another important Danish site is Maglemose, a peat-bog near Mullerup. The Mesolithic culture named after it was one of a hunting and fishing people and had a wide distribution in the plains of north and west Europe. It was fully discussed by Clark in his book on the Mesolithic (1936a, see his fig. 47) so that a few remarks on the dating of the Maglemose industry will suffice here. At Maglemose itself and at the later site of Svaerdborg bog, Jessen (1920) found on pollen-analytical evidence that it belongs to the Boreal phase (zones D V and D VI, respectively), when pine was still dominating over the mixed-oak association. Furthermore, in raised beach sections, Maglemose implements have been found to occur underneath peaty deposits of *Litorina* age. Submarine finds of Maglemose implements show that the level of the North Sea in those days was much lower than at present. The earliest find of the Maglemose or Mullerup culture is from Klosterlund (Mathiassen, 1937b) and belongs to the upper part of zone D IV (Preboreal). Away from the coastal areas the Gudenaa culture

(Mathiassen, 1937*a*) developed parallel with the Mullerup, though it continued through the Atlantic into the Subboreal.

*Ertebölle* (kitchen-midden). The third important Danish industry is that of the kitchen-midden (shell-mounds). It is often termed the '*Ertebölle*' culture. The shell-mounds, which are frequent in Denmark, are associated with high beach-lines of the *Litorina* Sea, and the same applied to Finland and Sweden. This, as well as pollen evidence, dates them as belonging mainly to the Atlantic phase. See Note (13), p. 408.

According to Clark (1936*a*, 1950*b*) the *Ertebölle* culture is more Upper Palaeolithic in character than the Maglemosian, notably in respect of blades and burins. It appears for the first time, and somewhat tentatively, late in the Early Atlantic transgression (D VII*a*). It is present during the Middle Atlantic transgression (early VII*b*)

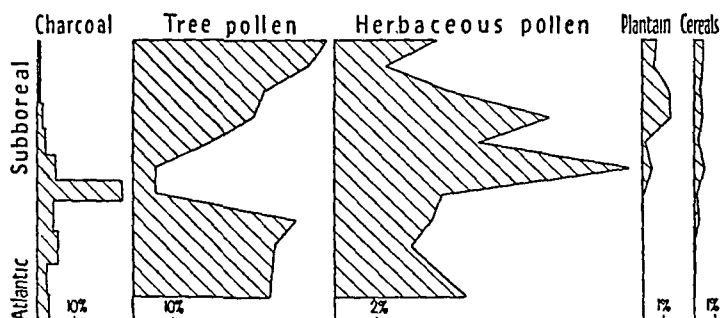


FIG. 29.—Diagram illustrating the influence of the first phases of human land occupation at Ordrup Mose, Denmark, according to Iversen (1941).

at Dyrholmen (Troels-Smith, 1942), but continues into zone VIII (Dyrholmen Zone III), even until after the Subboreal (maximum) transgression, contemporary with the Dolmen period and up to that of the Separate Graves. The contemporaneity of *Ertebölle* with the Neolithic in pollen zone D VIII (Subboreal) is further demonstrated at Strandegaard in southern Zealand (Mathiassen, 1940). Childe (1948*a*) has emphasized the survival of food-gathering Mesolithic tribes alongside with Neolithic food-producers. The *Ertebölle* also contains pottery and domesticated animals.

In order to understand the relative chronology of this period it is necessary to discuss briefly the phases of the *Litorina* transgression.

*Litorina* transgression, subphases. It has been known for many years that the *Litorina* transgression had to be divided into a number of oscillations (phases). But under the influence of evidence from Finland it was widely believed that the maximum transgression took place early during the *Litorina* phase. Modern work in Denmark

has made it possible to distinguish at least four minor transgressions (Iversen, 1937, Troels-Smith, 1912), as follows :

- (1) Early Atlantic transgression (Soborg I), at beginning of pollen zone D VIIa.
- (2) Middle Atlantic transgression (Soborg II), in first half of zone D VIIb.
- (3) Late Atlantic transgression (Soborg III), end of zone D VIIb.
- (4) Subboreal transgression (Soborg IV ; Iversen's Late Atlantic transgression), early in zone D VIII. Absolute maximum of *Litorina* transgression in Denmark and south Scania.

The nomenclature here given is that of Troels-Smith (1912). These transgressions are separated only by minor regressions of the order of two feet. Nilsson (1948a) emphasizes the very complex nature of the changes of level of the *Litorina* Sea in Denmark. He is inclined to divide the Middle Atlantic transgressions into two and thus recognizes at least five oscillations. At Yrtads Sandskog on the south coast of Scania, Nilsson (1935, pp. 455, 545) found as many as ten beach ridges, of which at least six are of Atlantic age. Thus, in the southwest Baltic region, at least four oscillations lead up to the *Litorina* maximum, which was not attained until the Subboreal (Zone S VI = lower D VIII), in the Passage Grave period of the archaeologists.

In north Scania, however, Nilsson (1935, p. 546 ; 1948a) suspects that the maximum was reached earlier.

In Finland, finally, the *Litorina* maximum was the first of a number of oscillations (fig. 15).

This evidence bears out what has been said on p. 54, that the land rose faster than the sea-level in the northern Baltic region, and that the non-contemporaneity of the maximum in different parts of the Baltic may be due to this fact. The significance of the oscillations of the *Litorina* transgressions has been somewhat exaggerated, but they have already proved useful for archaeological correlation over limited areas.

*The Period of Land Occupation.* An interesting interpretation was given by Iversen (1941) to changes in the pollen spectra of certain dwelling sites. These changes occurred in Denmark at, or slightly above, the zone border D VII/VIII, and in Scania at the border of S V/VI. Elm and Mixed Oak Forest generally fall to a minimum (which, however, is temporary) whilst birch and hazel rise. There is a concentration of charcoal, and pollen of herbaceous plants increase in frequency. Among these are pollen of cereal grasses and of plantains (*Plantago maior* and *lanceolata*). Iversen holds that these changes indicate the arrival of farmers, the phase of *Landnam* or land occupation, that the charcoal comes from clearance fires ; that herbaceous pollen suggests the opening-up of the land ; cereals, fields ; the plantains, weeds ; and birch and hazel, regeneration of

the forests after the exhaustion of the plot. It is not surprising that this ingenious interpretation has met with the approval of other workers, especially since at the horizon in question, the remains of agricultural communities of the true Neolithic type (Dolmen or Megalithic period) have been found. (Fig. 29.)

Troels-Smith (1942) observed at Dyrholmen (Denmark) that the first forest clearance, which corresponds to Iversen's 'Landnam' phase (Dolmen period), was followed by a regeneration of the forest, and a second clearance phase during the period of Separate Graves, after which, however, regeneration of the forests did not follow, at least not immediately. On the other hand, T. Nilsson (1948a, p. 40) holds that the evidence adduced by Iversen as proving 'Landnam' can altogether be explained as due to a climatic change. He points out that the pollen of the lymegrass (*Elymus arenarius*), the well-known hard, glaucous grass of coastal sand-dunes, cannot be distinguished from cereal pollen. See Note (13), p. 408.

*The Subboreal cultures (Mesolithic-Neolithic-Bronze Age).* The valuable work of Danish workers like Iversen and Troels-Smith has brought about a revision of the relative chronology of the late Mesolithic, the Neolithic and Bronze Ages (Childe, 1948a, b). The numerous sites of the bog area called Aamosen in Zealand (Mathiassen, 1943), and also Dyrholmen (Troels-Smith, 1942) have contributed to this. It is now apparent (fig. 30) that the Ertebölle Mesolithic lasted into the Subboreal (Troels-Smith, 1937) and was in part contemporary with Neolithic food-producing cultures of the Dolmen and Passage Grave periods. Whilst Ertebölle was a coast culture, another food-gathering culture, Gudenaä (Mathiassen, 1937a), existed in the inland districts of southern Scandinavia. It also survived into the Subboreal.

The Neolithic appears on a large scale as an invasion of the Megalith builders of the Dolmen period early in the Subboreal (pollen-zone D VIII), but this was perhaps preceded by the Vrå culture at Siretorp, level S. The fourth, or Subboreal, Litorina transgression follows the Dolmen period, and the Passage Graves are contemporary with it. Even as late as this, Gudenaä and Ertebölle food-gatherers were surviving, at Magleö II and Dyrholmen III, respectively. (Note (7), p. 405.)

*Absolute dates for later Neolithic and Bronze Age in Denmark and elsewhere.* A few words may here be said about the dating of the Metal Ages, to which southern Scandinavia has contributed so much. The methods being chiefly historical, we shall not go into details.

In the later Neolithic and in the Bronze Age, typological dating prevails over the geological methods, and the appearance of imported specimens or others which are clearly imitations of oriental prototypes has enabled archaeologists to link up the relative chronology

of central and north Europe with the historical chronology of the Near East. Yet, a good many localities have been studied pollen-analytically, and it is well known for instance that the Bronze Age coincides with the Subboreal, but in such cases the absolute age is assigned to the climatic phase on the evidence of archaeology, not *vice versa*. One has, therefore, to bear in mind that many dates given in the tables for the later Neolithic, the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, were not obtained by geological methods.

As examples for the historical method, I refer to Åberg's Bronze and Iron Age chronology (1932), and to V. Gordon Childe's remarks concerning the chronology of the period IV of the Danubian Civilization (Childe, 1947, p. 121), which may be quoted:

Exact copies of Oriental types appearing simultaneously in period IV offer an opportunity for dating the period in terms of solar years, and most chronologies of prehistoric Europe have taken them as the starting-point. But of course the age in Asia of models copied in Europe gives only a *terminus post quem* for the copies. . . . All the types mentioned . . . [previously] were current in Egypt or Mesopotamia by 2800 B.C., when Bronze was already known in the Orient. . . . Hence a long chronology placing the beginning of the Bronze Age about 2800 B.C. is defensible.

On the other hand all the Oriental types relied on for dating that period enjoyed a long life. . . . The rise of the Central European bronze industry might well be connected with the extension of the amber trade to the Aegean attested first in the Shaft Graves of Mycenae about 1600 B.C. The halberd and round-heeled dagger from the same tombs strengthens this supposition; the imported faience beads from Aunjetitz and Perjámos graves go some way to confirm it. The segmented beads from Moravia and Hungary are said to be identical with some from an Egyptian tomb dated about 1400 B.C. Violin-bow safety-pins, such as appear in Greece in the thirteenth century, have been reported from Aunjetitz tombs in Bohemia and Lower Austria. These safety-pins would at least show that the Aunjetitz culture outlasted period IV as usually defined. On the whole a short chronology would appear the more probable. Period IV should begin not earlier than 1700 B.C. . . .

This quotation illustrates well the method of cross-dating by means of objects for which a maximum age can be established on historical evidence in the Orient. The book from which it is taken contains numerous references to the absolute chronology elaborated on this basis, and also summary tables.

It must here be pointed out that the historical method permits of constructing two alternative chronologies, one long and one short (Childe, 1939). So far as the north Europe Bronze Age is concerned the evidence is in favour of the short chronology (Childe, 1947, p. 330), in which it begins about 1900 B.C. But for the beginning of the Neolithic, environmental evidence and  $C^{14}$  favour an earlier appearance of agriculture in southern Scandinavia than does the

short chronology based on historical cross-dating. Some variants of the short chronology say that this event occurred not much earlier than 2100 B.C. This leaves only something like 200 years for that part of the Neolithic in Denmark which is clearly anterior to the arrival of the Bronze Age Beaker folk in Britain, namely all that preceding the middle of the Passage Grave period. And the part of pollen-zone D VIII which is earlier than the period of the Passage Graves (contemporary with the Beaker phase) is not inconsiderable. It is legitimate, therefore, to think that the beginning of the Neolithic in Denmark and Scania was earlier than 2100 B.C., though the figure of 3500 B.C., which is the date Nilsson (1935) gives to the beginning of the Subboreal and thus to the introduction of agriculture in that area, is perhaps too early. On this alone, a date near 3000 B.C. would appear to account for the evidence. This is so especially since the Neolithic is evidently at least as old as this, and probably much older, in the Danubian Basin. Childe (1947, p. 216) considers that megalith building in Denmark should have begun about 2500 B.C. even on the short chronology, or several centuries later than the Early Minoan and Cycladic tombs, not to mention the Egyptian. But recent radiocarbon dating has shown that the south Scandinavian Neolithic will indeed have to be stretched out into the past, and the same applies to the lake dwellings of Switzerland. See Note (14), p. 408.

*Epipalaeolithic of Råö, Sweden.* In Sweden, important finds have recently been made at Råö and Varberg in North Holland, which extend local prehistory back to almost glacial times (Niklasson, 1932). Shetelig and Falk (1937) report on them as follows :

In both places worked flints were found embedded in a stratum of marine clay which was covered by later strata ; they lay about 4 metres below the present surface of the ground, which is here about 7 metres above the sea-level. The clay had been deposited at a depth of about 15 to 20 metres in the sea, and it contains shellfish which live in Arctic conditions (*Macoma calcarea* and *Saxicava arctica*). By means of the scale representing the rise of the land the period can be fixed within the years 10,000 to 9,000 B.C., corresponding to the Gothiglacial stage in the melting of the inland ice. The edge of the ice lay very near the west coast of Sweden at that time.

The flints were a secondary deposit in the clay of the sea bottom, and must have been washed out by the waves from the dwelling-stations on the shore close by. The pieces show an extraordinarily primitive treatment of the flint. There are practically no definitely established types of designed forms, only pieces split at random and made usable by a minimum of chipping. The flints can be distinguished according to their use as scrapers and hollow scrapers, planes, graters, borers, handaxes, pointed chopping-tools, &c. In spite of the rudimentary technique, in their form and appearance a close relationship with the late palaeolithic flint work stands out clearly, especially with Aurignacian,

and likewise with the palaeolithic types in Finmark, of which we shall say more later.

*Komsa and Fosna cultures of northern Norway.* The concluding remark of this quotation refers to the Komsa culture of the extreme north of Norway which, typologically, is essentially Palaeolithic (Nummedal, 1926). It is found in dwelling-sites on raised beaches of the Arctic Ocean and is regarded as late Glacial and early Post-glacial by Nordhagen. In these remote regions, Palaeolithic tradition appears to have survived into the Postglacial.

An equally interesting survival is the Fosna culture found along the west coast of Norway, often in sites which are close to landing places (Nummedal, 1923, 1929, Shetelig and Falk, 1937, Clark, 1936a). Typologically, the Fosna flints are reminiscent of the late Palaeolithic and early Mesolithic. At Kristiansund, an island on the west coast of Norway, 63 N. lat., sites occur at varying heights, an important one being about 44 metres above the present level of the sea (Nummedal, 1923). As the level corresponding to the Ancylus Lake period of the Baltic is 30 metres, these sites would be contemporary with the Ice Lake period of the Baltic, and therefore with the Råö-Varberg culture of Sweden (about 9000 to 10000 B.C.). At Kristiansund, a large tanged flake was found in clay deposited during the *Pholas* stage which corresponds to the early Ancylus Lake. This flake is reminiscent of that found at the Lyngby site and mentioned on p. 76. It supports the view that the Fosna culture is approximately contemporary with Nörre-Lyngby, and earlier than Maglemose.

These earliest Scandinavian cultures appear to continue the tradition of the Hamburgian, and it is conceivable that their bearers withdrew with the waning ice-sheet, gradually being pushed northwards by spreading Mesolithic tribes.

*Mesolithic and later industries in Scania.* Returning to Sweden we find evidence of Mesolithic in Scania. Here, Lyngby axes have been dated pollen-analytically. One of them, from the Bara lilla bog near Malmö, dates from the time when the mixed oak forest had not arrived and even hazel was rare (Clark, 1936a). This specimen is obviously pre-Boreal. Another specimen, however, found at Hylteberga in south Scania, is later, i.e. Boreal. In both cases the peaty matter attached to the specimen was studied, not the section itself.

From these two Swedish axes it appears that the Nörre-Lyngby culture in the Scandinavian peninsula began in pre-Boreal times and survived into the Boreal, so that this culture can roughly be dated from 9000 to 7000 B.C.

The extensive pollen-analytical work done in Scania by himself and others has been described by Nilsson (1935) in a comprehensive



and important paper. Several of his sections fulfil the condition of linkage between the pollen-bearing series and the varved clays and some of them should, in due course, afford a chance of dating by means of direct varve-counts. So far only the connexion of the bottom strata of the sections with certain moraines which, in turn, belong to de Geer's Gotiglacial, gives a rough idea of their age. Even this is important enough, since it proves that the Alleröd oscillation forms part of the Gotiglacial recession.

A good example is the bog called Baremosse, in western Scania, where the Swedish pollen-stratum XII (= I of Denmark and Britain) is amply represented in the form of varved clay. A Maglemose settlement was found higher up in the profile (von Post, 1928); it corresponds to the pollen-zone VIII (Ancylus Lake, Boreal). At other sites, Nilsson has studied the connexion of pollen-bearing deposits with raised beaches. The resulting chronology is shown here in fig. 25.

*Middle Sweden.* In Middle Sweden, Florin (1948) studied the Dammstugan district. He found three phases of the Litorina transgression of which the first was the highest. It falls at about 4000 B.C. and is preceded by the smaller Clypeus transgression. This is possibly the maximum Litorina phase of Finland. (Note (8), p. 405.)

#### C. FINLAND

*Postglacial and Prehistory in Finland.* In Finland the geological history of the Postglacial, especially the relations between ice-recession, varved clays, and raised beaches, have been investigated in great detail. Many of the outstanding achievements are due to M. Sauramo's untiring energy. Some of his results have been touched upon above (pp. 32, 47); it now remains to explain how the connexion of the varve-chronology with the climatic development and the sequence of prehistoric phases was established. Most of the prehistoric phases observed in Finland have been dated on the evidence of their situation in relation to the raised beaches. The most conspicuous beach-line is that of the maximum of the Litorina Sea. Its height above the present sea-level varies, the upheaval having proceeded at different rates in different areas. Near Viborg (east Finland) it is just over 20 metres above the present sea-level, at Helsinki (Helsingfors) 32 to 33 metres, and at Åbo (west Finland) about 50 metres. Thus, the height in metres of a dwelling-site is no direct indication of its age, and investigators now prefer to give the height in percentage of the height of the Litorina maximum in the same district.

Pollen-analysis takes second place in Finnish dating work. The Neolithic hearth of Mutala (Pälsi and Sauramo, 1937) may be mentioned, as well as the Mesolithic site of Antrea (see below). Valuable palaeo-climatological work, particularly on the early Postglacial, has

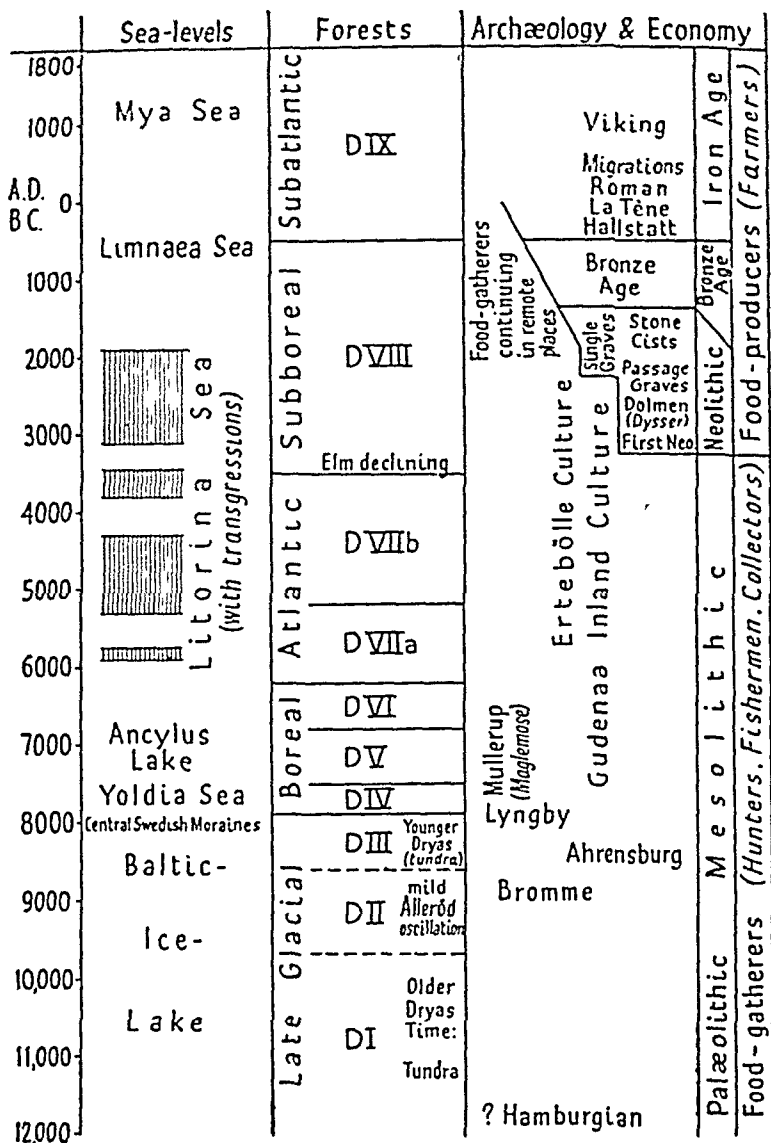


FIG. 30.—Correlation table for the late Quaternary of Denmark and adjacent areas. Based on Nilsson (1935, 1948), Childe (1948), and others. This table shows the *long* chronology which is based on evidence both from varves and radiocarbon dates. There is an alternative *short* chronology which is still favoured by many archaeologists (pp. 80-1). According to it the beginning of the Dolmen period would fall at 2100 B.C. (see Childe, 1947, p. 333). See also Clark (1950).

been done by E. Hyypä (1933, 1936). He discovered that early in late Glacial times, during the period of the Baltic Ice Lake, the spruce spread in a remarkable manner, whilst later on it lost ground again. The spruce is a tree which prefers a continental climate with warm summers and cold winters. Hyypä therefore interpreted his observations as indicating a 'late Glacial warmth-phase with warm continental summers'. The similarity of this phase with the Alleröd oscillation is striking. It was preceded and followed by Dryas phases during which, however, birch-pine forests were present. Later on, during the Ancylus Lake, pine began to dominate over birch. This time corresponds to the Boreal. With the Litorina transgression the mixed oak forest spreads but is unable to replace the pine-birch-spruce association in this northerly region. This is the time of optimum conditions of climate. The deterioration of the climate after the optimum is evidenced by a decrease of the mixed oak component in the pollen-spectra. The peat-sections investigated by Hyypä were situated on levels which could be identified with stages of the Baltic sea. The diatom flora contained in the bottom layers proved to be a great help in identifying these stages. (See also Kanerva, 1956.)

*Chronology of Mesolithic and Neolithic in Finland.* The succession of the prehistoric cultures in Finland has been studied, among others, by A. Europæus (= A. Åyräpää; 1925, 1926, 1930). In the southern half of Finland the earliest known finds are an ice-pick made of bone, from Kyrkslätt, and the fishing-net from Antrea (south-east Finland). Both date from the Ancylus period and may be correlated with the Maglemose culture of Scandinavia. The finds made at Antrea were described by Pälsi and Lindberg (1920). The site lies below the ancient high level of Lake Ladoga on a sandy loam and is covered by nekron-mud and peat. Beside bone and stone implements the remains of a fishing-net were found, the cord of which was still partly preserved as were the floats and sinkers. Lindberg studied botanically over a hundred samples in a vertical section and was able to determine the age of the net-horizon as Ancylus Lake. Not only the pollen but the diatoms also confirmed this result which shows that late Mesolithic man inhabited the northern part of the Baltic as well as south Sweden and Denmark. According to Sauramo's chronology, in which the Ancylus Lake figures later than in Denmark and Scania, the absolute date of the Antrea finds is roughly 5500 to 6000 B.C.

An Ertebölle industry, as yet without pottery, is represented by the Suomusjärvi-culture of which numerous dwelling-sites have been detected at, or just above, the maximum Litorina beach. In this industry, flint is replaced by slate and other rocks. Sauramo dates the Litorina maximum at 5000 B.C., and this approximate date has to be assigned to the Finnish kitchen-midden phase.

The sites of the Neolithic proper can be distributed over a number of cultural phases and correlated with beach-lines; the younger an industrial phase is typologically, the lower the beach on which it is found. Like his predecessors, Neolithic man in Finland was largely dependent on fishing. This is why his dwelling-sites are found on the beaches, fortunately for us, since it makes accurate dating possible. Much of the Finnish Neolithic belongs to the combed and pitted ware group, which Europaeus suspects to be of eastern origin. It is distinct from the contemporary Scandinavian Neolithic. During the late Neolithic, however, an invasion took place by a people with corded ware ('boat-axe culture') which chiefly settled in the south-west. The invaders did not stay near the shore but settled in the areas of loamy soil. Yet a few of their sites are found on the shore so that the relation to the history of the Baltic could be established. The final Neolithic can be regarded as a continuation of the combed ware culture. It is again confined to the shore-lines. In the following table, which is abstracted from Europaeus's monograph of the Finnish Stone Age (1930), the absolute figures given are corrected in accordance with Sauramo (1939). It is necessary to emphasize that the dates thus obtained for combed ware are improbably early, and further investigations are desirable. Europaeus puts the end of the Finnish Neolithic as late as 1200 B.C.

Cultural phase	% height in relation to Litorina-maximum	Approximate date
Final Neolithic (Kiukais ware, derived from combed ware)	50-40%	1600-1200 B.C.
Corded ware or boat- (hammer-) axe culture	60-50%	2000-1600 B.C.
III: Degenerate combed ware	68-64%	till c. 2000 B.C.
II: Typical combed ware	75-68%	early phase c. 2400 B.C.
I <sub>2</sub> : Younger early combed ware	87-70%	I <sub>2</sub> : c. 2700 B.C.
I <sub>1</sub> : Older early combed ware		I <sub>1</sub> : c. 3300 B.C.

As elsewhere, the Metal Ages in Finland are dated predominantly by historical and typological methods.

#### D. WEST GERMANY, EAST FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND

*South-west Germany (Federsee; Mesolithic, Neolithic, Metal Ages).* We now leave the Baltic region and turn to the south-west of central Europe, where Bertsch has carried out brilliant pollen-analytical work. The standard district for this region is the Federsee in Swabia, a large bog which has yielded hundreds of prehistoric stations and whose floral history has been worked out in great detail. Bertsch has published a valuable summary (1935) from which the accompanying diagram (fig. 31) is taken.

At the southern margin of the Federsee bog is situated the Magdalenian station called Schussenried. Remains of numerous reindeer, beside other arctic animals like polar fox and glutton were

found here. The mosses belong to species which now range from middle to arctic Europe. Pollen is almost entirely absent. This deposit clearly dates from a thoroughly glacial phase.

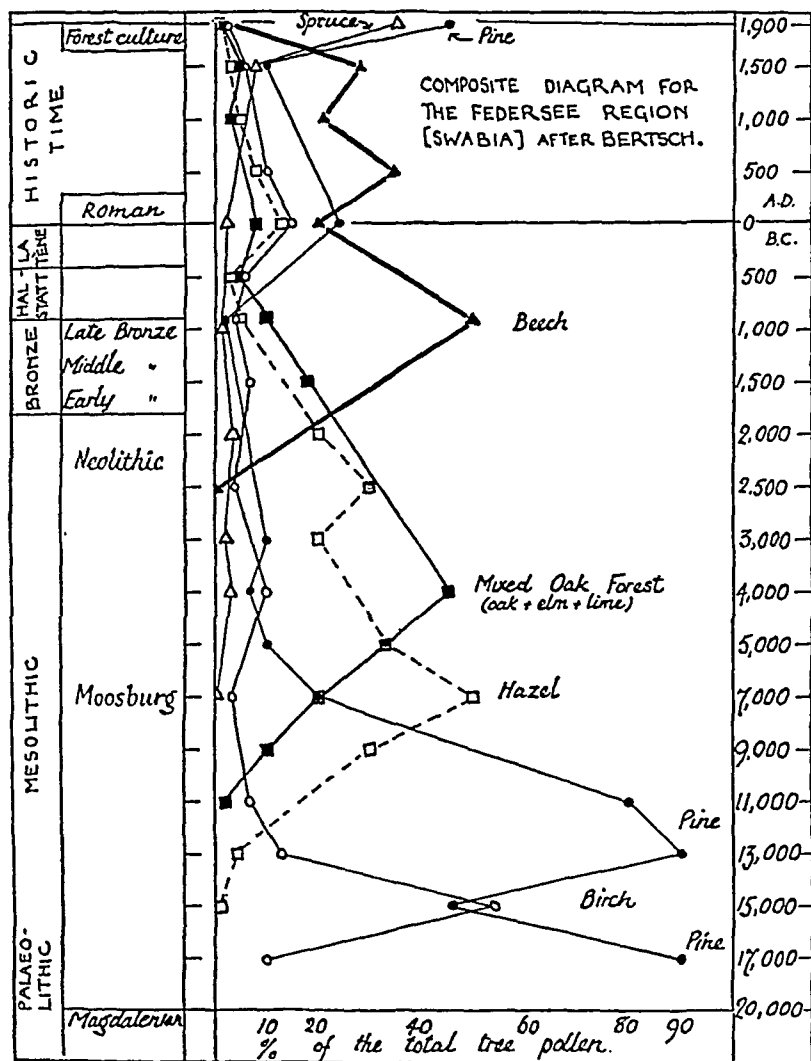


FIG. 31.—Composite diagram of the pollen composition of the peats of the Federsee bog, in upper Swabia, south-west Germany, after Bertsch (1935), archaeology after Reinerth.—Modified from Godwin (1934), with permission.

In the inner part of the Federsee bog, the bottom layers with *Salix polaris*, *Dryas octopetala*, *Betula nana*, &c., are regarded as contemporaneous with the Schussenried site. Whether they are so

or not is difficult to decide. There certainly would be no objection to having a Magdalenian site at the height of the last glacial phase, since Meiendorf was found, but the Schussenried Magdalenian is considered typologically as middle Magdalenian. It may therefore be earlier than the Pomeranian phase, and possibly date from the second phase of the Last Glaciation or the interstadial between these two cold phases (see p. 161).

There follows on the arctic bed in the inner Federsee bog a series of lacustrine muds in which no prehistoric finds have been made. It comprises a *Pinus montana*-time, a birch-time, and a *Pinus silvestris*-time. Then, hazel begins to increase, and with it the Mesolithic appears. At this time hazel-scrublands with interspersed groups of birch and pine, oak and elm, poplar and alder covered the country. The Mesolithic site of Moosburg begins with the increase of hazel when the latter is becoming more frequent than the birch; it lasts through the hazel maximum until the time when the decreasing *Pinus*-curve cuts the increasing curve of the mixed oak forest.

Of the large number of dated Neolithic sites, the spectrum of Riedschachen shows that the late Neolithic is contemporary with the latter part of the period of the mixed oak forests, when the beech immigrates.

The Bronze Age is the period of the beech (fig. 32) and approximately equivalent to the Subboreal. It is important to note that the maximum of frequency of the beech, which occurs at 800 B.C. in the Federsee area, is either earlier or later elsewhere. Bertsch found that this tree immigrated into central Europe from two refuges, one in the Balkan peninsula, and one in south-west Europe. He was able to date the migration as shown in fig. 32. Correspondingly, the beech-maximum is retarded in a northward direction. In Bohemia and its northern mountain ranges it coincides with the Bronze Age as it does in south-west Germany, but in Slesvig it did not occur before 500-700 A.D. This instance illustrates well the difficulty of purely pollen-analytical cross-dating over long distances. It is obvious that a similar retardation occurred with other kinds of trees also. Fortunately, the effect of this retardation on dating is less serious in the early phases of the Postglacial when the cultural phases persisted for a longer time.

From the wealth of evidence available to him, Bertsch constructed an average pollen-diagram for his part of south-west Germany (fig. 31). His absolute dates, however, are not based on direct local evidence (varves being absent) but are interpolated between three known dates, namely the approximate climax of the last glacial phase (18000-20000 B.C.), the Postglacial maximum of solar radiation (8000-9000 B.C.), and the historically-dated chronology of the Neolithic and Metal Ages. Comparing his results with those

obtained in the Baltic area a general retardation of the flora and the early cultural phases in the north becomes apparent. Whether it is real or not, depends on the accuracy of the respective time-scales used. (Note (9), p. 405.)

*Switzerland.* In Switzerland, Max Welten (1944) studied the finely laminated lake deposits found in the Faulenseemoos near Interlaken (1,800 feet above sea-level). His paper breaks fresh ground since these deposits contain pollen. Welten has taken pains to establish that at least a number of the Faulensee laminae are annual. In spite of difficulties arising out of their thinness, the distribution of the pollen grains of a number of tree species within a single varve is in agreement with the sequence of flowering periods of the various species.

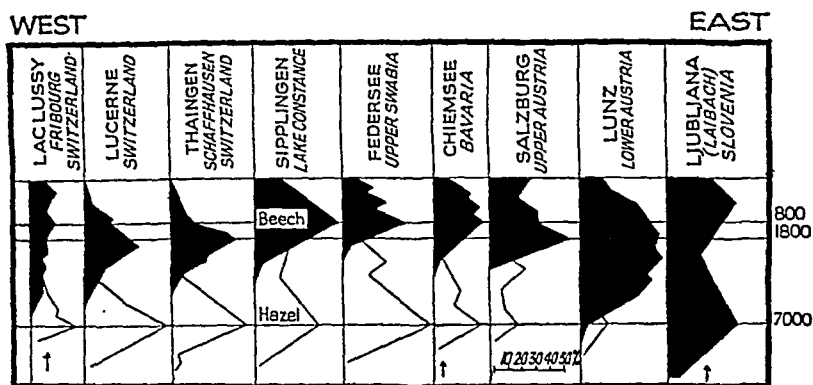


FIG. 32.—The re-immigration of the beech into south Germany from its western and eastern refuge areas after the Last Glaciation.—After Bertsch (1935).

There are two types of gaps in the Faulensee series, namely those which are caused by indistinct lamination, often increased by distortion and mixing caused by the borer, and secondly natural gaps due to local erosional unconformities. Welten is confident that such gaps can be closed by interpolation and that the error does not exceed 100–200 years for the entire varve record of the pre-Christian era.

A serious problem was the connexion of the counted varve-series with the modern calendar. The bog was drained in 1920, but at that time sedimentation was proceeding in a very small central portion only, and material from this portion was scanty and incomplete. On the assumption that the growth-rate of the sediment was the same as in the lower parts of the section, Welten carried out two extrapolations which produced consistent results. But it should be borne in mind that the rate of deposition may well have been

slower in the final phase of the bog, in which case the dates would have to be increased.

The floral history of this Swiss bog was thus dated over a more or less continuous period extending back to 7550 B.C. Provided there are no faults in Welten's method, this would represent a most successful calendar which, possibly, does not apply only to the valley of Interlaken but can be applied more generally. Welten is very enthusiastic about this possibility and believes in it, perhaps too firmly. He gives a correlation table of prehistory and history with his calendar (*l.c.*, p. 140), but since no finds have been made in the Faulensee bog itself, this is entirely based on other localities. The fitting of prehistoric phases into the calendar relies on pollen diagrams for the later periods only. The position of the earlier ones, especially the Magdalenian, is quite speculative, and due to his interpretation of the underlying moraines as Würm 3 ('Bühl').

The later phases, however, show impressive agreement with Nilsson's dates for southern Scandinavia. The 'early Neolithic' is dated somewhat earlier than 3200 B.C., the Neolithic lake-dwellings between 3000 and 1900 B.C. There is additional evidence for agriculture in the neighbourhood of the bog in the form of a few cereal pollen-grains, which begin to appear about 2700 B.C. This evidence strengthens the 'long' chronology of the Neolithic.

The earlier phases appear much shorter than they are generally believed to be. This shortening is apparent both in the floral succession and in the sequence of prehistoric periods, in the latter of course because they have been fitted into the former. Assuming that Welten's varve time-scale with its inter- and extrapolations is reasonably accurate, varve deposition would have begun about 7550 B.C. Accordingly, he places the retreat of the ice from this locality immediately prior to this date. This may be a fallacy. There is about one metre of blue lake marl below the polliniferous gyttja, whose rate of formation is not known, and the lake need not have formed immediately after the ice abandoned the locality. Welten, however, is so impressed by the comparatively close agreement of his date with that obtained for the retreat from the central Swedish moraines and the Finnish Salpausselkä, that he correlates the Swiss retreat (from the Jaberg moraine) with that from the central Swedish stage of the Scandinavian ice-sheet. Now, P. Beck has regarded the Jaberg moraine as part of the Bühl stage of the Alpine glaciation, thus implying a much greater age than that inferred by Welten. Since evidence is nowhere in favour of a correlation of the central Swedish moraine with Bühl (a term applied to a multitude of late moraines of the Last Glaciation and often to 'Würm 3'), it is wise not to accept such correlation. Welten, however, does so and is immediately faced with the discrepancy between his own age estimate and the higher one assigned to 'Bühl'.



What appears to emerge is that the Jaberg moraine is either the equivalent of the central Swedish moraine (a new possibility) or it is not (the old view).

To Welten is due the credit of having made known the first site of pollen-containing varves, and of investigating it thoroughly. His interpretation of the varves, however, has been criticized by Schneider (1945) who doubts the annual character of the varves. Schneider also regards the correlation of the Jaberg moraine with the central Swedish moraine as improbable.

*North-east France.* In the Vosges and the adjacent parts of north-east France, the evolution of the forests under the influence of the Postglacial climatic changes was largely the same as in south-west Germany, subject of course to modifications due to the altitude of the locality. The beech appeared earlier, however, and in the northern Vosges, the mountain pine played an important part in the Boreal. The relation of the cultural phases to the climatic periods is the same as east of the Rhine. A valuable summary has been published by Dubois (1938).

#### E. NORTH-WEST GERMANY

*North-west Germany.* The north-west German lowlands with their extensive peat-bogs form a natural link between central Europe and east England. Their climate is more oceanic than that of east and south Germany but less so than that of England. Moreover, submerged peat occurs on the German coast and has enabled workers to reconstruct the transgression of the North Sea. The same has been done, on similar lines, in eastern England. Yet it was not until a few years ago that, on the initiative of F. Overbeck, extensive pollen-analytical work was begun in north-west Germany.

According to Overbeck (1933; Overbeck and Schmitz, 1931; H. Müller, 1953) the general succession in north-west Germany is similar to that of other parts of temperate Europe. The following phases have been distinguished: birch-pine, pine-hazel, oak-hazel, beech-oak, beech-oak-hornbeam, and culture-spectra influenced by man. Up to and during the early Boreal, much of the North Sea, including the Dogger Bank, was dry land, and the continental character of the climate of what is now north-west Germany was pronounced.

A well-marked Grenzhorizont (see p. 64) separates the Atlantic from the Subatlantic, and it is here that this type of unconformity in peat-sections was first observed (Weber, 1910). There is no clear evidence of a drier Subboreal phase, according to Schubert (1933), and the change at the Grenzhorizont is explained as due to a change in the conditions of peat-formation, not to weathering under a drier climate.

Nilsson (1948*b*) has made an attempt to correlate the north-west German sequence with those of southern Sweden and Denmark. His

results are included in the table, fig. 28. He has also studied the distribution, relative to the floral periods, of those prehistoric finds of which the stratigraphical position has been ascertained. His main conclusions are as follows.

The final phase of the Neolithic and the beginning of the Bronze Age are more or less contemporary with the zonal boundary, S III/IV. The climax of the early Bronze Age (Period II of Montelius) lies somewhere in the lower part of S III, and the Roman period (A.D. 0-400) coincides with the upper part of S II. These datings agree with those established for Scania by Nilsson in 1935.

Nilsson further studied the Postglacial oscillations of the sea-level (1948*b*, p. 60) and obtained results which differ from those of Schütte (1910), the leading German worker. Schütte considered that the sea-level was at - 19 metres in 7800 B.C. and rose to its present height with three oscillations with an amplitude of 3,000 years. Nilsson, however, holds that the sea was below - 50 metres about 7500 B.C. and had risen rapidly to almost the present level by 2000 B.C. A slight recession of about 2 or 3 metres occurred around 1000 B.C., after which the rise up to the present level occurred. This course of events is simpler than that observed by Godwin in East Anglia (p. 108).

#### F. BRITAIN AND IRELAND

*Britain.* The credit of having introduced the method of pollen-analysis into the British Isles is due to G. Erdtman, a well-known Swedish palaeobotanist. In 1928, he published the results of a preliminary survey of peat deposits in Britain, in which he was able to show that the general development of the Postglacial in this country was the same as in Scandinavia. Few workers, however, took up this promising line of research, among them Raistrick (1931, 1932), until, in 1934, H. Godwin began a systematic campaign with the view to establishing the details of Postglacial forest history in Britain. His successful work is largely based on the deposits of the Fenland which adjoins the large bay known as the Wash, in eastern England (Godwin, 1938, 1940*a*).

Godwin found that the succession of tree associations in eastern England resembles that of Denmark fairly closely and established a system of zones (1940*b*) resembling that of Jessen, as follows, beginning with the latest deposit (fig. 33):

VIII. Alder-oak-elm-birch-beech zone, representing the Subatlantic with an increase of birch at the expense of the warmth-loving mixed oak forest. Climate cooler than in the preceding period. It is not until this period that the beech becomes a little more prominent in England.

VII-VIII. Transitional level, which appears to correspond to the later part of the 'Subboreal'. In peat-bogs, a Grenzhorizont

is often present on top, separating the lower from the upper *Sphagnum* peat. It is certain that the upper *Sphagnum* peat was formed in a climate decidedly wetter than that of the lower, but it is doubtful whether the limit itself represents a dry phase. The deterioration of the climate at the beginning of the Subatlantic must have been sudden; it marks the beginning of blanket-peat formation in many localities which, up to then, had been entirely free from peat. This extension and intensification of peat formation post-dates the Neolithic and Bronze Age, traces of which have often been found buried by Subatlantic peat.

VII. Alder-oak-elm-lime zone. Mixed oak forest, with oak and alder dominating, whilst lime is characteristic. Optimum conditions

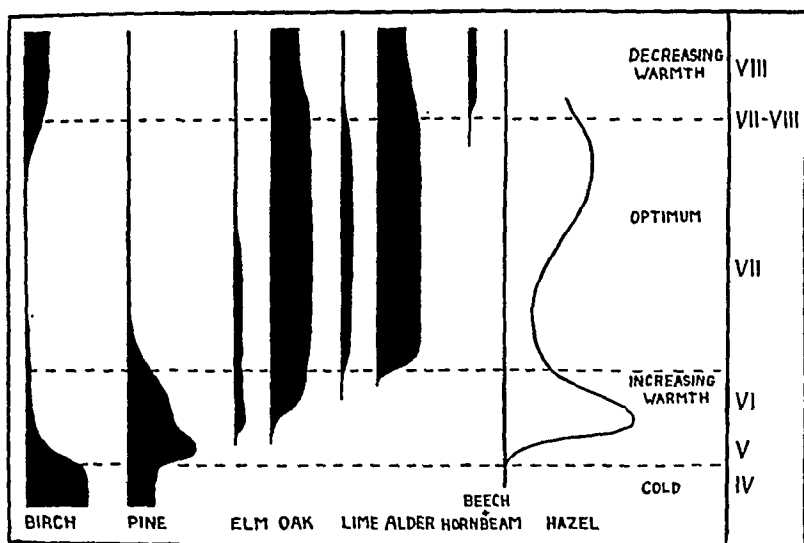


FIG. 33.—Forest development in eastern England, according to Godwin (1940).

of warmth, climate comparatively damp. Atlantic phase (VIIa), and early part of Subboreal (VIIb), the boundary being marked by a decrease in elm.

VI. Pine-hazel zone. The transition from VI to VII is very distinct in the diagrams. The alder increases very suddenly, whilst the pine is greatly reduced. Oak and elm begin to increase earlier, in the course of the formation of zone VI. The hazel plays a very great part in all the diagrams. The climax of hazel falls at the earlier part of zone VI; it decreases in the higher levels, as the elements of the mixed oak association are spreading. Zone VI represents most of the Boreal of Blytt and Sernander.

V. Pine zone. Pollen of warmth-loving trees are practically absent, and the pine dominates. The only other pollen present in

numbers is that of the birch, and that of hazel which increases rapidly towards the end of this phase. This is the early part of the Boreal.

IV. Birch-pine zone. The birch dominates over the pine. Only very small quantities of pollen of the warmth-loving trees are present. The willow, however, is comparatively important (as in zone V also), and the amount of non-tree pollen is very large. This indicates a more or less open country with plenty of herbaceous vegetation and birch woods interspersed with pine. This phase corresponds to the transition from the Late Glacial to the Postglacial period.

III, II, I. These divisions have been reserved for the equivalents of the *Dryas* clays and the Allerød oscillation. A corresponding series was first found at Hawke's Tor, on Bodmin Moor, Cornwall (Godwin, 1940*b*, p. 393, see also Godwin, 1941, 1943). Since then, Lake Windermere, Cumberland (Pennington, 1947), has furnished a sequence of first-rate importance.

It must be remembered that the correlation of the British sequence with those of Denmark and Germany across the sea is a difficult matter and that the identification of pollen-zones with the Boreal, Atlantic, &c. is no more than approximative.

*Archaeology.* On a number of occasions, Godwin has been able to correlate prehistoric sites and single implements with zones of forest development. He has summarized his results in several tables (1938, 1940*a*, *b*, *c*, 1941; see fig. 34).

The earliest site is Star Carr in Yorkshire (early Maglemose, zone IV). A Maglemose harpoon was dredged from the North Sea between the Leman and Ower Banks (transition zone V-VI). Another Mesolithic harpoon, from Skipsea, Yorkshire, came from zone VI. The late Tardenoisian of Peacock's Farm (Clark, Godwin and Clifford, 1935; Clark, 1936*a*; our pl. V, fig. B) lay underneath the peat of zone VII, and a microlithic flake from Plantation Farm (these two sites are in the Fenland) came from zone VI*c*. The Maglemose and Tardenoisian industries (except the final Tardenoisian) thus appear to correspond to the Boreal. The Mesolithic sequence has been studied in detail by Clark (1932, 1936*a*), the early site of Star Carr being particularly important. (Note (15), p. 408.)

The Neolithic coincides with the middle of zone VII, as evidenced by several finds from Peacock's Farm (Pl. V, fig. B), Meare Heath, Swaffham and Hunstanton, all in the neighbourhood of the Cambridgeshire Fenland. The early Bronze Age appears in various localities in the uppermost levels of zone VII. The middle and late Bronze Ages appear to be confined to the transitional zone VII-VIII (Godwin, in Godwin and Clark, 1940*c*). This agrees well with the Continental dates for the Bronze Age. The same transitional zone VII-VIII has yielded Hallstatt remains at Ingoldmells, whilst VIII, the Subatlantic, contains the Iron Age and Romano-British material.

This correlation of archaeological finds and history of the forests is consistent with the results obtained in other regions.

*Postglacial transgression of the sea. Fenland succession.* The rise of the sea from its low level early in Postglacial times up to the present-day high level has been investigated in the Fenland by H. Godwin (1934, 1940a). Submerged peat from the bottom of the North Sea shows that in the Preboreal (zone IV) land existed where there are now 18 to 29 fathoms (32 to 52 metres) of water. On the other hand, peat from a depth of 19 to 20 fathoms (35 metres), between the Leman and Ower Banks, which yielded a Maglemose harpoon, dates from the transition from zone V to zone VI (early Boreal). During the Atlantic, the water level passed the minus 20.5 ft.-mark (— 6 metres) and rapidly reached, and even slightly exceeded, the present sea-level. This part of the transgression has left an apparently complete record at Wiggenhall St. Germans (Godwin and Edmunds, 1933), near King's Lynn. The beds and the corresponding sea-levels are as follows (interpretation by Godwin, 1940a):

	Pollen zone	Sea-level at
Peat bed A	VIIa	— 23.5 ft.
Brackish water clay B	—	— 10.5 ft.
Peat bed C	—	— 17 ft.
Blue clay D	VIIb	+ 2 ft.
Peat bed E, base	—	— 5-10 ft.
Peat bed E, top	VII-VIII	— 11 ft.
Scrobicularia clay F	—	+ 2-5 ft.
Peat bed H	VIII	— 7-8 ft.

The record of peat bed A, combined with the records from the Boreal and the pre-Boreal, shows that the rise of the sea-level was extremely rapid in the early stages, namely about one metre per century.

From the late Atlantic onwards, the records of the movements of the sea-level are considerably more detailed, as shown above in the list of the strata of Wiggenhall St. Germans. There were a number of minor fluctuations, confirmed by Godwin and other workers in a good many localities. After a slow rising or even a stagnation of the sea-level during the early Subboreal (Neolithic) at about — 24 feet (— 7 metres), the sea began to rise rapidly during the formation of pollen zone VIIb (Subboreal, Bronze Age) to about two feet *above* the present sea-level. The fen clays and other inundation clays were formed during this transgression. Soon after, however, the sea-level appears to have dropped again, since erosion channels were cut into the fen clay. Godwin estimates this drop, on the evidence obtained by Swinnerton (1931) at Ingoldmells, Lincolnshire, at 12 to 15 feet. Climatically, this low level corresponds to the early part of the transitional zone VII-VIII

(late Subboreal; late Bronze Age and Hallstatt periods). A second rapid transgression followed at the end of the transitional zone VII-VIII (Iron Age, beginning of Christian era) up to 5 to 10 feet

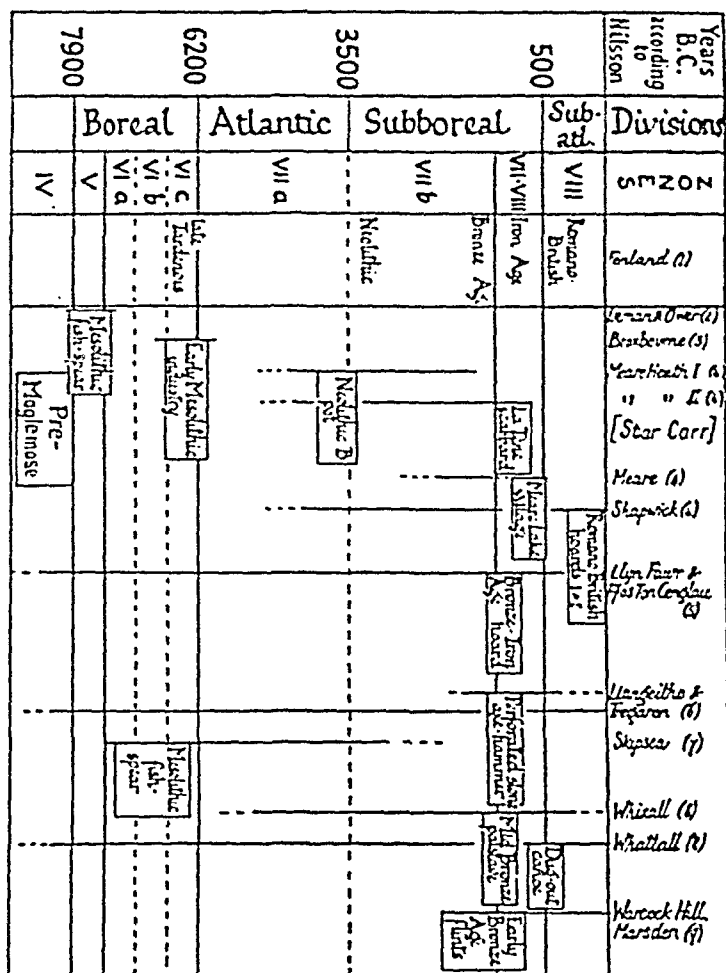


FIG. 34.—Forest development and archaeological finds in England, according to Godwin (1941), with Swedish time-scale added. (See fig. 30.)

above the present water level. Another clay deposit, the *Scrobicularia* Clay, was formed. Since that time, the sea-level has, according to Godwin, dropped again to - 7 to 8 feet (about A.D. 700) and finally risen to its present height. This last oscillation is confirmed

by an interesting observation made by G. Fowler (communicated in Godwin, 1940a, pp. 295-6). He found that, during the last 900 years the sea-walls at the mouths of the Fenland rivers have been built on successively higher levels. (Note (16), p. 409.)

*Essex coast.* Further evidence of Postglacial fluctuations of the sea-level around the British coasts has been discovered and studied near Swansea in South Wales, on the coasts of Essex, and in Bideford Bay, North Devon. The Swansea site (Godwin, 1940c) illustrates the transgression during the Boreal. Since South Wales is within the zone which suffered isostatic re-adjustment, it is not discussed here.

On the coast of Essex, two large areas of Neolithic and Bronze Age occupation sites occur at Clacton-on-Sea and Walton-on-the-Naze, respectively. They have been investigated, among other workers, by S. H. Warren who for many years has concentrated his attention on the sites at Clacton. A report, which includes the Walton site, was published by Warren, Piggott, Clark, Burkitt and Godwin in 1936, and since then the present author has been able to continue observations at the latter locality, thanks to facilities most kindly afforded by Mr. Miles C. Burkitt.

*Walton-on-the-Naze.* The site at Walton lies on a peninsula called the Naze which extends from the town northwards between the sea and the submerged river system of Hamford Water and Walton Backwater. It is made up (fig. 35) chiefly of Red Crag and London Clay and capped by a brown weathering layer. The northern half of this peninsula is marshland at the seaward edge of which the Postglacial deposits are exposed over a length of about 2 miles at low tide. As the surface of the Naze core slopes down towards the marshland, the brown weathering layer comes down also and finally dips beneath the present sea-level, where it is covered by *Scrobicularia* Clay. This weathering layer is the 'rainwash' of the reports; it represents the soil of a phase when the sea-level was lower than to-day. It continues to dip in a northward direction, towards the mouth of the drowned river system of Hamford Water and disappears below the low-water mark. The localities 1 and 2 of the report (Warren and others, 1936), therefore, which are close to the old London Clay core, show the most complete succession of deposits (fig. 35), from top to bottom, as follows:

F. Recent salt-marsh, destroyed by wave action to the seaward of the sandy beach ridge which is advancing over the marsh.

E. *Scrobicularia* Clay. This clay attains a thickness of at least 10 feet and reaches up to about 2 or 3 feet below high-water mark. Since *Scrobicularia* is considered unable to live above low-water mark, it is likely that this clay indicates a rise of sea-level to about 8 to 9 feet above O.D., the tidal range at this locality being about 11 feet. This figure agrees well with that of + 5 to 10 feet

found by Godwin for the *Scrobicularia* Clay of the Fenland at Ingoldmells.

D. The 'peat', which is absent over wide areas and is nowhere more than a few inches thick, is really a peaty marsh-clay. Godwin found from the pollen contents that it developed in a brackish water zone over a salt marsh. The tree pollen was so scarce that neither here nor in the corresponding deposit at Clacton satisfactory countings could be carried out. Godwin found, however, that beech was present and concludes that the peat is not likely to be earlier than Bronze Age.

C. The occupation level is marked by a brown weathering horizon of the underlying deposits. This weathering horizon is locally absent, however, and was probably sometimes removed by man. The top few inches are frequently blackened, as a result of human occupation, and it is difficult to decide whether peat (D) is definitely later than this occupation horizon, or more or less con-

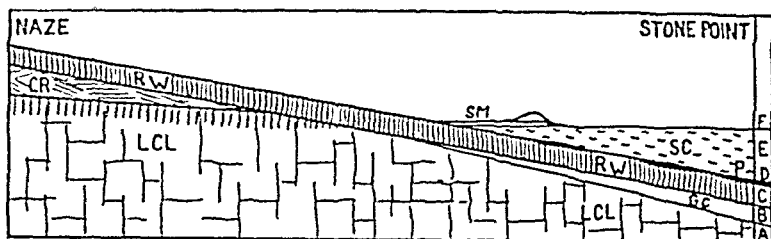


FIG. 35.—Section from the Naze to Stone Point, Walton-on-the-Naze, Essex. Right-hand column: lettering as in text. LCL: Eocene London Clay, top weathered in the Naze. CR: Crag, lower Pleistocene. GC: Light grey clay. RW: Rainwash. P: Peat and occupation level. SC: *Scrobicularia* Clay. SM: Salt-marsh and sandy beach-ridge.

temporary with it. Cooking holes were cut into the brown weathering horizon. It is remarkable that potboilers, flints and sherds occur also down to about one foot in the brown weathering horizon. This is likely to be due to disturbances in the soil as they are normally connected with human occupation.

Apart from derived Lower Palaeolithic, and some possibly Mesolithic, patinated flints found in the weathering layer, all flints and sherds found here as well as at Clacton belong to the Lower Halstow Culture (few specimens), Neolithic A (Windmill Hill, plenty), Neolithic B (few), grooved ware Neolithic, and Beaker B (Bronze Age, few). No other Bronze Age types have been recorded.

Wooden structures which may have been huts have been mentioned repeatedly by Warren and Burkitt. One such structure was visible in June 1937. Between the upright poles there was what appeared to be a layer of wattle, and the ground around the structure was strewn with potboilers, round flint pebbles, and cockle shells,



but no datable flint implements or sherds were found. The age of this and similar structures is limited by (a) their erection on the weathering surface of (C), and (b) by the *Scrobicularia* Clay covering them. They may be contemporary with the Neolithic-Bronze Age occupation, or later.

The hut just described is of particular interest since it stands close to an ancient water course whose flanks are covered with plant stalks (probably some kind of reed). This water course was once filled with and covered in by *Scrobicularia* Clay and is, therefore, older than this deposit, though in recent times the sea, having washed away most of this clay, uses the channel again, as a tidal creek. Similar water courses have been described by Warren from Clacton. This author is inclined to regard them as artificial. He brings forward evidence for their contemporaneity with the Neolithic-Beaker occupation, no implements other than Neolithic or Beaker having been found in them.

B. Underneath the brown weathering horizon (C), a light grey clay is observed (greenish clay as described by Burkitt). Burkitt noticed that this clay differs from the underlying London Clay in being softer, and that there is a layer of marine shells at its base. He suggests that the clay may be estuarine. My own observations point in the same direction. I found *Cardium edule* L. in the clay. In view of the possible importance of this deposit, however, more definite evidence of its origin is desirable.

A. London Clay, solid and typical.

The succession of Walton has been given here in detail since it differs to some extent from the succession observed by Godwin in the Fenland. Godwin found evidence that the sea-level had risen to about — 20 feet in the late Neolithic, and that it exceeded the present level twice thereafter, in the early Bronze Age (+ 2 feet) and in the Iron Age (+ 5 to 10 feet). At Walton, the apparently estuarine clay (B) suggests a sea-level at least as high as the present one, antedating the Neolithic, and there also is definite proof of one sea-level of about + 8 to 9 feet after the Bronze Age. The latter is probably the later of the two transgressions of the Fenland. Evidence for the earlier is still missing.

*Fluctuations in the Postglacial Transgression.* Godwin's three high sea-levels are about 1,800 to 2,000 years distant from one another. If the pre-Neolithic high level can be further substantiated, it seems that, on the whole, the Postglacial transgression proceeded in a fluctuating manner. It may be well worth while to consider these fluctuations in detail when more evidence has become available and to see whether or not they can be correlated with one of the astronomical, climatic or geological cycles of medium length.

*The opening of the English Channel.* The question of the opening of the English Channel in Postglacial times is intimately connected

with the fluctuations of the sea-level. There is a wide-spread misconception that the Chalk ridge which once may have extended from Dover to Calais was not breached until after the Last Glaciation, the separation of Britain from the Continent being effected in this manner and at such a late date.

In fact, the Chalk ridge must have been breached at an earlier date. It has been pointed out by Reid (1913) and other workers that, during the two maximum glaciations (Penultimate and Antepenultimate Glaciations), the meltwater of the ice, together with the waters of the Thames and the Rhine, is likely to have drained through the Straits of Dover. This implies that there was a gap or that a gap was eroded by these waters.

Moreover, interglacial beach deposits of the Monastirian phase (see p. 128), of the Last Interglacial, are found on the French side of the Straits to the east of Calais, round the corner where the Flandrian plains begin. This supports the view that the Straits were a sea channel during the Last Interglacial. It is further strengthened by the occurrence in the Eem deposits of the North Sea of the Last Interglacial of many mollusca commonly regarded as members of the Lusitanian fauna. Such forms, which are sensitive to cold water, are more likely to have entered the North Sea through the English Channel than around the northern tip of Scotland.

There is plenty of evidence that wave action, intensified by tidal scour, has widened the gap between Dover and Cape Gris Nez since it became flooded in Postglacial times. It is likely, therefore, that during the Last Interglacial the Straits were narrower than they are now. V;76 K4 658

The present conditions in the Straits are such that a drop in sea-level of about 40 metres would produce a broad and uninterrupted connexion of Britain with the Continent (for figure, see Fox, 1938, p. 25). Since the sea-level is considered to have receded to — 100 metres during the Last Glaciation, it is evident that, in spite of the greater age of the gap in the Chalk ridge and in spite of its submergence during the Last Interglacial, a land bridge existed during the Last Glaciation, and presumably for some considerable time afterwards.

The question as to the date of the Postglacial re-opening of the Straits of Dover, therefore, should be formulated more precisely: At which date was the flat floor of the gap in the Chalk ridge flooded, when the sea-level rose in Postglacial times? It is comparatively easy to answer if only an approximate date is required. In the Dogger Bank area, the — 40-metre level was submerged in early Boreal times, about 7000 B.C. Provided the floor of the Straits was not covered with thicker deposits than it is now, the sea may have flooded it at about this time from the west. This is the earliest possible date for the Postglacial separation. If one accepts Nilsson's

(1948*b*) analysis of the rise of the level of the North Sea, the 40-metre level was submerged about 6000 B.C.

If, however, there were on the floor of the Straits deposits which have since been removed by tidal scour, and it is quite likely that there were some, the submergence of the floor of the Straits may have occurred at a somewhat later date.

The upper time-limit is given by the completion of the Post-glacial transgression. In north-west Germany, the present level was reached in the middle of the Subboreal, about 2000 B.C., and by this time the separation of Britain from the Continent would have been completed (Zeuner, 1935 ; Stamp, 1936). But the — 10-metre mark had been passed by 3500 B.C. according to Nilsson (1948*b*), whilst the transgression gave way to an emergence at this time according to Godwin (1945, also fig. 38).

In view of the significance of the precise date of the separation of Britain from the Continent, the limits obtained in this way, i.e. between 7000 and 2000 B.C., are unsatisfactorily wide.

Recent evidence has tended to favour an early date within the above limits. Ulyott (1936) used the present distribution on both sides of the Channel of flatworms with definite climatic requirements in order to show that 'the freshwater connexion between England and the continent was severed before the [summer] temperature had risen to 16° C.' Since a land connexion may have persisted somewhat longer than a connexion of the freshwater systems, the date of the marine submergence may be slightly later. Clark (1936*b*) points out that Ulyott's evidence places the severance well within the Boreal phase, 'before its later stages when the temperature curve rose to its maximum during Postglacial time'. Clark finds such an earlier date further substantiated by the absence from Britain of certain Danish late Maglemose types of implements, which indicates that a break in cultural relations had taken place by that time. In this manner, a date between 7000 and 6000 B.C. for the separation can be supported.

Advocates of a later separation, on the whole, accept the geological and palaeobotanical evidence, but adduce archaeological evidence suggesting that the Straits of Dover were still either very narrow, or dry land, when the immigration of the Neolithic 'A' people took place. This view is held, for instance, by Fox (1938) who argues that the sea-route through the English Channel and the North Sea to reach Scandinavia and the Baltic was hardly used at all by Neolithic man, and that he preferred the northern route round the north of Scotland. Fox suggests 5000 B.C. as a date for the separation but thinks that the Channel remained narrow and shallow right into the third millenium B.C., on the one hand preventing Megalithic man from using the dangerous North Sea route with its shoals and strong tides, and on the other hand enabling inland folk such as the

Neolithic 'A' people to ferry across the narrow Straits and reach Britain in calm weather.

Peake (1938a, b) goes much further than Fox in stressing the latter point. In his view, the Neolithic 'A' people could not even have ferried their cattle across to England, and this would tend 'to indicate that the Kent-Artois ridge was not breached until close on 2000 B.C.' Since, however, geology suggests that the breaching of the Chalk ridge took place before the Last Glaciation, so that only low-lying marshes and dunes would have been submerged when the sea broke through in Postglacial times, Peake's argument stands and falls with the question whether the cattle were driven overland or ferried across a narrow strip of water. The extremely late date favoured by Peake, therefore, has practically no chances of being substantiated. Fox's argument concerning the scantiness of evidence for the Neolithic sea-route through the Straits is more serious; he suggests himself that strong tides and the dangers of the shallow North Sea may have acted as a deterrent, so that his theory does not contradict, but merely elaborates, the theory of the earlier break-through.

It is suggested, therefore, that the separation of Britain from the Continent occurred in late Boreal times, between 7000 and 6000 B.C., and that the widening of the gap was a gradual process, so that immigration into Britain became increasingly difficult as time went on.

*Ireland.* In Ireland (fig. 36), the climatic changes during the late Glacial and Postglacial times have recently been investigated by a number of authors, among them the members of the Harvard Irish Survey (Movius, 1942) in co-operation with K. Jessen (1949). Other important work is by Farrington and by Mitchell.

*Allerød Oscillation in Ireland.* The Allerød Oscillation is well established for Ireland. In one of the bogs at Ballybetagh, near Dublin, Farrington and Jessen (1938) found that two periods of solifluction (zones I and III), which appear at the bottom of the section, are separated by a mud with birch, willow, juniper, pine and other plants (zone II). The layer has yielded also remains of *Calathus fuscipes* (Goeze) (= *Calathus cisteloides* (Panzer)), a beetle of wide distribution in Europe which, however, does not go farther north than  $63\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  in Norway,  $60^{\circ}$  in Sweden,  $60\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  in Finland, and  $62^{\circ}$  in north-west Russia.<sup>1</sup> This form illustrates fairly well the kind of northern forest that grew at Ballybetagh at that time.

Similar successions have been found by Farrington and Jessen (1938) in three other Irish bogs and also on the Isle of Man, and Mitchell (1941) found it in one further Irish bog. The correlation

<sup>1</sup> It is not admissible, therefore, to call this beetle a 'southern' form, as done by Movius (1940, p. 12).

of the Irish zones I, II, III with the Danish Early Dryas, Alleröd and Late Dryas zones, therefore, is very tempting, especially since in both areas the pre-Boreal conditions set in only above zone III. Jessen (in Farrington and Jessen, 1938), therefore holds the view that zone II corresponds to the Alleröd Oscillation of Denmark.

*Later stages in Ireland and archaeological chronology.* Zone IV appears to represent the transition to the Boreal, as in England. The Irish zones from V upwards, however, were not identical with those of England, until a revision was suggested by Jessen in 1949. The Old and the New Irish systems are tabulated in fig. 28, p. 73.

		Upp. Paleo- lithic type	Mesolithic (Larnian)	Neolithic A	Neolithic B	Beaker (Early B.A.)	Middle Bronze Age	Late Bronze Age	Hallstatt	La Tène
Sub. Atlant.	VIII									
Subboreal	VII						X?	X		
Atlantic	VI			X	X	X X	X X X	X X X X X X X	X	X
Boreal	V <sub>b</sub>	X	X							
	V <sub>a</sub>									

FIG. 36.—Distribution of prehistoric finds over the pollen zones in Ireland, according to Mitchell (1945). *Old Irish pollen zones.*

Mitchell (1945), who discussed the pollen zonation in Ireland, pointed out that the decline of the elm, which marks the boundary between E VII<sub>a</sub> and E VII<sub>b</sub> in England and between the Atlantic and the Subboreal in southern Scandinavia, is not consistently apparent in Irish diagrams.

Mitchell has identified the pollen horizons of a large number of prehistoric finds from Ireland. These are tabulated in fig. 36. An industry of Upper Palaeolithic aspect appears to have survived into the Early Boreal near Toome on the shores of Lough Neagh (Movius, 1940*b*; Mahr, 1937). The Mesolithic is present in the form of the Larnian, which is found *in situ* in V<sub>b</sub>. But Mitchell (1947) found at Rockmarshall a kitchen-midden which suggests that the Larnian

may have survived close on to Neolithic times. The Neolithic and Bronze Ages are found in zone VI, mainly its uppermost part, and

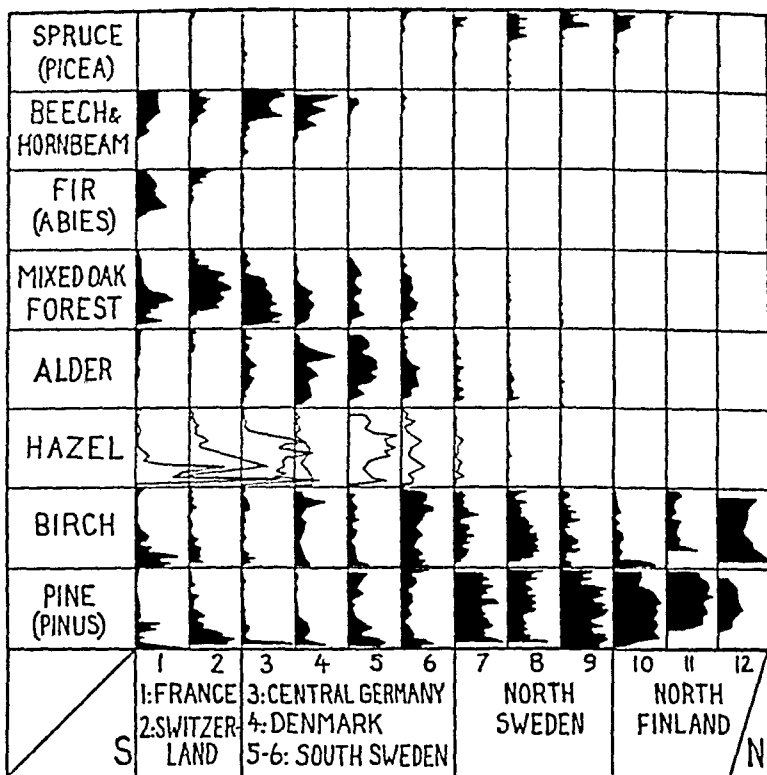


FIG. 37.—Synthetic diagram of the development of the forests in different regions of temperate Europe, illustrated by localities arranged in a direction from south to north.

(1) Auvergne, 1,200 metres; (2) Bern, Switzerland, 524 metres; (3) Vogelsberg, south-west Germany; (4) Copenhagen; (5) central Scania; (6) Borås, south Sweden; (7) Krylbo, north Sweden; (8) Sollefteå, north Sweden; (9) Kulbäcksliden, north Sweden; (10) Kuusamo, Finland; (11) Muonionniska, Finland; (12) Kilpisjärvi, Finland.

The kinds of pollen are shown separately. In each unit, time proceeds in an upward direction. Each vertical column shows the composition of the pollen diagrams of one locality, whilst the horizontal columns demonstrate the changes in the frequency of certain kinds of pollen due to geographical factors. The diagram thus illustrates the geographical variation in the development of the Postglacial flora in different parts of temperate Europe.—After von Post (1929b).

in VII, corresponding probably to the Subboreal. The two Iron Age finds, however, appear to have sunk in the peat, since they occurred in zone VII.

G. LATE GLACIAL AND POSTGLACIAL (MESOLITHIC TO IRON AGE)  
CHRONOLOGY

*Events on which a chronological system can be based.* The preceding regional survey, incomplete though it is, shows clearly that the successions observed in the various areas resemble one another to a great extent, but they are not identical. They all agree on the general succession of glacial or solifluction deposits, tree-less tundra, birch-pine forests, a transitional phase with dominance of hazel, mixed oak forests, and finally beech forests (in those areas which were reached by the beech).<sup>1</sup> One can add that at the beginning of the floral succession, an alternation of tundra, birch-pine, tundra, birch-pine (or some equivalent duplication) is observed in so many areas of the belt surrounding the Scandinavian Glaciation, that this also has to be regarded as part of the general succession.

In attempting to employ this succession in the construction of a chronological system, two complications enter the picture.

(1) In an area extending from Finland to the British Isles and to Lake Constance, and adjoining a waning ice-sheet, there must have existed a distinct climatic zonation, from S to N (approaching the ice) as well as from W to E (increasing continentality). It cannot be expected, therefore, that all localities passed through the same floral phase at the same time. In particular, south-west Germany must have been considerably in advance of the more northerly regions at all times. Bertsch (1935) makes a point of this difficulty. It renders it impossible to arrive at a precise correlation of two distant localities by merely determining the phase of forest development.

(2) The second difficulty is that of the varying rates of spreading of the species. Firbas (1934, 1949) and Bertsch (1935) studied it in detail. Bertsch gives the example of the beech (fig. 32) which spread at a much faster rate along the rivers than it did away from the rivers, and on the whole spread more slowly than other species. It is evident that the method and the rate of spreading determine in part the time of its arrival at a certain place. The constitution of the flora of any one locality, therefore, is influenced by this factor, though to a degree which is as yet hardly determinable.

In view of these difficulties it is necessary to look for some kind of 'land-mark' in the successions, which can be identified in a large number of sections and is of a sufficiently unique character to be used as a reasonably precise chronological datum. The chief requirement is, of course, that it was produced by an event which occurred simultaneously over the entire area considered.

There are two conceivable geological 'land-marks' of this kind,

<sup>1</sup> For general summaries, see Firbas, 1939 (continental Europe), Godwin, 1941 (Britain), Nilsson, 1948a (Denmark), 1935 (Sweden), 1948b (N.W. Germany).

the Litorina Transgression and the halt of the ice-recession at the Fennoscandian moraines, and three botanical ones: the Alleröd Oscillation, the Postglacial Climatic Optimum, and the Subboreal. The Alleröd Oscillation is closely connected with the halt at the Fennoscandian moraines; they are, therefore, discussed together.

*Litorina Transgression, chronological significance.* The Litorina Transgression would provide an excellent datum, had there not been superimposed on it isostatic movements. As it is, the maximum of this transgression was reached locally at different times, depending on the relative rates of rise of the sea-level and of the land. An encroachment of the sea upon the land could occur only where the rate of rise of sea-level was greater than that of the land; where the rate of rise of the land overtook that of the sea, as it appears to have happened in parts of Scandinavia, the maximum of the local transgression will be earlier than the actual maximum as far as it depends solely on the rise of the sea-level. The Litorina beach corresponding to the highest stand of this sea, therefore, cannot be contemporaneous over the entire area. In fact, the 'Litorina Maximum' has been dated at about 5000 B.C. for Finland, 4500 B.C. for Gotland, and near 2000 B.C. for Denmark (Troels-Smith, 1937). This retardation in the south, or rather the precocity of the maximum transgression in the north, is probably the result of the rapid isostatic rise of northern Scandinavia. The difficulties are further increased by the oscillations of the transgression.

*Fennoscandian moraines, chronological significance.* The halt in the ice-recession documented by the formation of the Fennoscandian moraines (middle Swedish and south Finnish moraines, Salpausselkä phase, p. 28) is the most marked event in the gradual disappearance of the ice-sheet of the Last Glaciation. The two or three parallel belts of terminal moraines have been dated by de Geer and Sauramo in Sweden and Finland at roughly 8600-7900 B.C. (see p. 32). Leaving aside the problem of the accuracy of these figures, it is considered possible, and by some probable, that this halt in the recession corresponded to a deterioration of the climate, which left its trace in the floral history. The pollen diagrams of southern Sweden (Nilsson, 1935) provide for only one correlation of this kind, namely with the deterioration which followed the relatively mild Alleröd phase.

On the assumption that this correlation is correct, a most valuable 'land-mark' becomes available which would date the second *Dryas* Time or its equivalent at about 8600 to 7900 B.C. in any section within the triangle Finland—Ireland—south-west Germany. The Alleröd deposits or their equivalents would fall slightly earlier, at about 9000 B.C. or somewhat more. Thus a valuable guide for the dating of the Mesolithic has been obtained.

*Postglacial Climatic Optimum, chronological significance.* Un-



fortunately, the Alleröd Oscillation is too early to help in dating the transition from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic, and any later cultural phase. For these later times, the Postglacial Climatic Optimum and the supposed dry phase of the Subboreal may be considered as possible 'land-marks'.

The Postglacial Climatic Optimum (see p. 67), however, is rather difficult to define. There is abundant evidence that for some time during the Postglacial, conditions of life for certain plants were more favourable than they are at present, and it may be added that the same applies to marine shells, as was first pointed out by Praeger (1892). The genial period may have been one with a more continental climate, i.e. with hotter summers, permitting plants which prefer this type of climate to advance northwards. Or it was the annual average temperature that was higher than now. The palaeobotanical evidence suggests that in late Boreal times the former interpretation applies, and that during the Atlantic, when the climate had become decidedly oceanic, the average temperature was, for a while, higher than at present. Clearly, a period which is so vaguely defined and spread over a great part of the floral succession (earliest stage suggested, late Boreal; latest, Subboreal; majority of opinion, Atlantic) is not suitable to serve as a chronological 'land-mark' for the correlation of different areas.

*Subboreal 'dry' phase, chronological significance.* Similar difficulties prevail as regards the Subboreal. At one time it was considered as a clearly marked dry phase of short duration (Gams and Nordhagen, 1923), largely under the influence of Weber's Grenzhorizont (p. 64). Later workers found it difficult to define the beginning of this phase, and some even began to doubt its dry character. It developed so gradually from the typical Atlantic, and the Mixed Oak Forest was certainly not replaced by constituents fond of drier conditions, that the chief evidence for a dry Subboreal remains the Grenzhorizont, the layers of tree-stumps in bogs, the extension of forest growth to a higher altitude than at present, and the subsequent covering of these witnesses of forest by the Subatlantic, definitely damp, *Sphagnum* peat. Part of this evidence is indicative of the Postglacial optimum rather than a dry phase, and since the Grenzhorizont has become a multiple phenomenon and at best suggests a change to conditions wetter than previously, the evidence for dry conditions during the Subboreal has been weakened. It has not been refuted, however, and Godwin (1941), in discussing the Subboreal, holds that indications of dryness exist. But the several recurrence surfaces now known range from the beginning of the Subboreal right into the Subatlantic. In north-west Germany and Holland Nilsson (1948, p. 53) distinguishes six of them, the earliest at the level S IV/V, the latest at S I/II. But that at the boundary S II/III (end of Subboreal/beginning of Subatlantic) is

	S. Sweden	Denmark	Föhr	NW Germany	Holland	Flamand coast	Britain East/South/South-west
Pt							
VIII ROMAN IRON-AGE			submergence (marsh-clay)	submergence	submergence R.K. - 5m.	submergence (Dunkirk beds)	submergence
G.H.		little movement					submergence
BRONZE AGE	emergence		emergence (marsh-clay)	emergence (raised-bog)	emergence (raised-bog)	emergence (wood peat)	emergence (raised-bog)
VIII b							
NEOLITHIC				? slight emergence	TK - 5m.		
III							
VIIa	submergence	submergence	submergence	submergence	submergence (old sea-clay)	submergence (Calais beds)	submergence
MESOLITHIC							
B.A.T.	TK = Onwards	TK = - 6m		TK = - 17m	TK = - 12 to - 24		TK = - 7m TK = + 1
Vj	submergence	submergence	submergence	submergence	submergence	submergence (Ostend beds)	submergence
Vj		(D E E P	M O O R	L O G	- 35 m.)		
H							
IV							

TK = Transgression contact.

R.K. = Regression contact

FIG. 38.—Land and sea-level relations related to the English pollen-sequence by Godwin (1945, reproduced with permission). Note that the several Danish oscillations of the Litorina transgression are not entered (see fig. 30).

of particular interest, since it has been reported far more frequently than the others. This is the recurrence surface which became the prototype of Weber's Grenzhorizont. Soil formations in central Europe suggest that the inference that the summers were dry approximately when the Grenzhorizont was formed, may receive further confirmation (Zeuner, 1951).

It may be that the indications of dryness in the Subboreal are somehow connected with the slight regression of the sea during that time (fig. 38). This regression was not everywhere contemporary, nor of the same duration. But in coastal sites around the North Sea it provides a useful guiding horizon. See Note (17), p. 409.

*Absolute chronology of the late Glacial and Postglacial.* It must be admitted, then, that the absolute chronology of the time which has elapsed since the maximum of the Last Glaciation, and of the prehistoric industries of this period has been much improved recently. The relative chronology, as based on the correlation of climatic phases and the oscillations of the sea-level, suffers from the lack of complete contemporaneity, as described in the preceding paragraphs, and if one places the chronologies of Finland, Gotland, south Sweden, Denmark, Britain, Ireland, north Germany and south Germany on one and the same time-scale, using the absolute dates suggested by local workers, one finds that discrepancies still exist.

The absolute dates suggested by de Geer and Sauramo for the Fennoscandian moraines thus attain the greatest importance as the zero-point of prehistoric chronology. Early dates suggested for events from Subarctic times onwards have been based on these figures, or on others derived from them. Fromm's (1938) geochronologically dated pollen-diagrams from Angermanland provide the remainder of dates in the Scandinavian sequence, and Welten's work in Switzerland may become important as a second pollen-time-scale. But all dates from 3500 B.C. onwards are more or less influenced by historical cross-dating.

*Attempts at astronomical dating.* In view of the difficulties implied in varve chronology, some workers on the Postglacial have attempted to apply the fluctuations of solar radiation as calculated from the perturbations of the earth's orbit (see Chapter V) to the succession of climatic phases of the Postglacial (Hyypä, Gross, Bertsch, Rust, etc.). The results of these various attempts are unsatisfactory and conflicting.

*Radiocarbon dating.* The late Glacial and Postglacial periods have derived much benefit from the radiocarbon method (p. 341). Above all, the age of the Alleröd oscillation as based on varves has been confirmed. Values from Britain, north Germany and Denmark give about 10,000 to 11,000 years ago.

Specimens of North American wood overwhelmed by the Mankato advance suggest that this is synchronous with the Fennoscandian moraine, the wood being about 11,500 years old.

### PART III

## DATING THE OLD STONE AGE, THE PHASES OF THE ICE AGE AND THE PLUVIAL PHASES OF THE WARMER COUNTRIES

*(Back to about one million years ago)*

### CHAPTER V

## THE RELATIVE AND ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PLEISTOCENE

As in the chronology of the late Glacial and Postglacial, so in that of the Pleistocene, a relative, climatic, chronology has to be developed in the first instance, in order to serve as the basis of reference for the events to be dated. The late Glacial and Postglacial relative chronology was supplied by the changes the climate underwent between the climax of the last glacial phase and the present day, and it was derived mainly from palaeobotanical evidence; in the Pleistocene, the relative chronology is provided by the succession of glacial and interglacial phases, and it relies mainly on alternating geological processes of deposition and destruction of deposits.

In either case, the absolute chronology has been developed independently of the relative chronology, in reliance on some kind of astronomical rhythm, namely the year in the late Glacial and Postglacial chronology and the perturbations of the earth's orbit in Pleistocene chronology. It is necessary to keep in mind that, in either case, the absolute chronology is attached to the relative (climatic) chronology by comparatively few links, and that the relative chronology has not been made in order to suit the time-scale provided by the absolute chronology. The justification for the use of the latter as a time-scale consists in a number of coincidences which are difficult to explain as pure chance. If anybody regards the application of the absolute time-scale as unconvincing, it is open to him to discard this part of the Pleistocene chronology altogether. That, however, will not affect the value of the relative, climatic, chronology. In order to emphasize this distinction between the relative chronology, i.e. the succession of climatic phases as established on geological evidence, and the absolute chronology, i.e. the time-scale as deduced from the astronomical theory of the Pleistocene climate, they are discussed in two separate parts of this chapter. These parts are followed by a third which gives the links between the two.

A. THE SUCCESSION OF CLIMATIC PHASES DURING THE PLEISTOCENE <sup>1</sup>

*Glaciations and interglacials.* Ever since it was discovered that during the Pleistocene large portions of temperate Europe were covered with sheets of ice emanating from Scandinavia, Scotland, and the Alps, evidence has been brought forward that the process of glaciation was repeated several times. The actual number of glaciations, however, was not easily ascertained since later glaciations were liable to destroy or veil the deposits of earlier ones. Moreover, it is as a rule impossible to distinguish as products of different glaciations two superimposed glacial deposits (such as boulder clays or bottom moraines; or glacifluvial or meltwater gravels) unless a weathering horizon intervenes.

*Superposition of glacial and interglacial deposits.* Investigators, therefore, have attempted to recognize phases in the peripheral zones of the ice-sheets rather than in the central ones. Here, interglacial deposits are more likely to be covered by bottom moraine of the advancing ice-sheets, without being destroyed completely. On the whole this work has not been very successful. Though interesting interglacial deposits, containing temperate faunas and floras, were discovered, the local succession rarely fulfilled the requirement of proving that more than one interglacial had occurred. Borings were more successful in this respect, a few in north Germany having produced evidence for two interglacial phases separating three advances of the Scandinavian ice (Rüdersdorf, for instance, see Wahnschaffe and Schucht, 1921). Consequently, the view became generally accepted that the Scandinavian ice advanced and retreated three times. These three glaciations were called Elster (the earliest), Saale and Weichsel Glaciation.

*Geomorphological method, meltwater deposits.* A different approach to the problem is afforded by the belts of terminal moraines and meltwater deposits which mark successive halts of the ice. When, except for minor oscillations, the ice-margin became stabilized in a certain area, a zone of meltwater deposits (*glacifluvial* gravels and sands, clays and varved sediments) developed in front of it. If the country was flat, the glacifluvial deposits (pl. IX, fig. B) assumed the shape of cones radiating from the points of issue of subglacial water-courses (pl. IX, fig. A) or of sheets sloping away from the ice and fed by superficial meltwater. Such formations are called *sandr* (pl. X, fig. B). Their distant portions merge into river terraces, thus providing a link between the glacial phase and the level occupied

<sup>1</sup> This subject-matter is discussed in detail in Zeuner (1945). The present treatment is a summary of Chapters I to VI of the publication mentioned, to which the reader is referred for fuller information and bibliographical references. But many localities which have provided climatic and archaeological evidence are described in Chapters VI to VIII of the present book.

by the river at that time. On the periphery of the Scandinavian ice-sheet, wide valleys are observed, large portions of which are no longer used by major rivers and whose surface features and gradients betray that they functioned for comparatively short periods only and under a frost climate. These conspicuous valleys which run parallel to, and at some distance from, the ice-margins are called *urstromtäler*; sing. *urstromtal* (pl. VII, fig. C; pl. X, fig. A). They are of great interest since they enable us to reconstruct the hydrographical system of the glaciation (Zeuner and Schulz, 1931), and the subsequent development of the modern river system from it.

The bottoms of *urstromtäler* are often very sandy, and winds have heaped up the sand in dunes (pl. X, fig. A). Ancient dune fields are frequently met with, therefore, and the shape of the dunes makes it possible to deduce the prevalent direction of the wind, which was east in northern Germany (Solger, 1910). This has been taken as evidence for the existence of anticyclonic conditions over the Scandinavian ice-sheet.

Few *urstromtäler* were formed at the margin of the ice-sheet of the Alps, for here the general gradient of the surface is away from the ice, favouring radial river systems, while the Scandinavian ice moved up the gentle gradient from the Baltic Basin towards the mountains of Central Europe. The latter arrangement of course favours peripheral water-courses. The only area of the Alps where peripheral *urstromtäler* play an important role, is the basin of Lake Constance (Schmidle, 1914; pl. VII, fig. C).

Where the ice discharged its meltwater into river-valleys leading away from it, the sandr takes the form of an aggradation of gravels which, the river having since cut down again, now appears as a river terrace. Such glaci-fluvial terraces are common around the Alps. It is interesting to note, however, that the *early* Pleistocene gravel-sheets of the Alps are more of the ordinary sandr-type. By *late* Pleistocene times, the rivers had deepened their valleys sufficiently for glaci-fluvial river terraces to become the dominant type.

*Terminal moraines.* The glaci-fluvial formations are of so much more general occurrence than terminal moraines, that they have been considered first. At the actual ice-margin, a *terminal moraine* is sometimes built up (pl. VII, figs. A, C; pl. VIII, fig. B), consisting of the load of rock-waste, sand and mud, carried by the ice (pl. VII, fig. B). Unless pressure is exerted, this debris left by the melting ice cannot be piled higher than the thickness of the ice; no conspicuous ridge is formed in this way, and the moraine is nothing but the edge or crest of the sloping sheet of the sandr. But if the ice margin oscillates and during the small advances actively pushes into these deposits, ridges of pressure-moraines are formed

which sometimes are most prominent geomorphological features. These terminal moraines are always recognizable by their internal structure, being composed of folded and distorted sandr material and boulder clay.

*Glaciations of Scandinavian area.* Returning to our chronological problem, it must now be stated that, while the analysis of the zones of moraines and sandrs of the Scandinavian Glaciation confirmed that there were at least three major glaciations, substantial evidence was brought forward in favour of a fourth glacial phase, intervening between the Saale and Weichsel Glaciations. It is called the Warthe Phase.

The objection may be raised that a succession of belts of terminal moraines and glacifluvial belts need not represent a succession of glaciations separated by interglacials, but merely successive halts in the retreat from the maximum of one very large glaciation. This objection does apply to certain morainic belts, such as that of the Frankfurt-Posen Phase, but there are usually means of deciding whether a prolonged interval with a withdrawal of the ice to the north was intercalated between two zones of terminal moraines.

First, the younger the moraine, the fresher and more complete will be the preservation of the morphological details, such as the small hills and pits which are so typical of formerly glaciated districts. If one moves outwards towards the periphery of the Scandinavian area of glaciation, one observes the freshest morphology in Sweden, but the features are almost as fresh in eastern Jutland, north Germany and northern Poland, until one reaches the line usually called the *Pomeranian* or *Baltic End-moraine*.

Outside this line, the morphological features are somewhat less distinct, and small elements like pits or *kettle-holes*, originally filled with ice (pl. VIII, fig. A), are rarer. This type of country extends to the *Brandenburg Moraine* of the Weichsel Glaciation.

Outside the Brandenburg Moraine, a great difference is noticeable, the glacial features of the landscape often having been destroyed by fluvial erosion and denudation, and replaced by features dependent on the modern river system. But the major glacial forms, like terminal moraines, are still identifiable. This type of country extends southwards and south-eastwards to the *Fläming Moraine*, the moraine of the Warthe Phase.

Outside this line, glacial features are very rarely preserved, and weathering and denudation have caused the disappearance of much of the evidence for the country ever having been glaciated. But erratic boulders and patches of boulder clay and glacifluvial gravel are still found. In this area, two moraines of different age have been distinguished, partly by the presence of two different types of boulder clay with different contents of

erratics,<sup>1</sup> and partly because they are occasionally separated by a horizon of weathering indicating an interglacial climate (see p. 123).

These two ground moraines are those of the Elster and Saale Glaciations. Their extension was, apparently, on the whole nearly the same, but in Holland and north-west Germany, Saale appears to have exceeded Elster, and the same applies to Russia (see Tesch, 1939; Woldstedt, 1929; Grahmann, 1928).

This is an instance of the application of stratigraphical methods, and therefore an illustration of the second way of settling the question whether belts of terminal moraines represent independent glaciations or merely stages of retreat.

In the Berlin area, which lies inside the Brandenburg, but outside the Pomeranian Moraine, borings and sections have shown that two upper boulder clays are separated by a horizon with a cool-temperate fauna which must indicate at least a temporary retreat of the ice (the *Rixdorf Horizon*, Dietrich, 1932). The series of glacial deposits covering the Rixdorf Horizon cannot be later than the Brandenburg Moraine, or the Weichsel Phase. Consequently, the underlying complex of 40 metres of boulder clays and sand may well represent the Warthe Phase. That this complex is unlikely to date from any earlier glaciation is suggested by the fact that beneath it a typical interglacial deposit is found (the *Paludina Horizon*), which in turn rests on a succession of two older boulder clays separated by 20 metres of sand. Here, then, appears to be evidence, in one section, for the Elster and Saale Glaciations (the two lowermost boulder clays), an interglacial (*Paludina Horizon*), the Warthe Phase (boulder clay beneath Rixdorf Horizon), a cool-temperate oscillation (Rixdorf Horizon), and the Weichsel Phase (uppermost boulder clay and sand).

The separation of the Pomeranian as a distinct phase is suggested by sections in East Prussia (*Masurian Interstadial*, Hess von Wichdorff, 1915), where fossiliferous freshwater deposits rest on a boulder clay regarded as that of the Weichsel Phase and are covered by a thin bed of a more recent boulder clay. Fauna and flora, however, are of a subarctic character, so that the milder phase which intervened between Weichsel and Pomeranian appears to have been comparatively cold.

*Climatic succession in the area of the Scandinavian Glaciation.* The evidence for climatic phases obtainable in the area of the Scandinavian glaciation can thus be summarized as follows :<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The distinction of moraines by means of the contents of *erratics* has been elaborated by Milthers (1934) and Hesemann (1934). It is called *Geschiebezählung*; in English it is conveniently described as *stone-counts*.

<sup>2</sup> There are many problems involved in the establishment of this succession (Zeuner, 1945, Chapter II). It has not been fully ascertained whether the Warthe Phase is nearer to the Weichsel or the Saale Glaciation. The first alternative has been adopted here, but general opinion tends at the present to favour the second (Woldstedt, 1942). The evidence is not yet conclusive. (Note (18), p. 409.)



Local terminology	General terminology	
Pomeranian Phase	} Last Glaciation	Phase 3
Masurian Interstadial		Phase 2/3
Weichsel Phase (Brandenburg Moraine)		Phase 2
Rixdorf Interstadial		Phase 1/2
Warthe Phase (Fläming Moraine)		Phase 1
Interglacial (Paludina Horizon)	Last Interglacial	
Saale Glaciation	Penultimate Glaciation	
Interglacial, weathering and denudation	Penultimate Interglacial	
Elster Glaciation	Antepenultimate Glaciation	

Several noteworthy conclusions can now be drawn :

(1) The last three glacial phases are separated by temperate phases only, not by typical interglacials. They may therefore be regarded as three phases of one major glaciation. We shall henceforth distinguish such *glacial phases*, separated by *interstadials*, from the major *glaciations* (composed of glacial phases) which are separated by *interglacials*. See Note (18), p. 409.

(2) The three last glacial phases constitute the *Last Glaciation*. In chronological order, we find that the *Last Interglacial* was that following the Saale Glaciation, that the Saale Glaciation may alternatively be called *Penultimate Glaciation*, the preceding interglacial the *Penultimate Interglacial*, and the Elster Glaciation, the *Antepenultimate Glaciation*.

(3) There is no evidence that this succession is complete. The fact that the Last Glaciation is divisible into three phases suggests that the earlier glaciations also may have been composite. The concentric arrangement of deposits and terminal moraines in the peripheral zone necessarily suppresses older, smaller phases, evidence for which, therefore, is not likely to be available in the area of the Scandinavian glaciations.

*Glaciations of the Alps.* Fortunately, the forelands of the Alps afford a better chance of studying the earlier phases, since their deposits are found on the hills and the slopes of the valleys of the foothill zone where, owing to the great amount of erosion and the radial arrangement of the major valleys, in connection with tectonic upheaval, the deposits in question are spread over a considerable vertical range. It is here, particularly in an area of upper Swabia north-east of Lake Constance, that Penck and Brückner (1909) established their now famous and almost too generally accepted scheme of divisions. They tested this scheme around the entire periphery of the Alps and found it applicable everywhere.

*Penck and Brückner's four glaciations.* Their scheme is based on glaciﬂuvial gravels, not, as is often assumed, on terminal moraines. Beginning with the latest deposits, a *Low Terrace*, a *High Terrace*, a *Younger* and an *Older Deckenschotter* (gravel spread) are distinguished. Each of these is connected with morainic deposits, and the corresponding glaciations are called *Würm*, *Riss*, *Mindel* and *Günz*. Penck and Brückner (1909) also used the amount of erosion between these phases of aggradation, and the depth of the weathering of the gravels, in an attempt at determining the relative duration of the interglacials. They found that the Penultimate Interglacial was about four times as long as either of the two others; hence it has been called the *Great Interglacial*. We shall return to Penck and Brückner's estimate later (p. 134).

*Phases of the Last Glaciation in the Alps.* The same authors further recognized subdivisions of the Last Glaciation. They found that the belt of terminal moraines is often doubled. But in certain areas, more than two terminal moraines can be distinguished (in the Lake Constance area of the Rhine Glacier, for instance). Inside the mountain valleys, three halts were distinguished as *Bühl*, *Gschnitz* and *Daun*, but these and two mild oscillations (*Laufen* and *Achen*) have since been almost entirely abandoned, even by Penck, in view of the great local variation in the retreat and the consequent difficulty of correlating stages in different areas. The Bühl Stage has won some fame because Penck, Soergel, and others, correlated it with the Pomeranian Phase, but Woldstedt (1928*b*) has produced serious arguments against this view, Bühl being much too insignificant a stage to be comparable with the Pomeranian. If one concentrates attention on the glaciﬂuvial terraces coming from the moraines of the Würm Glaciation, one finds that three separate stages can be distinguished in the Rhine area as constituting the Low Terrace (Kimball and Zeuner, 1946). This confirms the threefold division of the Last Glaciation recognized in Switzerland (Hug in Lake Zürich area), in upper Swabia (Eberl, 1930) and in Bavaria (Troll, 1925), although many details concerning the relative sizes of the three ice-sheets are still obscure. (Note (19), p. 410.)

*Subdivisions of the earlier glaciations of the Alps.* Passing on to the Penultimate Glaciation of the Alps (Riss), whose glaciﬂuvial fans and terraces make up the so-called High Terrace, we find that a division into two distinct phases is widely recognized, as by Knauer in Bavaria, by Eberl in upper Swabia, by Kimball and Zeuner in the Lake Constance area, and by Beck in Switzerland. This subdivision goes back to observations made soon after Penck and Brückner published their great work in 1909. A 'Middle Terrace' and a 'Greatest Glaciation' were introduced in order to account for a supernumerary glacial phase. But as far as one can see now, the evidence justifies the statement that, between the Great Interglacial

and the Last Glaciation, two glacial phases occurred, which both correspond to the complex of the High Terrace and, therefore, are conveniently regarded as two phases of Penck's Riss Glaciation.

Prior to the Great Interglacial, Penck and Brückner distinguished two glaciations, Mindel and Günz, corresponding to the Lower and Upper Deckenschotter. It is the merit of Eberl (1980) to have studied these complexes which plainly were not simple units, and to have recognized several glacial phases in each. He found that the Lower Deckenschotter is composed of two phases of glacifluvial aggradation which both connected with moraines defined as those of the Mindel Glaciation.

The Older Deckenschotter has been subdivided into seven stages. But only the two latest of these are to be identified with Penck's Günz Glaciation which, therefore, appears to have comprised two phases.

Of the remaining five stages of the Older Deckenschotter, the three immediately preceding the Günz gravels are grouped together by Eberl and Knauer (1942) as *Donau* (Danube) *Phases*; they are glacifluvial in character, and appear to be the equivalent of similar gravel sheets in northern Switzerland and southern Alsace, called *Sundgau Gravels* (Gutzwiller, 1912; van Wervecke, 1924).

The two earliest Deckenschotter stages, called *Staufenberg* and *Ottobeuren Gravels*, differ petrologically from the later ones, and their origin is uncertain, while the Staufenberg Gravels are regarded as possibly glacifluvial by Eberl, the Ottobeuren Gravels have the appearance of a Pliocene deposit, the type of weathering being different from that met with in the Pleistocene. (Note (20), p. 410.)

*Correlation of the Alpine and Scandinavian successions.* The correlation of the Alpine succession with the Scandinavian (north German) one is simple. The contemporaneity of Würm with Weichsel (in the widest sense) has never been questioned. In both areas we find that this Last Glaciation comprised three phases. The Riss Glaciation of the Alps (with its two phases) would then appear to be the counterpart of the Saale Glaciation of the Scandinavian sheet. This correlation is substantiated (apart from other evidence to be discussed later) by the Great Interglacial which preceded Riss, and the interglacial which preceded Saale, which must have been longer than the Last Interglacial since the underlying Elster deposits were much more deeply weathered and more widely removed by denudation than were the Saale deposits during the Last Interglacial.

Mindel of the Alps, therefore, as preceding the Great or Penultimate Interglacial, is considered the equivalent of Elster in north Germany. Again, there is evidence from the periglacial area, confirming this correlation.

All earlier glacial phases recognized in the Alps cannot yet be

identified with certainty in the area of the Scandinavian ice-sheet.<sup>1</sup> The Günz Glaciation (general term, *Early Glaciation*) is still to be regarded as part of the Pleistocene (Pilgrim, 1944; Zeuner, 1945, p. 174), whilst on palaeontological grounds the Donau and earlier stages are best regarded as equivalents of the Villafranchian.

Thus, the glaciated areas of temperate Europe<sup>2</sup> reveal the succession of climatic phases summarized in fig. 39.

SCANDINAVIAN AREA	ALPINE AREA	GENERAL TERMINOLOGY		PERIOD
POSTGLACIAL	POSTGLACIAL	PG <sub>1</sub>	POSTGLACIAL	HOLOCENE
POMERANIAN	WURM 3(2)	LG <sub>13</sub>	LAST GLACIATION	UPPER
MASURIAN INTERST.		LG <sub>1 3/4</sub>		
WEICHSEL	WURM 2(1)	LG <sub>12</sub>		
RIXDORF INTERSTAD.		LG <sub>1 1/2</sub>		
WARTHE	(WURM 1)	LG <sub>1</sub>		
LAST INTERGLACIAL	LAST INTERGLACIAL	LI <sub>gl</sub>	LAST INTERGLACIAL	MIDDLE
SAALE	RISS 2	PG <sub>12</sub>	PENULTIMATE GLACIATION	
		PG <sub>1 1/2</sub>		
	RISS 1	PG <sub>1</sub>		
PENULTIMATE INTERGLACIAL	GREAT INTERGLACIAL	PI <sub>gl</sub>	PENULTIMATE INTERGLACIAL	LOWER
ELSTER	MINDEL 2	ApGL <sub>2</sub>	ANTE-PENULTIMATE GLACIATION	
		ApGL <sub>1 3/4</sub>	PENULTIMATE GLACIATION	
	MINDEL 1	ApGL <sub>1</sub>		
"FIRST" INTERGLACIAL	"FIRST" INTERGLACIAL	ApIG <sub>1</sub>	ANTEPENULTIMATE INTERGLACIAL	
	GUNZ 2	EG <sub>12</sub>	EARLY GLACIATION	VILLA-FRANCHIAN
		EG <sub>1 1/2</sub>		
	GUNZ 1	EG <sub>1</sub>		
	DONAU STAGES AND EARLIER PHASES			

FIG. 39.—Correlation of the subdivisions of the Pleistocene established in the areas of the Scandinavian and Alpine ice-sheets. For further details, see fig. 47.

*Periglacial area.* Although the formerly glaciated areas of temperate Europe supply the backbone of the relative chronology, they are comparatively barren from the palaeontological and archaeological point of view. Most of the famous sites which have yielded

<sup>1</sup> There is faunal evidence for two cold phases corresponding to Alpine Günz, in the East Anglian Crags. See Zeuner (1937a). Pre-Elster boulder-clays have been found by van Wervecke.

<sup>2</sup> The British succession is of a similar type as that of north Germany, with which it can be correlated. For details, see Zeuner (1937a; 1945, Chapter IV).

abundant faunal remains and artefacts of man are situated in a zone which, during the glacial phases, was not itself glaciated but suffered an intense frost climate. This *periglacial zone* may be defined as the zone in which during any particular glacial phase the climate favoured permanently frozen subsoil (*tjaele*) as is found at the present day in northern regions from Lappland to Siberia and central Asia, and in Alaska (Leffingwell, 1915). The occurrence of *tjaele* and various types of frost soils in the Pleistocene of central and west Europe has been abundantly confirmed (pl. XI, figs. A, B, and pl. XII, fig. A) and maps have been constructed of their distribution (Poser, 1947).

*Solifluction*. Closely connected with the phenomenon of *tjaele* is that of *solifluction*. Since water, especially the meltwater of snow in spring, is prevented from seeping away by the frozen subsoil, the thawed upper stratum of the soil becomes so water-logged that it is liable to move down any inclined surface. Since heavy frost produces, by repeated freezing and thawing, vast quantities of fresh debris, the material which is transported to the valley bottoms is rapidly replaced, and the process continues so long as the frost climate persists. Solifluction deposits, therefore, are a conspicuous feature of sections from the periglacial zone (pl. XII, fig. C).

*Tundra*. The periglacial zone comprises three chief types of environment, tundra, loess steppe, and taiga. The tundra is the sub-zone of dwarf shrubs and mosses, and of abundant peat formation. It is now restricted to the polar zone. Fossil evidence shows that it was closely associated with the sands and generally dominant near the ice-margin. In central Europe its belt was about 50 miles wide during the more intense glacial phases, though it certainly re-appeared in more distant patches, particularly in the hills. The tundra sub-zone must not be visualized as an unbroken cover of vegetation; most of the ground was probably barren, and plant growth confined to valley sides and other favourable localities, as it is now to be observed in Spitsbergen or Greenland.

*Loess steppe*. The loess steppe constituted the middle belt of the periglacial zone. It was distinguished from the tundra by its drier soil and climate, deposition of dust brought by the winds from the bare surfaces of moraines, gravel-spreads and mountains being its characteristic feature. The vegetation was probably of the short-grass steppe variety. The loess steppe required a continental climate. It did not develop on any large scale in central and west Europe during the weaker glacial phases (third phase of Last Glaciation, for instance), though during the more intense ones it extended its area to the coast of Normandy (fig. 40). The loess belt increased in width eastwards, attaining to several hundred kilometres in south Russia.

The periglacial loess steppe, the climate of which has been reconstructed in some detail (Zeuner, 1937b), provided ample food, at

least during certain seasons, for grazing mammals. It was, therefore, of great economic importance for early man, and many hunting sites have been discovered in loess deposits.

From the point of view of prehistoric chronology, the European loess belt is the most important of all Pleistocene formations. Since vast quantities of loess were deposited in places removed from the destructive activity of running water, the chances for the preservation of sections were comparatively good. On the loess formed during a glacial phase, an easily recognizable weathering soil developed in

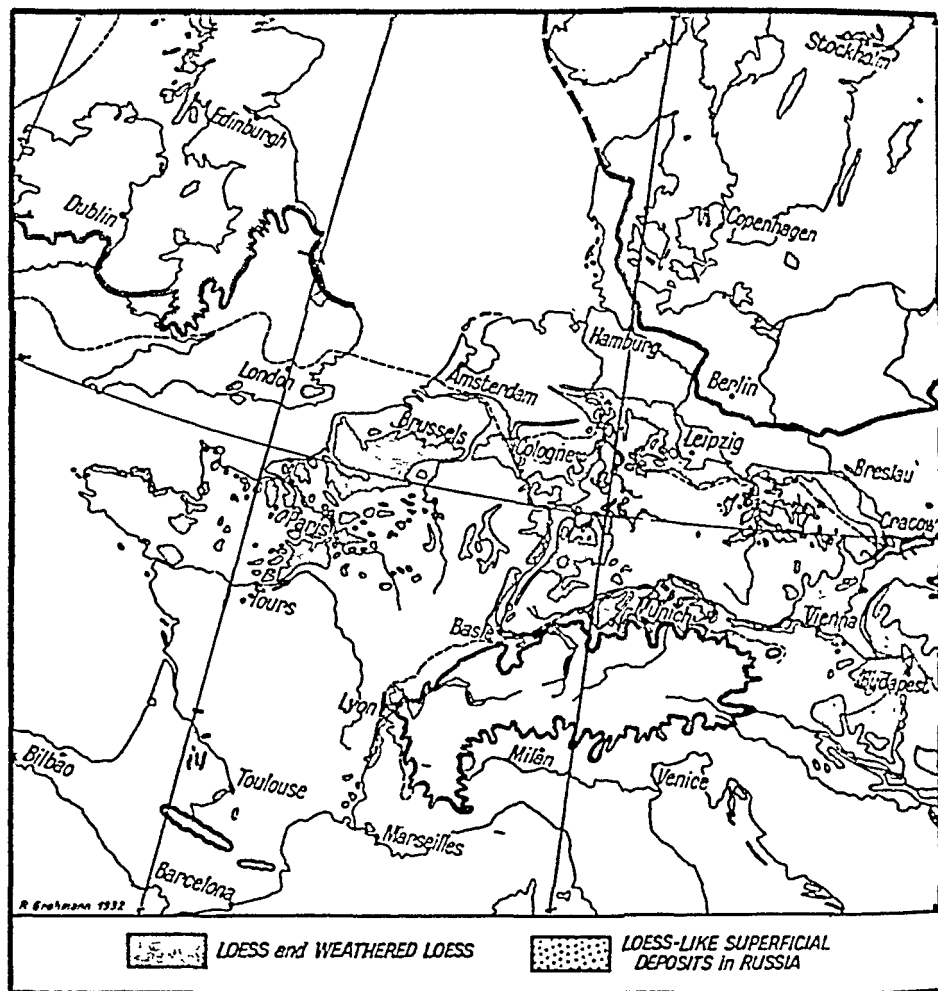
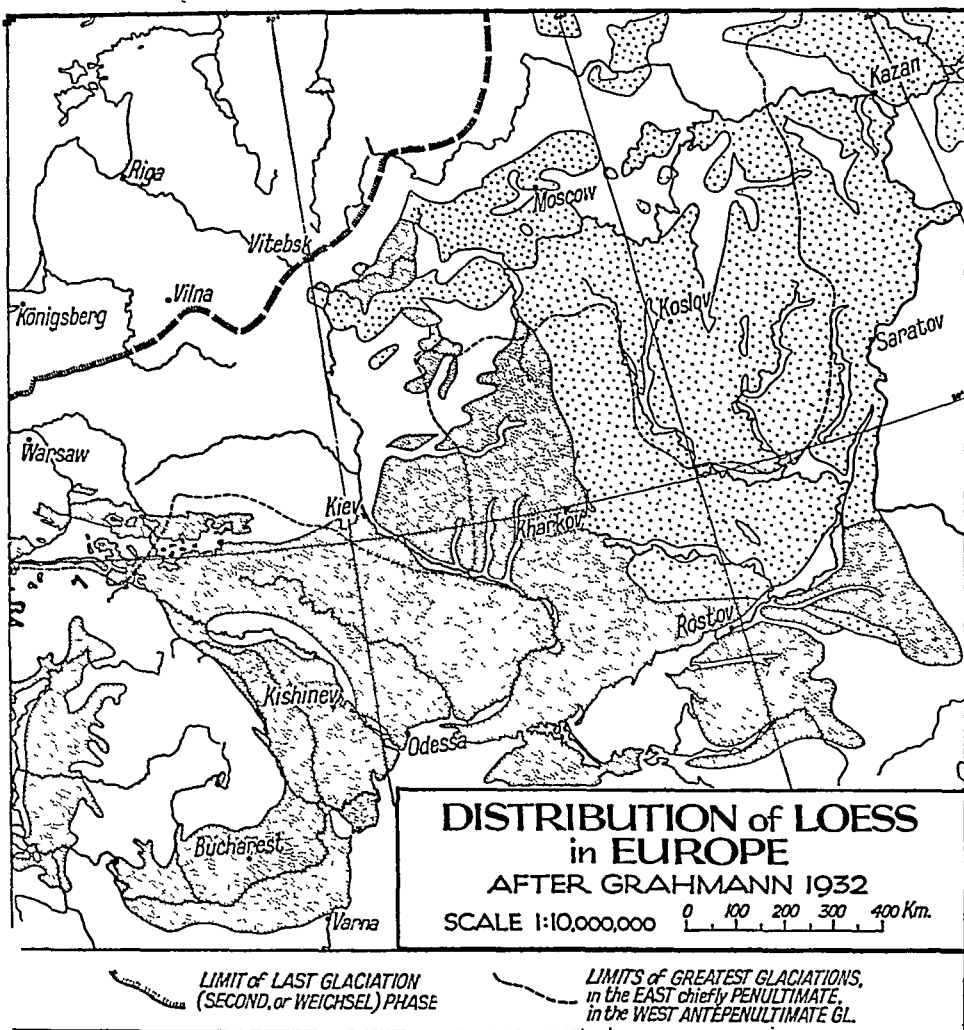


FIG. 40.—The loess belt of Europe. Some loess is present in southern England

the milder climate of the following interstadial or interglacial (pl. XII, fig. B). This soil, in turn, was buried under fresh loess brought during a later glacial phase. The succession of fresh loesses and soil horizons, therefore, provides us with a most valuable climatic record, from which a minimum number of alternating cold and temperate phases has been derived. Many instances will be described in Chapter VI. Here it suffices to say that in central and west Europe, up to 6 loesses can be distinguished, whilst the number is larger in eastern Europe. As many as 11 have been recorded from Hungary.



but has not yet been mapped in detail. Modified, after Grahmann, 1932.

The following summary of loess phases is based on northern France and west Germany :

Postglacial and modern surface soil	} Three Phases of Last Glaciation
Younger Loess III	
Very thin soil	
Younger Loess II	
Soil	
Younger Loess I	} Last Interglacial
Thick soil indicating a long period of intense weathering, climate at times warmer than now. 'Argile rouge' of northern France.	
Upper Older Loess	} Earlier Glacial Phases
Soil	
Middle Older Loess	
Soil	
Lower Older Loess	

The correlation of this succession with that of the glacial phases is rendered possible by the climatic terraces of the rivers, on which loess was deposited and which were covered by glacial deposits (moraine and varved clay) in districts reached by the ice. In order to appreciate this evidence it is necessary to consider sections in detail. A few instances are given in Chapter VI.

*Taiga.* To the south and south-west, the periglacial zone was bordered by temperate forest which extended far into the present Mediterranean region (Chapter VII). Yet, the transition from the loess steppe with its dry-continental climate and, as a rule, permanently frozen subsoil to the forest with its more humid climate and not-frozen soil cannot have been abrupt. It is to be assumed that a transitional zone of stunted coniferous forest on frozen subsoil intervened between the two, similar to the *taiga* of northern Europe and Siberia. There is no direct evidence for *taiga* in the periglacial zone, but near the southern margin of the loess belt, strips of country which might have been favourable for the development of forests even during a cold phase (slopes of river-valleys, for instance) are in fact devoid of loess. This peculiar absence of loess from districts where one would expect to find it, can be explained by the assumption of forest growth. Stunted forest of the *taiga* type may have played a larger part in periglacial Europe than is commonly assumed. There are several species of mammals in periglacial faunas which are now typical of the *taiga*, such as the glutton.



*Soils, and weathering in a temperate climate.* Moraines, loess and solifluction are evidence of a cold climate. We have repeatedly had occasion to mention that mild climates are often indicated in the

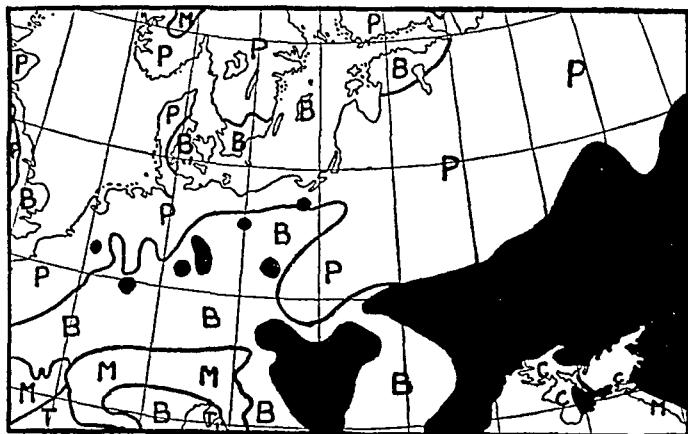


FIG. 41.—Soil chart of Europe, much simplified. Black: chernozem; B: brownearth; P: podsol; M: mountain soils; T: Terra Rossa, a Mediterranean soil; C: chestnut soils, dry-continental to semi-desert soils. Note the islands of chernozem in central Europe, which correspond to relatively dry and warm localities.—From Zeuner, 1945.

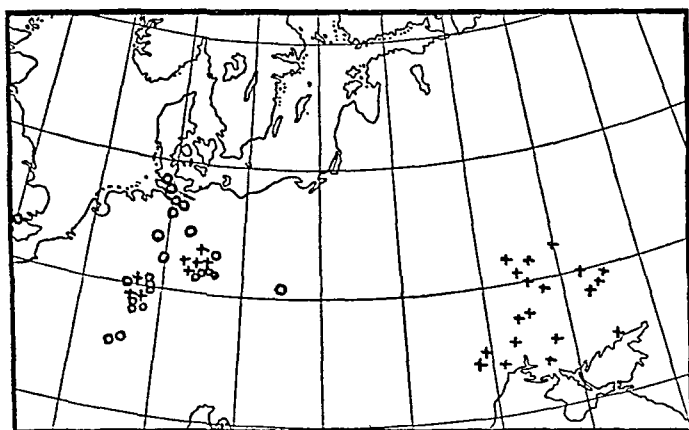


FIG. 42.—Soils of the Last Interglacial. Cross: chernozem. Circle: brown-earth or podsol. Note the similarity in distribution of these fossil soils with those of the present day (fig. 41). It indicates that the climate of the Last Interglacial was, for some considerable time, similar to that of the present day.—From Zeuner, 1945.

sections by *buried soils*, i.e. horizons formed by chemical weathering from land-surfaces which are now covered by later deposits. The process of chemical alteration of the surface down to a depth of

(usually) a few feet is almost completely impeded in frost climates. In temperate climates, certain characteristic kinds of soil are formed, such as podsol, brownearth and chernozem. The last-mentioned, a blackish soil, is developed in steppes with a hot summer and cold winter. Brownearth and podsol soils are characteristic of the humid-temperate countries.

In a section, the presence of a weathering soil is sufficient to indicate a temperate climate, but though most soils are conspicuous to the eye (pl. XII, fig. B) it is always necessary to confirm their presence by chemical or mechanical tests. When a large amount of data has been collected from localities exhibiting soils of a certain interglacial, it is possible to construct charts for the distribution of types of soils during that period. This has been done for the Last Interglacial, as shown in figs. 41 and 42.

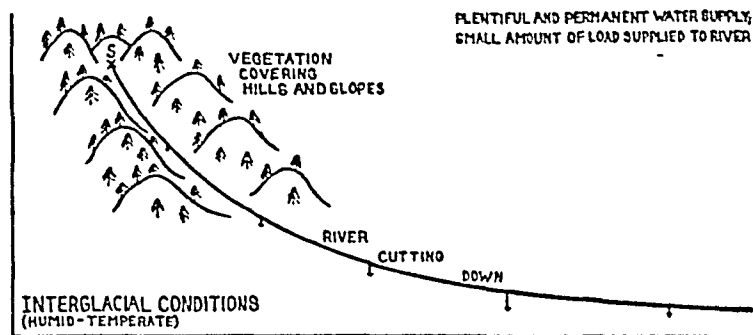


FIG. 43.—A river cutting its valley under ordinary, humid-temperate, conditions.—From Zeuner, 1945.

*Periglacial river terraces.* Other important evidence for the sequence of climatic phases in the periglacial zone is provided by the rivers of central Europe. Being far removed from the sea, these rivers were not influenced by the fluctuations of the sea-level; being situated in that narrow portion of the periglacial zone which separated the Scandinavian and Alpine ice-sheets, they responded readily even to minor changes of climate. During temperate phases (as to-day), these rivers contained sufficient water to carry some load and to erode at the same time (fig. 43). Down-cutting of the river's bed, therefore, took place mainly while the climate was temperate. On the other hand, while the climate was of the periglacial type (fig. 44), solifluction brought enormous quantities of rock-waste into the river, the springs supplied little water during most seasons, and the overloaded rivers deposited their surplus load (pl. XIII, figs. A, B). During the next temperate phase, erosion was resumed, the gravel aggradation was quickly cut through and erosion usually cut into

the underlying bed-rock until the climate became periglacial again. Thus, an *aggradation terrace* was formed.<sup>1</sup> The repetition of the process resulted in a sequence of river terraces, each indicating a phase of periglacial climate, and the erosional steps representing interstadials or interglacials.

The investigation of the climatic terraces of European rivers was greatly advanced by Soergel (1921). It has since been elaborated still further by many workers. Their results have supplied evidence for a succession of climatic phases which agrees well with the succession of phases found in the glaciated areas, particularly in the Alps.

Now, a correlation of the sequence of terraces with the sequence of glaciations can be effected in certain areas where the Elster and Saale glaciers advanced far up the valleys of the rivers under consideration. Their moraines and varved clays were deposited, con-

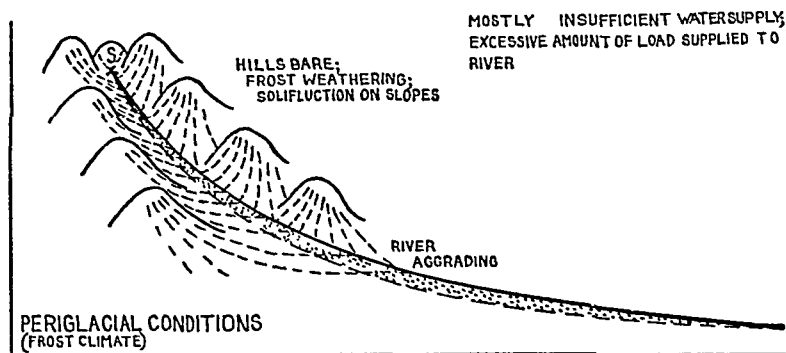


FIG. 44.—A river aggrading a gravel-sheet under the influence of the periglacial climate.—From Zeuner, 1945.

formably, on the gravel aggradation formed by the river while the ice was advancing. This conformable superposition of glacial sediments on river gravel provides a valuable stratigraphical criterion. The correlation of river terraces and glacial phases effected in this manner is best given in the form of a table (fig. 45).

*General terminology of climatic phases.* This work on climatic river terraces has confirmed the detailed chronology based on the glacial phases of the Alps to such an extent that one is justified in abstracting from it a sequence of climatic phases applicable to temperate Europe in general. It is not advisable, therefore, to extend the use of a local terminology, such as the Alpine one, to other areas, but rather to adopt a neutral terminology of climatic phases which can be used when no reference is made to a local succession.

<sup>1</sup> Actually the aggradation took place while the climate was deteriorating, and the erosion began when the climate began to improve after the climax of the glacial phase. This detail need not concern us here. See Zeuner, 1945, p. 25.

In this way, the local terminologies, especially the much misused Alpine one, retain their original, geographically restricted, significance. If, therefore, Saale or Weichsel is mentioned in this book, a glacial phase of the Scandinavian ice-sheet is being discussed. If terms like Riss or Würm are used, phases of the Alpine ice-sheet are referred to. But if the *general terminology* (fig. 39, column 3), for instance Antepenultimate Glaciation, or an abbreviation like LGl<sub>2/3</sub>, is used, the climatic phase as such is meant irrespective of local conditions. The distinction here made may appear unnecessarily dogmatic, but

SILESIA	MULDE- ELSTER	ILM- SAALE	WERRA- WESER	RHINE	CONFORMABLY COVERED BY
	p1sφ ?	PREGLACIAL T. IV	VII	a very high terrace	
	p1sφ ?	PREGLACIAL T. III	VIII	a very high terrace	
	II (p2sφ)	PREGLACIAL T. II	IX	upper part of MAIN TERRACE	
f(?)	TERR. I	PREGLACIAL T. I	X	MAIN T.	ELSTER MORaine
(e)	-	GLACIAL T. 1	IIa	-	
d	TERR. 1	GLACIAL T. 2	IIb	HIGH TERRACE or UPPER MIDDLE T.	
c	TERR. 2	GLACIAL T. 3	MAIN T.: IIc	LOWER MIDDLE T.	SAALE MORaine
-	-	GLACIAL T. 4	I2	-	
b	d3	GLACIAL T. 5	Pa	LOW T.	YOUNGER LOESS I
a	da	GLACIAL T. 6	Pb	INSEL TERRACE (LOWER LOW T.)	YOUNGER LOESS II
FLOOD- PLAIN	FLOOD- PLAIN	FLOODPLAIN (GLAC. T. 7?)	Pc	?	

FIG. 45.—Correlation of river terraces in central Europe. Silesia, Oder system. Mulde, Elster, Irm, Saale, tributaries of the Elbe. Werra-Weser, system of the Weser. Rhine, terraces in, and north of, the Rhenish Schiefergebirge.—After Zeuner (1938).

the confusion brought about by the indiscriminate use of the Alpine terms in all parts of the world, and the need to distinguish local succession and climatic fluctuations for the purposes of the absolute chronology, has, after much hesitation, convinced me that it is better to introduce a simple general terminology which both in its full and in its abbreviated form is readily intelligible.

*Minor phases.* The table, fig. 45, which summarizes the systems of river terraces, further illustrates a point which, though unimportant in the present context, will re-appear from time to time in our regional survey and which assumes significance in the establishment of the

absolute chronology. It is the existence of 'supernumerary' cold phases which are represented by aggradation terraces but of which no equivalent glacial phase is known with certainty. These terraces do not occur everywhere, and their contained faunas do not indicate a thoroughly cold climate. They have been regarded, therefore, as evidence for minor cold phases which were not sufficiently intense to produce large ice-sheets. There is at least one such phase in the Last Interglacial, and one or more in the Penultimate Interglacial.

These terraces are not the only suggestion of minor cold phases. In several interglacial deposits, strata have been found intercalated which suggest that the climate was for a while cool or even subarctic. The best example is the Danish Middle Bed in Jutland, which divides the series of the Last Interglacial into two warm subphases and whose cold character is proved by its floral content. Other localities of this type are Ehringsdorf near Weimar (Last Interglacial) and Cannstatt near Stuttgart (Penultimate Interglacial).

*Eustatic fluctuations of the sea-level.* In countries bordering the sea, the rhythm of erosion and aggradation of the rivers is of a different nature. Although the climatic factors have operated here also, they were far outweighed by the adjustments of the rivers to the oscillations of the sea-level. Let us therefore briefly consider first the movements of the sea-level in the course of the Pleistocene.

Changes in the height of the sea-level have been referred to on many occasions in the preceding chapters. The isostatic changes connected with the rising of Fennoscandia during late Glacial and Postglacial times were described in some detail in Chapter III (p. 47), but outside the isostatically affected areas<sup>1</sup> evidence has accumulated for phases during which the sea-level was higher or lower than at present over large portions of the earth's surface. These ancient sea-levels are held to be of the eustatic type.<sup>2</sup> Many of them are of Pleistocene age and contemporary with certain phases of the Palaeolithic. Although the study of the Pleistocene sea-levels is still in its initial stage, it promises to become important for the correlation of climatic phases and prehistoric industries over very great distances, and I am confident that the 'raised beaches' will eventually provide a link in dating Pleistocene and Palaeolithic in coastal regions all over the world (for summary, see Zeuner, 1952).

*Pleistocene high sea-levels.* Systematic work on Pleistocene sea-levels was begun by Depéret (1906) and de Lamothe (1911) in the Mediterranean, the former working on the Italo-French Riviera, the latter in Algeria. The work was subsequently extended to the Atlantic coasts of Europe and to other continents, and the high measure of agreement obtained has led to the elaboration of the

<sup>1</sup> I.e. in England, approximately south of 52° N. lat.

<sup>2</sup> See plates XIV, figs. A, B; XV, figs. A, B; XVII, fig. A; XXI, figs. A, B.

*theory of glacial eustasy* or of *glacial control* of the sea-level (for instance, Daly, 1934) which assumes that phases of high sea-level evidenced by what are often loosely called *raised beaches*<sup>1</sup> correspond to interglacials, and phases of low sea-level to glaciations.

The determination of the exact mean sea-level of the time when an ancient shore-line was formed is of primary importance though it has been sadly neglected by many authors. The figures given are often no more than estimates. In spite of this difficulty, the sequences of high sea-level phases observed in different regions of the world are in good agreement with one another, as is shown in the following table (fig. 46).

Heights in Metres	Average	Northern Egypt	Algiers	Morocco	South France	Jersey	North France	South England	Pacific Ocean	North America
Sicilian	100 m.	80-100	103	90-100	90-100		103	c. 96	97.5-99	81
Milazzian	60 m.	50	c. 60	53-60	55-60		50-59	c. 60	73.5-75	65 49
Tyrrhenian	32 m.	(7.40) 30	c. 30	25-30	28-32	32-34	32-33	(30.5) 33.5	27-30	29
Main Monas- tirian	18 m.	15-20	18-20	(18-20) 12-15	18-20	18	18-19	15-18	10.5-21	20
Late Monas- tirian	7.5 m.	5-10		(6-8)	7-8	7.5	8	5-8	7.5-8.4	8
Epi-monas- tirian	1.5 m.	± 0		2		+ 1		3.6	1.5-1.8	

FIG. 46.—The succession of shore-lines in various regions of the world, and the nomenclature of the high sea-levels.—After Zeuner, 1942, Choubert, 1946, Tester, 1948. More detailed tables may be found in Zeuner, 1952, 1953.

It is most convenient to apply to these sea-levels the nomenclature of Depéret, and to define them by their average height above the present sea-level. If one does so, the only modification required of Depéret's well-known classification is the subdivision of the Monastirian into a Main phase and a Late phase. In addition, Dubois's term, Flandrian, for the rise of the sea from the low level of the Last Glaciation to the comparatively high level of the present day, may be used. The question of the terms to be applied to these ancient sea-levels has been complicated in recent years by palaeontological and archaeological considerations. In order to avoid increasing confusion, I am inclined to continue following Depéret, and Dubois (1936), who also advocates the retention of Depéret's system. It is important to remember, however, that palaeontologists use the

<sup>1</sup> Strictly, this term might be thought to imply tectonic uplift of the beach. Since areas of tectonic disturbance have to be eliminated in the process of reconstructing ancient eustatic sea-levels, it is advisable to discontinue the indiscriminate use of 'raised beach', and to replace it by *ancient beach*, *ancient shore-line*, or some other non-committal term.

term Sicilian to include the Milazzian, and the term Tyrrhenian, the Monastirian. See Note (21), p. 410, for Epi-monastirian.

*High sea-levels and interglacials.* If one accepts the theory of glacial eustasy, that the low sea-levels were caused by the locking-up of water in the ice-sheets of the glacial phases, and the high sea-levels by the return of the water to the oceans, the question arises as to which phase of high sea-level corresponds to which interglacial.

In northern France and the Channel Islands, the two Monastirian beaches are covered by Younger Loess; they are, therefore, older than the Last Glaciation. Moreover, they are followed by the pre-Flandrian regression to a very low level, which was contemporary with the Last Glaciation, as shown by Dubois in Flanders and by Blanc in Italy. This renders a Last Interglacial Age of the Monastirian sea-level highly probable. Its subdivision into Main and Late Monastirian has never been taken as evidence for two different interglacials, it is readily explained by the minor cool phase which occurred during the Last Interglacial (Glacial Terrace IV of Thuringia, fig. 45; Danish Middle Bed, Zeuner, 1945, p. 127).

Postponing the Tyrrhenian for the moment, we find that there is good and consistent evidence for the Milazzian sea-level being that of the Antepenultimate Interglacial. It is supplied, for instance, by the *Machairodus*-fauna of the corresponding terrace of the Somme at Abbeville, and by Wooldridge's observation that the Milazzian level of the London Basin is later than the Norwich Crag which, again on palaeontological evidence, is approximately contemporary with the Early Glaciation.

If the Milazzian sea-level is to be correlated with the Antepenultimate Interglacial, and the Monastirian with the Last Interglacial, the Tyrrhenian sea-level must be that of the Penultimate or Great Interglacial. This correlation has stood the test of application in numerous instances. It is confirmed by Swanscombe.

*Low sea-levels and glaciations.* Evidence for low sea-levels intercalated between two phases of high sea-level and corresponding to glacial phases is naturally scanty. Apart from the low level of the Last Glaciation (pre-Flandrian regression, probably attaining to almost — 100 metres), which is comparatively well known from beach deposits below present sea-level and from submarine platforms, low levels can be deduced from the presence of buried channels in the lower courses of many rivers. These will be discussed presently, but it may be noted that it has not been possible to deduce from them more than minimum values for the drop in sea-level. Boule, however, has suggested that one of the earlier low levels was as low as — 200 metres. One is inclined to correlate this extreme recession with one of the large glaciations, like the Penultimate or Antepenultimate Glaciation. (Note (21), p. 410.)

*Thalassostatic river terraces.* Returning now to the terraces of

the rivers, it has been said before (p. 127) that in the lower course near the sea the fluctuations of the sea-level prevail over the climatic rhythm. Hence, river terraces formed under the influence of the changing sea-level may be called *thalassostatic terraces*. Since the sea-level was high in the interglacials (and relatively high, it may be assumed, in the interstadials), we find that the mild phases are characterized by compensatory aggradation, the river building up its bed as the sea-level gradually rises. The gravel-sheets deposited in this manner, therefore, contain predominantly warm faunas; and the surface of the aggradation runs into the mean high-tide level of the interglacial in question. This fact permits us to calculate the heights of interglacial sea-levels with fair accuracy.

On the other hand, when, during a glacial phase, the sea-level was low, the gradient of the lower course of the river was much increased, and the resulting erosion cut a narrow valley, and sometimes a gorge, graded to the low sea-level of that time. Since the climate was cold, solifluction was active and we indeed find the slopes of such channels lined with solifluction strata.<sup>1</sup>

When the sea rose again after the termination of the glacial phase, the channel at first became a funnel-shaped estuary but, time permitting, this was filled with deposits of an interglacial character. These channels, some of which reach much below the present river-level, are called *buried*, or *sunk*, channels. They are typical of the Thames, Somme, Tiber and many other rivers.

In its course near the sea, therefore, a river aggrades during the mild phases and erodes during the cool phases. This thalassostatic rhythm is the converse of the climatic rhythm which prevails in the upper course. The thalassostatic terrace system extends only slightly beyond the highest point reached by the tides; it is here that it meets the climatic system of inland terraces. Since the transition from one system to the other depends on the intensity of the glacial phase, the amount of drop of the sea-level and several other factors, the stretch of the river's course where climatic aggradations dip into thalassostatic erosion channels, and where interglacial down-cutting is replaced by estuarine aggradation, varies from one glaciation to the next. It is natural, therefore, that in the zone of transition, stratigraphical conditions are so complex that they are extremely difficult to disentangle. In the Thames, this zone lies just upstream from London.

*Terraces of the Thames.* Downstream from London, the Thames shows the reactions of a river to the changes of the sea-level so clearly that it may be summarized as an example: <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These are sometimes represented as lining the entire channel. They cannot have done so since, where the river was flowing, it would have swept them away or resorted them.

<sup>2</sup> For details and references, see Zeuner, 1945, p. 114 ff.



River stage	Height of sea-level	Sea-level phase	Climatic phase
Ambersham Terrace	200 ft. (60 m.)	Milazzian	ApIgl
Downcutting Thames Valley glaciation	Relatively low		ApGI
Followed by further erosion and aggradation in stages, until the aggradation of the High Terrace (Swanscombe)	107 ft. (32 m.)	Tyrrhenian	PIgl
Cutting of Taplow Bench, followed by solifluction and loess	Below O.D.		PGI
Taplow Terrace aggradation	60 ft. (18 m.)	Main Monastirian	} LIgl
Cutting of Upper Floodplain Bench			
Upper Floodplain aggradation	25 ft. (7.5 m.)	Late Monastirian	
First Buried Channel	Much below O.D.		LGI <sub>1</sub>
Lower Floodplain Terrace	Few feet above O.D.		LGI <sub>1/2</sub>
Second Buried Channel	Below O.D.		LGI <sub>2</sub>
Filling of Second Buried Channel	High, but remaining below O.D.		LGI <sub>2/3</sub>
Third Buried Channel	Below O.D.		LGI <sub>3</sub>
Tilbury Filling Stage	Up to present sea-level	Flandrian	PoGI

*Fauna and fluctuations of climate.* A few words remain to be said about the use of palaeontology in Pleistocene stratigraphy, since the fauna will be referred to frequently in later chapters.

The land faunas<sup>1</sup> consist chiefly of mammals and mollusca, the former being the more conspicuous and, climatically, more easily interpreted.

Owing to the short duration of the Pleistocene compared with other geological periods, there are no species which characterize exclusively one of the climatic phases. There are a few species and genera, however, which disappear at the end of the Lower Pleistocene, such as *Elephas meridionalis*, *Dicerorhinus etruscus* (a rhinoceros), *Equus stenonis* (group of horses allied to zebras), *Trogontherium cuvieri* (a large beaver). They are of great stratigraphical value.

At the beginning of the Upper Pleistocene, many species which had hitherto been rare, become very frequent, and they are useful in

<sup>1</sup> See Zeuner, 1945, Chapter X.

stratigraphical work, though not as individual finds, but as members of fossil assemblages. There are, for instance, the mammoth (*Elephas primigenius*), the woolly rhinoceros (*Tichorhinus antiquitatis*), the reindeer (*Rangifer tarandus*), the cave bear (*Ursus spelaeus*), the arctic fox (*Alopex lagopus*), &c. Their frequent occurrence in a deposit usually indicates one of the three phases of the Last Glaciation.

Land faunas further provide valuable environmental evidence, at any rate in the Upper Pleistocene. A beaver, for instance, which is dependent on wood for the building of its burrows and dams, suggests forests. Forests are further suggested by faunas comprising the straight-tusked elephant (*Elephas antiquus*), red deer, elk, brown bear (*Ursus arctos*), lynx. Arctic fox and variable hare, if frequent, and associated with reindeer and other subarctic forms, indicate tundra or taiga. Horses, asses, antelopes (*Saiga antelope*), jerboas, &c., may safely be taken as evidence of steppe conditions; these species are typical of the loess.

The study of the fauna, therefore, helps a great deal in the reconstruction of the environment of early man; but unless done with care, it lends itself to incorrect conclusions. The presence of odd specimens of a species should never be taken too seriously, as they may be derived from older deposits, or if contemporary with the fauna studied, they may be stragglers from another biotope. Instead, the fauna should be analysed and assessed as a whole. It may also not be superfluous to warn against uncritical acceptance of the faunal lists of some authors. Many a time a limb bone of an elephant has been listed as 'mammoth', and ribs or vertebrae of a rhinoceros as 'woolly rhinoceros', merely because it did not occur to the author that it could be another species. Since both species mentioned are characteristic of periglacial environments, the implications of such misidentifications—which often can no longer be checked—are obvious.

*Summary.* The stratigraphical evidence outlined in the preceding paragraphs may now be summarized in the form of a comprehensive table (fig. 47). The climatic divisions established are no more than the result of a gradual refinement of the special methods which have to be applied in the stratigraphy of the Pleistocene. The earliest conception of the Pleistocene was that of one great Ice Age. Then interglacial deposits were discovered, and two glaciations were generally assumed. The next step was the discovery that there was more than one interglacial. Among the several ensuing stratigraphical systems, Penck and Brückner's was the most noteworthy, since it retained the original 'only' interglacial in the form of the Great Interglacial and subdivided the two original glaciations into two each. Now, the detailed relative chronology of the Pleistocene, which embodies the stratigraphical work of the 30 odd years that have elapsed since Penck and Brückner

SCANDINAVIAN ICE-SHEET	ALPINE ICE-SHEET	LOESS	PERIGLACIAL RIVERS	THALASSOSTATIC RIVERS	SEA-LEVEL	GENERAL TERMINOLOGY
POSTGLACIAL FENNOSCANDIAN M.	POSTGLACIAL RHAT III MOUNTAINS	WEATHERING		AGGRADATION UP TO PRESENT SEA-LEVEL	FLANDRIAN TRANSGRESSION	PGI POSTGLACIAL
POTERMANIAN	WURM 3(2)	3 YOUNGER LOESS III WEATHERING	FLOODPLAIN OR T. 7	3rd BURIED CHANNEL	± c. -30 m. ABOVE -12 m.	LGI 3 LGI 2b LGI 2 LGI 1/2 LGI 1
BRANDENBURG-WEICHEL	WURM 2(1)	YOUNGER LOESS II WEATHERING	TERRACE 6	2nd BURIED CHANNEL	± c. -70 m. c. ± 13 m.	GLACI ATION
WARTHE	WURM 1 ?	YOUNGER LOESS I WEATHERING	TERRACE 5	1st BURIED CHANNEL	± c. -100 m.	UPPER
DANISH MIDDLE ICE	LAST INTERGLACIAL	DEEP WEATHERING; "ARGILE ROUGE"	TERR. 4	"25 FT." TERRACE	LATE MONASTIR, 7.5 m. INTRA-MONASTIRIAN	LAST INTER- GLACIAL
SAALE	RISS 2	UPPER OLDER LOESS WEATHERING	TERRACE 3	"50 FT." TERRACE	MAIN MONASTIR, 18 m.	PGI 2 PGI 1/2 PGI 1
GREAT INTERGLACIAL	RISS 1	MIDDLE OLDER LOESS DEEP WEATHERING AND MUCH DENUDATION	TERRACE 2	EROSION	VERY LOW	PGI 2 PGI 1/2 PGI 1
ELSTER	MINDEL 2	LOWER OLDER LOESS	TERRACE I	"100 FT." TERRACE	TYRRHEMAN, 32 m.	PGI 2 PGI 1/2 PGI 1
EARLIER PHASES	MINDEL 1		TERRACE II	VARIOUS BURIED AGGRADATIONS		PGI 2 PGI 1/2 PGI 1
	"FIRST" INTERGLACIAL			EROSION	VERY LOW	PGI 2 PGI 1/2 PGI 1
	GUNZ 2		TERRACE III	"200 FT." PLATFORM	MILAZZIAN, 60 m.	PGI 2 PGI 1/2 PGI 1
	GUNZ 1		TERRACE IV		LOWER	PGI 2 PGI 1/2 PGI 1
	DONAU 3		EARLIER TERRACES	EARLIER HIGH LEVELS AND TERRACES	SICILIAN, 103-80 m.	PGI 2 PGI 1/2 PGI 1
	DONAU 2					PGI 2 PGI 1/2 PGI 1
	DONAU 1					PGI 2 PGI 1/2 PGI 1
	STAUFENBERG					PGI 2 PGI 1/2 PGI 1
	OTTOBEUREN					PGI 2 PGI 1/2 PGI 1

FIG. 47.—General correlation of the subdivisions of the Pleistocene of Europe. Based chiefly on north Germany for Scandinavian ice-sheet, upper Swabia and Lake Thun (Eberl and Beck) for Alpine ice-sheet, Rhine Valley (Mainz Basin and Mauer) for Loess, Thuringia for Periglacial Rivers, Thames and Somme for Thalassostatic Rivers, Mediterranean and Channel coasts for Sea-levels.

published their scheme, shows that each of Penck's glaciations can be subdivided still further. The long duration of the Great Interglacial has been confirmed, and several minor cool phases appear to have interrupted the interglacials.

In order to appreciate the strength of the argument for the astronomical theory of the fluctuations of Pleistocene climate, and for the absolute chronology, it is necessary to remember that the curiously irregular rhythm of the cold phases, namely: two, short interglacial, two, long interglacial, two, short interglacial, three, has not been read into the evidence, but is the outcome of stratigraphical research in particularly favourable parts of temperate Europe.

#### B. THE ASTRONOMICAL THEORY

The problem of the duration of the Ice Age, counted in years, has fascinated workers since the early days of Pleistocene geology. Two ways were open to attack it, and both have been used many times, namely (a) the estimation of the duration based on the rate of sedimentation, and (b) the development of an astronomical time-scale from the periodical perturbations of the earth's orbit. The second method is the more ambitious since it promises more accurate figures both for the whole Pleistocene and for its subdivisions. The greater part of the present section will be devoted to it, but since methods (a) and (b) are independent of each other, they provide an important mutual check. For this reason, some results of the first method are summarized in the following paragraphs.

*Rate of sedimentation used to estimate duration of Pleistocene.* The most notable application of the rate of sedimentation is by Penck and Brückner. They relied on estimates for the length of the time elapsed since the ice withdrew from certain lakes on the northern edge of the Alps in Switzerland. Heim found 16,000 years for a delta built into Lake Lucerne, Steck 20,000 years for the delta between Lakes Thun and Brienz at Interlaken, and the same author for the Aare delta in Lake Brienz 14,000 to 15,000 years. From these figures Penck and Brückner deduced the age of the Magdalenian station of the Schweizersbild near Schaffhausen (see p. 154) as 24,000 years. This site was occupied during Würm 3, as is known from geological evidence.

Having obtained this estimate, Penck proceeded to compare the depth of erosion since Würm 3 with the amounts of down-cutting which occurred during his three interglacials. In a corresponding manner, the depth of weathering was used also. Thus he found that the Last and the 'First' Interglacial lasted for about 60,000 years each, and that the Great Interglacial was about four times as long, namely 240,000 years. These estimates were expressed in the form of a curve, in which the total duration of the Pleistocene is given as 600,000 years. Considering the very slender basis on which

this estimate relies, its results are astonishingly good, as will be seen from a comparison with the astronomical figures to be given later.

The depth to which weathering processes have penetrated was further used in North America in order to estimate the duration of the Ice Age. The originator of this work was Kay (1931), and he was followed by Thornbury and Sayles. Whilst Kay used leaching of calcium carbonate, Thornbury relied on the depth of loam-formation. Their results are discussed in some detail on p. 350. Here it suffices to say that Kay's relative values for the duration of the Postglacial and the three interglacials are about 1 : 5 : 12 : 8. The Penultimate Interglacial again stands out as the longest. The absolute values are based on an arbitrary figure for the Postglacial, from which they were obtained by extrapolation.

A particularly interesting estimate for the Pleistocene of an unglaciated area was made by Rutten in Java. He used the rate of sedimentation and obtained one million years.

Finally, it may be mentioned that estimates based on the disintegration of radioactive minerals (see Chapter X) assign one or two million years to the Pleistocene. Unfortunately, they come from volcanic rock of very uncertain, Pliocene or Pleistocene Age. Nevertheless, taking into account this uncertainty, the figures calculated on this basis (one or two million years) are of the same order as those derived from the rate of sedimentation.

*The astronomical method.* The astronomical chronology of the Pleistocene is not based on geological considerations, but on a theory which explains the fluctuations of the climate. This theory makes the periodical *perturbations*, which the orbit of the earth suffers owing to the mutual attraction of the planets, responsible for changes in the amount of radiation received by the earth from the sun. Among these perturbations, there are three of especial interest in this connexion, (1) the obliquity of the ecliptic, (2) the eccentricity of the orbit, and (3) the precession of the equinoxes. Very little space can here be allowed for an explanation of these phenomena.

*Perturbations.* The *obliquity of the ecliptic* is the angle between the equatorial plane of the earth and the plane of the orbit. It is at present  $23^{\circ} 27'$ , and it is known to have varied between  $21^{\circ} 39'$  and  $24^{\circ} 36'$ . The obliquity produces the seasons, and it is one of the factors modifying the climatic zones. A decrease of the obliquity diminishes the seasonal differences but increases the distinction of the climatic zones, whilst an increase of obliquity intensifies the seasonal differences and reduces the differences between the climatic zones. The obliquity fluctuates with a period of approximately 40,000 years.

The *eccentricity of the orbit* is our second variable. Since the sun does not occupy the centre, but one of the focuses of the ellipse of the orbit, there is a time of the year when the earth is nearer

to the sun than during the remainder of the year. The point of the orbit which is nearest to the sun is called the *perihelion*; at present, the earth passes through it in the winter of the northern hemisphere. It is obvious that more radiation is received by the hemisphere which passes the perihelion in summer (i.e. at present the southern hemisphere), but this effect is counteracted by the shortening of the portion of the orbit which contains the perihelion. This is easy to see if one draws an ellipse, with the sun in one focus, the axis major joining the point nearest to the sun (perihelion) with the point farthest away from the sun (*aphelion*). The spring and autumn equinoxes are then given where the line laid through the sun at right angles to the axis major meets the ellipse representing the orbit. The line connecting the equinoxes divides the ellipse into two unequal portions, that containing the perihelion being the shorter. The winter of the northern hemisphere is at present  $7\frac{1}{2}$  days shorter than the summer.

The smaller the eccentricity, therefore, the smaller will be the differences in the lengths of the seasons. The eccentricity fluctuates with periods of 92,000 years.

The third perturbation of importance is a slight conical movement of the earth's axis. It results in a slow shifting of the *cardinal points* (spring equinox, summer solstice, autumn equinox, winter solstice), which delimit the seasons. Because of this movement it is called the *precession of the equinoxes*. It has received much attention in the past.

Its period, as seen from the earth, is about 26,000 years. But owing to the attraction by other planets, the elliptic orbit as a whole swings round in the sense opposite to the direction of the precession. Thus, if one takes for instance the perihelion as zero point on the orbit, a complete circuit of any one cardinal point requires *less* time, namely 21,000 years. Within the latter period the radiation received from the sun fluctuates in a certain manner. The most convenient way of defining the position of the cardinal points is by means of the angle at the sun, between the spring equinox and the perihelion. This angle is called the *heliocentric length of the perihelion*.

Though these explanations are too short to convey much to a reader not familiar with astronomy, they do, I hope, make it clear that the course of the earth around the sun is subject to slight periodical fluctuations, and that these fluctuations have an effect on the amount of radiation received by any particular part of the earth's surface. It should be realized that these fluctuations are merely fluctuations in the distribution of solar radiation over the latitudinal zones of the earth and in the course of the seasons. The energy output of the sun is assumed to be stable throughout the period of time over which our investigation extends.

*The astronomical theory of the fluctuations of the Pleistocene climate.*

The perturbations must have existed for enormous periods of time. They were not confined to the Pleistocene, and it is futile, therefore, to expect that the astronomical theory can provide the cause of the Pleistocene Ice Age. It can, and does, explain the fluctuations of the Pleistocene climate, but it cannot answer the question why glaciation phenomena abound in the Pleistocene, whilst none are known from the Tertiary.

In this respect, most of the earlier workers on the astronomical theory were mistaken. They all set out to discover the cause of the Ice Age, and they were made confident in their quest when they noticed that the perturbations promised even to solve the riddle of the alternation of glacials and interglacials. But they failed in their main aim for the reason given, and also failed to account for the fluctuations of the climate *during* the Pleistocene, because of an inadequate combination of the obliquity, the eccentricity and the precession.

*Theories of Croll and Ball.* This applies also to the theory put forward by Croll (1875), which constituted a great advance on the earlier theories and, therefore, became very popular for a time. It was abandoned eventually because it demanded a strict alternation of glaciations on the northern and southern hemispheres and an increase of glaciation in periods of cold winters. It suffered from overstressing the changes in eccentricity and precession, the fluctuations of the obliquity being treated independently. Ball (1892) succeeded in combining all three elements, but he considered their *total* effects on the two hemispheres only, which are very small.

It is not surprising that these and other attempts to construct an astronomical theory were considered as unsatisfactory. Apart from a few isolated revivals, the matter rested more or less for about twenty years. The chief difficulty, not realized, of the earlier workers was that they relied on qualitative arguments. The solution could not be found until the quantitative effects of the perturbations had been computed mathematically in a form suitable for climatic interpretation.

*Calculation of the radiation changes.* Fortunately, the mathematical aspects of the problem were attacked afresh while the fight over the theory was abating, and results were produced which made the theory appear in a new and clearer light.

The mathematical work involved in the calculation of the numerical effects of the perturbations is enormous. It is further complicated by the necessity of producing separate sets of figures both for zones of geographical latitude and for the seasons.

It would lead too far afield to go into the history of this work here (see Zeuner, 1945, Chapter V). It was begun by Lagrange in 1782, greatly advanced by Leverrier (chief publication in 1843), taken up again by Stockwell who, after 10 years of labour, published

new calculations of the perturbations in 1873. The results were for the first time tabulated over a long interval of time and with a view to climatic interpretation by Pilgrim in 1904. Later, the numerical material was once more computed, after numerous improvements in method and interpretation, by M. Milankovitch (since 1913; main publications 1920, 1930, 1938). This author originally relied on Stockwell's formulae. In the course of about twenty years he supplied tables for every tenth degree of latitude of both hemispheres, and for the summer and winter halves of the year separately, covering the last million years.<sup>1</sup> The figures contained in these tables no longer give separately the effects of the three perturbations, but their combined effects in terms of heat radiation received at the upper limit of the atmosphere. Thus, an undisputable factual basis was at last secured for the re-interpretation of the influence of the perturbations on the terrestrial climate.

More recently, Milankovitch, in conjunction with Michkovitch, calculated a new set of tables, this time based on Leverrier's formulae. The reason for doing so was twofold; the new calculation provided a check on the first, the two being based on different mathematical premises, and it also promised more accurate figures, since Leverrier's basic values are nearer those obtained by recent measurements than are Stockwell's. Van Woerkom (1953) calculated a third set. The three sets of figures agree so closely that, for general purposes, their differences can be regarded as negligible.

Another set of calculations is due to R. Spitaler (1940, 1943). In his earlier work he had omitted the variation of the obliquity of the ecliptic. Because of this and other faults, he produced a fresh set, in which the position of the maxima and minima (though not their amplitudes) is almost the same as in Milankovitch's set. The latter author, moreover, has shown (1941, pp. 497-501) that Spitaler's new set is based on a mistaken definition of the daily radiation received, whilst his own calculations are corroborated by those of Wiener, Lambert, Meech, Hargreaves, Angot and other astro-mathematicians.

*Necessity to consider latitudinal and seasonal differences.* From what has been said it should be clear that, in interpreting fluctuations of solar radiation climatologically, it is necessary to consider both the climatic zonation and the seasons.<sup>2</sup> The latitudinal differences in radiation have been neglected in the past by many

<sup>1</sup> Between 600,000 and one million years, the possible error increases rapidly to about 10 per cent. For this reason, tables and curves are usually given for 600,000 years only.

<sup>2</sup> 'Summer' is henceforth taken to comprise spring + summer; 'winter', autumn + winter, the year being divided into two halves with equal number of days. Thus a summer half and a winter half of the year are obtained which are of equal length, and therefore comparable with each other. Also these *caloric half-years* are constant in the course of time, so that they can be compared over any interval of the time-scale. The credit for the introduction of this device is due to M. Milankovitch.



workers, and even in recent years by some who used Milankovitch's numerical results.

The consideration of the winter half of the year has been neglected even more. It has become almost a custom to regard the curve of summer radiation as *the* radiation curve, and consequently to forget the influence of the radiation received during the second half of the year. Workers who take the whole year into account are still few (notably Beck and Wundt).

The reason for this omission is easily understood. For simple graphical representation, the winter curve, which is almost the obverse of the summer curve, can be neglected. This simplification implies that one knows that when the summer curve shows a maximum of radiation, the winter curve (not drawn) has a corresponding minimum, and *vice versa*. Moreover, it is the summer radiation on which the melting of glaciers largely depends. The first climatologists to apply radiation curves to the Pleistocene (Köppen and Wegener, 1924), therefore, had reason to select the summer curve for their purposes.

*Glacial phases correlated with phases of low summer radiation.* This use of the summer curves as a *pars pro toto* is legitimate provided it is clearly kept in mind that a maximum of radiation on such a curve implies a minimum in winter, in other words, the maxima of the summer curve indicate phases of increased seasonal differences in radiation, and the minima decreased seasonal differences.

As we are concerned chiefly with the chronological aspects of the fluctuations of solar radiation, and not with the climatological side, it must suffice to say that, in temperate Europe, the phases of low summer and high winter radiation favour the formation of ice-sheets in the high mountains, i.e. in Scandinavia and the Alps. The mild winters mean increased snowfall in such areas, and the cool summers reduce melting. Thus it may be supposed that glacial phases are correlated with phases of low summer radiation, and that the curve of summer radiation of a suitable degree of latitude (for instance 65° N. for the 'centre' of the Scandinavian ice-sheet) gives a picture of the oscillations of this ice-sheet (fig. 48). The climatological background of the astronomical theory is discussed by Zeuner (1945, p. 150 ff.), Meinardus (1944) and Wundt (1944).

*Units used in expressing changes of radiation.* In studying tables and curves, the reader will find a variety of units employed in denoting the intensity of radiation.

The first curves published (Köppen and Wegener, 1924) expressed the fluctuations in an *imaginary* displacement north or south, of the degree of latitude considered. This method of presentation is apt to be misleading to the non-climatologist, because the imaginary shift in winter is opposite to that in summer, and because in the remainder of Köppen and Wegener's book supposedly real changes

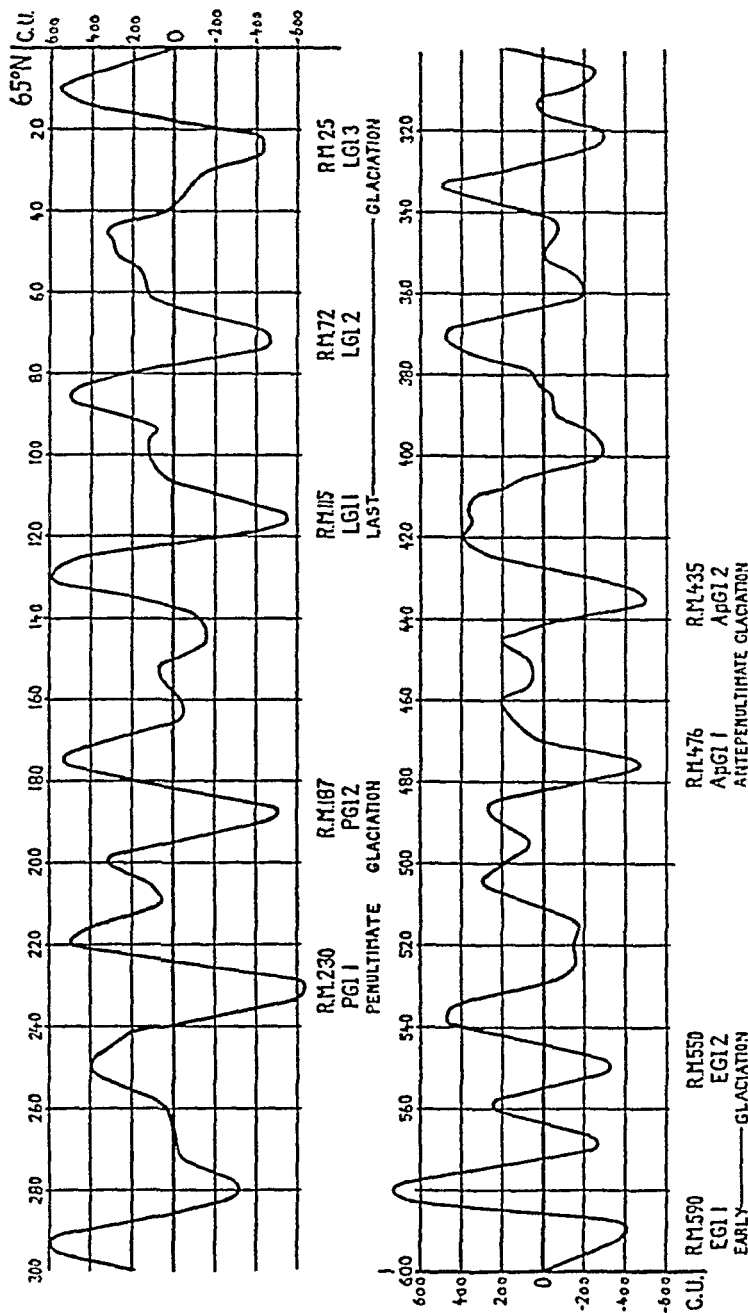


FIG. 48.—The detailed curve of solar radiation in summer, for 65° N. lat. Based on tables in Milankovitch (1930). Scale in canonic units.—From Zeuner, 1915.

of geographical latitude, due to a shift of the poles, are discussed. An instance of this type of curve is given in fig. 49.

Since the tables are expressed in units which have a direct relation to the average amount of radiation received by the earth from the sun (i.e. to the *solar constant*), expressed in calories, it appears better to use these in the graphs also (fig. 48). They are called *canonic units* and are obtained by substituting 1 for the value of the solar constant and 100,000 for the sidereal year.

Other graphs show the theoretical change in temperature which may be deduced from the change expressed in canonic units. There is, however, a wide divergence of opinion on this matter. While Milankovitch accepts a value as high as  $1^{\circ}\text{C}$ . per 150 canonic units, Simpson (1940) prefers values which are only about one fourth as great. Whether the influence of the fluctuations of solar radiation

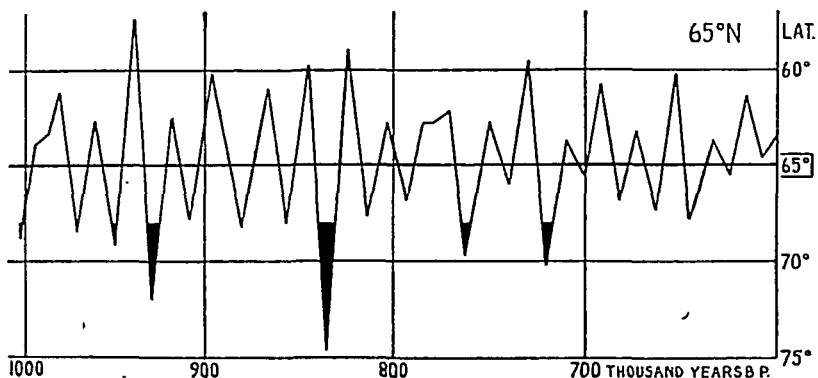


FIG. 49.—Extension of the radiation curve (fig. 48) to one million years B.P., showing amplitudes of summer radiation. Calculated by Milankovitch (1930).—From Zeuner (1945).

on temperature actually is great or small, is probably impossible to calculate. It is, from our point of view, better to use the empirical method of comparing the radiation curve with the climatic succession as revealed by geology. If there is sufficient agreement found, we may rightly assume that this influence must have been significant.

A fourth scale which has been applied in the graphs is that expressing the vertical displacement (in metres) of the snowline in the mountains. Milankovitch (1938) found that, theoretically, one canonic unit should correspond to a displacement of the snowline of 1.09 metres. In nature, great deviations from this value must be expected.

*Summary.* Thus, the modern version of the astronomical theory of the Ice Age does not claim to provide a cause for the Ice Age as such, but it does answer the question why there were glacial

phases separated by mild, interstadial or interglacial, phases. The former are regarded as caused by periods of low summer radiation and high winter radiation, the latter by periods either of moderate conditions (as to-day) or by high summer and low winter radiation, which give the climate a continental character but do not favour the formation of ice-sheets.

In applying the theory to observed geological sequences, diagrams of summer radiation only are the most suitable means, but it must be borne in mind that the geographical latitude has to be taken into consideration.

Other complications, such as the influence of topography, the secondary climatic effects of an ice-sheet, and the *retardation* of the maximum of the glacial phase relative to the minimum of summer radiation which caused it, need not be discussed here. For chronological purposes it is sufficient to compare the radiation curves with the geological record, and to decide whether or not agreement is close enough to imply a causal connexion. If it is, then the curves provide a time-scale in years which can be used in the dating of geological events as well as in the prehistory of man, with the proviso that certain corrections will have to be applied in the future when we are able to assess more correctly the effect of retardation. Quite recently an attempt has been made to apply the Milankovitch curves to the dating of deep sea cores (Emiliani, 1955).

#### C. THE AGREEMENT OF THE GEOLOGICAL RECORD WITH THE FLUCTUATIONS OF SOLAR RADIATION

If one selects the radiation curve for 65° N., 55° or 45° N. lat. (they resemble each other closely), and compares the sequence of minima of summer radiation with the sequence of glacial phases in Europe as established by geological methods, one is struck by their similarity. Going backwards into the past, the radiation curve for the last 600,000 years (fig. 48) shows a series of three summer minima between 25,000 and 115,000 years B.P., then an interval of some 60,000 years of more or less normal conditions, before this a couple of minima at 187,000 and 230,000 B.P.,<sup>1</sup> preceded by a long interval devoid of intense minima and lasting about 190,000 years. Prior to this, we find another couple of minima at 435,000 and 476,000 B.P., preceded by an interval of some 60,000 years, and this by a couple of minima (more pronounced in the curve based on Stockwell) at 550,000 and 590,000 B.P.

In other words, the succession of minima of summer radiation exhibits precisely the same peculiar rhythm as does the sequence

<sup>1</sup> 'B.P.' short for 'before Present', meaning years as given in the radiation tables, counting backwards from A.D. 1800.

of glacial phases (p. 134), namely, beginning with the earliest: two, short interval, two, long interval, two, short interval, three. It seems very difficult to dispose of this coincidence by calling it accidental.

*Detailed comparison of radiation and climatic phases.* On the other hand, one would not expect the glaciations to reproduce every minor detail of the fluctuations of radiation. Yet, some agreement is evident even in the lesser features.

One of the characteristics of the relative chronology is the evasiveness of the Early Glaciation. Geological evidence suggests that it was a smaller glaciation than the later ones. The summer minima of the radiation curve which can be matched with Günz of the Alps are, indeed, considerably weaker than those of the later glaciations.

Furthermore, the extension of the radiation curve to one million years B.P. (fig. 49) provides some minima which might correspond to the three Donau Phases found by Eberl and Venzo to precede Günz in the Alps. This author correlated them with three minima between 680,000 and 760,000 B.P. Although this correlation is somewhat arbitrary, since there are earlier summer minima which were more intense, it shows at least that fluctuations of solar radiation did occur before 600,000 B.P. which could well account for the cold phases found to precede the Early Glaciation.

The division of the Last Interglacial by a cool oscillation accompanied by the drop in sea-level which separates the Main and Late Monastirian shore-lines, finds its counterpart in the division of the interval between the minima of 115,000 and 187,000 by a weak phase of low summer radiation around 145,000 B.P. This agreement is extremely suggestive.

Similar cool oscillations are claimed to have interfered with the course of the Great Interglacial. The radiation curves here afford no fewer than five weak, but fairly pronounced, minima. Geological evidence has so far made probable that there were at least two cool phases. It will need a great deal of good luck to find evidence for a succession of five weak phases of deterioration of climate during the Great Interglacial, since it is unlikely that unambiguous sections containing such evidence are preserved in any one area. (Note (22), p. 411.)

*Agreement of radiation curve with Penck's curve and estimate.* Apart from this high measure of agreement between the geological record<sup>1</sup> and the radiation curve, a strong argument for the applicability of the astronomical time-scale can be derived from Penck's estimate for the Pleistocene (p. 134). Penck could not know the duration of the glaciations, but his estimates for the mild

<sup>1</sup> Much of the detailed chronology had been established *before* the first radiation curve was published.

phases, and the deduced total duration of the Pleistocene, are excellent indeed :

	Penck's estimate	Radiation curve
Time since LG <sub>1</sub>	16-24,000	22,000
Duration of LIgl	60,000	60,000
Duration of PIgl	240,000	190,000
Duration of ApIgl	60,000	60,000
Duration of Pleistocene	600,000	600,000

Considering that Penck extrapolated from the 20,000 years of the 'Postglacial' of Switzerland, one cannot but conclude that measurement of time by processes of sedimentation and weathering might afford rather greater opportunities than is generally believed.

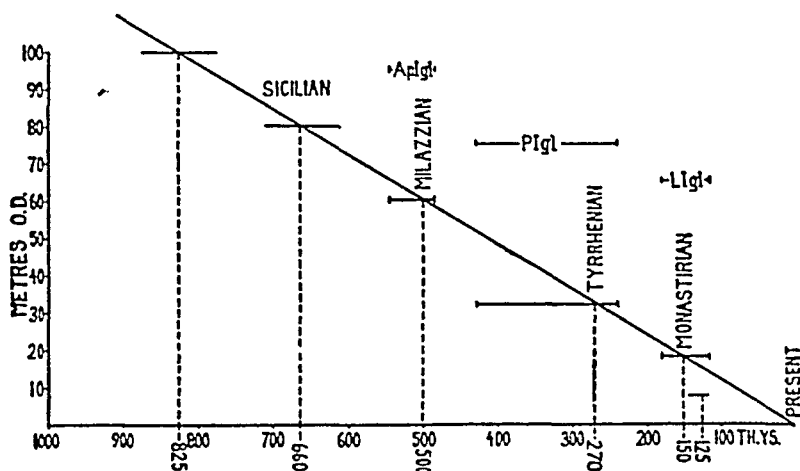


FIG. 50.—Diagram showing the relation of altitude to time for the high sea-levels of the Pleistocene. The horizontals representing the Main Monastirian, Tyrrhenian and Milazzian levels have the length of the corresponding interglacials on the time-scale.—From Zeuner (1945).

This agreement of Penck's estimate with the radiation dates strengthens greatly our case for an absolute chronology of the Pleistocene. If such similar results are obtained for the durations of the mild periods by such different methods, and if the geological record reveals the same number of cold phases as the radiation curve comprises major summer minima, the astronomical time-scale can confidently be applied in dating the glacial phases. The retardation of the glacial phases relative to the minima of summer radiation which initiated them, is unlikely to have been great.

One is justified, therefore, in using tentative 'radiation dates' for the glacial phases, bearing in mind that certain displacements in time are neglected. But the error due to this factor is not likely to have exceeded 20 per cent. for LG<sub>1</sub>; it becomes smaller for the

earlier phases, being less than 5 per cent. for the Penultimate and earlier glaciations.<sup>1</sup>

*Sea-levels and radiation curve.* A very interesting result is obtained if the heights of the interglacial sea-levels are plotted on the astronomical time-scale (fig. 50). One then finds that they can be connected by a straight line (see Zeuner, 1945, p. 249). It seems probable that this straight line represents a more or less continuous drop of sea-level in the course of the Pleistocene, on which the oscillations due to glacial eustasy were superimposed.

*Summary. Table of dates.* Combining the geological evidence with the astronomical time-scale by means of the radiation curves, a tentative absolute chronology is obtained which can be regarded as sufficiently reliable for the purposes both of palaeoclimatology and prehistoric archaeology. In the accompanying table (fig. 51),

Phase	Radiation date, in years B.P.	Duration, in years
Time since Last Glaciation, phase 3		22,000
Last Glaciation, phase 3, climax	22,100 (55° N.) 25,000 (65° N.)	
Last Glaciation, phase 2, climax	72,000	
Last Glaciation, phase 1, climax	115,000	
Last Interglacial, duration		60,000
Late Monastirian high sea-level	125,000	
Cool oscillation of Last Interglacial	145,000	
Main Monastirian sea-level	150,000	
Penultimate Glaciation, phase 2	187,000	
Penultimate Glaciation, phase 1	230,000	
Penultimate Interglacial, duration		190,000
Tyrrhenian high sea-level	270,000	
Antepenultimate Glaciation, phase 2	435,000	
Antepenultimate Glaciation, phase 1	476,000	
Antepenultimate Interglacial, duration		60,000
Milazzian high sea-level	500,000	
Early Glaciation, phase 2	550,000	
Early Glaciation, phase 1	590,000	
Sicilian	c. 660,000	

FIG. 51.—The absolute chronology of the climatic phases of the Pleistocene. Compare with fig. 47.

geological events which can be dated are compiled, and their approximate dates and the duration of certain periods given. Though many adjustments will be made necessary by future research, the story revealed by the 'calendar' of the Pleistocene is extremely consistent.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These figures are based on estimates for the amount of retardation. See Zeuner (1945, p. 160).

<sup>2</sup> Some arguments which have been put forward against the astronomical theory are discussed in Note (23) (p. 412). For recently reported cases of agreement, see Note (22) (p. 411).

## CHAPTER VI

PALAEOLITHIC CHRONOLOGY OF TEMPERATE  
EUROPE

## A. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS—SUGGESTIONS

With the detailed chronology developed in the preceding chapter at our disposal, we are in a position to elaborate a detailed archaeological chronology, to which the tentative absolute time-scale, taken from the radiation curve, may be applied. The suggestions obtained in this manner may be meagre, since only such prehistoric sites can be fitted into the detailed climatic chronology as can be closely dated on geological and/or palaeontological grounds.

Our method of developing a detailed chronology of the Palaeolithic, therefore, differs essentially from the practice of Palaeolithic chronology which has been in vogue in recent years, namely that of using the implements as zone-fossils. This practice may work well in many cases, but the successes are apt to obscure the fact that the cart is being put before the horse, the precise geological age of the industries being assumed as known (often on very flimsy or even incorrectly interpreted evidence), and this assumption being used to determine the age of the deposit containing the industry.

If we are to obtain a clear idea of the sequence, overlap, alternation and duration of the industries of the Palaeolithic, it is absolutely necessary to keep apart the geological (and palaeontological) evidence for the climatic chronology from the typological classification of the industries of early man. In order to do so, the evidence for the climatic, and incidentally the absolute, chronology of the Pleistocene has been published separately (Zeuner, 1945), and summarized in our Chapter V, Part A, so that we can now proceed to search for Palaeolithic sites which can be dated on non-typological evidence. These will in turn be used in developing the chronology of the Palaeolithic.

Unfortunately, sites of this kind are few. Many of the classic localities, such, for instance, as the caves of the Dordogne, were excavated before the days of modern Pleistocene stratigraphy, and the published sections are insufficient for our purpose.

In other instances, the very thorough work of the excavators has, for the time being, not provided the kind of climatic evidence necessary for placing the site in the detailed chronology. Many famous sites have had to be discarded for this reason. This is the more deplorable as often a re-inspection of the section and a small amount of analytical work on certain strata would have settled the matter. I am alluding to many sections in which buried soils, solifluction layers and loesses are suggested in vague terms, and



which, if only the climatic character of the deposits had been studied by an expert, could definitely be fitted into the detailed chronology. I may conclude these somewhat destructive remarks by saying that they are based on the scrutiny of a very large amount of published and unpublished material, including the well-known Palaeolithic sites from all parts of the world, and temperate Europe in particular. It is impossible in a book like the present one to discuss the reasons why certain sites have not been regarded as chronologically important. But a few sites have been mentioned which, though at the moment indecisive, promise in the future to fill certain gaps in the chronology of the industries.

Furthermore, I would suggest that the environmental and palaeoclimatic aspects of archaeological stratigraphy should be granted greater prominence during the excavation. Much has been done in this respect in recent years, but more remains to be done, especially under the supervision of workers trained in this particular line of work.

The reader, therefore, will miss many famous sites in this and the following two chapters, but those treated, though often less spectacular from the typological point of view, do provide us with the required chronology. In Europe, at any rate, all the major industries can be placed in the climatic chronology, while the age of some variants of these industries is still uncertain. The most deplorable instance of the latter kind is the High Lodge industry of East Anglia, often called Clactonian III, which can be either Penultimate Interglacial or Last Interglacial.

The material is arranged regionally, central Europe (with a few remarks on east Europe and Siberia) being taken first (Part B), then the important region of northern France, with the Channel Islands, and a few remarks on Portugal (C), and lastly the British Isles (D). The ensuing relative and absolute chronology of the Palaeolithic of temperate Europe is finally discussed and tabulated in the Summary (E).

#### B. PALAEOLITHIC OF CENTRAL EUROPE, EAST EUROPE AND SIBERIA

*Palaeolithic in the area of the Scandinavian glaciations.* Palaeolithic sites are comparatively rare in the morainic areas of north, central and east Europe. Repeated transgressions of the ice destroyed or covered the traces which early man may have left during the interglacial and interstadial phases, and most localities belong to cultures contemporary with the various stages of the Last Glaciation. In the peripheral zone, however, conditions were more favourable, and a good many Palaeolithic sites are known from river gravels, glacialfluvial gravels and loess covering moraines. It is often difficult to decide whether such sites should be regarded as belonging to the morainic zone or to the periglacial zone. Some overlapping

is unavoidable; the selection of sites mentioned is somewhat arbitrary, but the following paragraphs and those on the Palaeolithic of the periglacial zone (p. 156 ff.) supplement one another.

The stratigraphical position of Palaeolithic sites of north Germany has been reviewed by Woldstedt (1935*a*), and a book on the subject, by J. Andrée (1939), describes the known sites and their industries. Unfortunately, Andrée considers the German Palaeolithic as highly individualized and as the product of continuous local evolution. It is often difficult, therefore, to compare the German industries with those of west Europe from the typological point of view.<sup>1</sup> Generally speaking, however, both Andrée's and Woldstedt's chronological results are consistent with those obtained in other areas (compare table, fig. 65).

No Abbevillian (= Chellian) or Acheulian has been found in the formerly glaciated areas of central and east Europe, most certainly not in a stratigraphically definite position.

*Oberwerschen* (cf. *Clactonian* or *Levalloisian*). The earliest known datable site is Oberwerschen, in the Weissenfels district, central Germany. It was studied by Bicker and Röpke. Andrée (1939) describes the section as follows:

- 0.75 m. Loess
- 0.6 m. Boulder-clay
- 2.0 m. Sand
- 5.0 m. Gravel of local or southern origin, but Scandinavian erratics present. With implements.
- 2.0 m. Sand, probably derived Tertiary.

The site lies far outside the areas of the glacial phases Weichsel and Warthe, and the implementiferous gravels are covered by a bottom moraine. The gravels are fluvatile, yet they contain some pebbles of Scandinavian origin which can be derived only from deposits of an earlier glaciation. This was, therefore, Elster, and the glaciation following the gravels, Saale. The gravels thus appear to date from the Elster-Saale interglacial.

Typologically, Oberwerschen is described as an industry with 'hand-points'; it is a poorly-defined flake industry reminiscent in some respects of Clactonian, and of Levalloisian in others.

*Wangen*. At Wangen on the Unstrut, in Thuringia, implements were found in the 'Wangen terrace', the first terrace formed after the Elster Glaciation, which reached the district (Lehmann, 1922). They comprise a primitive 'boucher', 'hand-points', and long and round scrapers. Authors have usually avoided classifying them by

<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, well known that, the farther east one goes, the more difficult the typological comparison becomes. But this does not render a comparison unnecessary. Rust (1942) has published an important and highly critical review of Andrée's book.

the French terminology, and the practice of calling the Wangen industry 'Chellian' is due to the assumption prevailing in Germany that the 'Chellian' is the industry of the Penultimate, or Great, Interglacial.<sup>1</sup> Woldstedt (1935*a*) writes regarding Wangen (translated, with my italics): 'Wangen thus appears to be the only north German site which *perhaps* would have to be assigned to the Elster-Saale interglacial and which *therefore* would be of Chellian age.' This is a good example of confusion of geological and archaeological conceptions. The age is meant to be Elster-Saale interglacial, and since the Chellian is believed to occur elsewhere during this phase (which, by the way, is not correct), the chronological phase is called by the industry, a dangerous and misleading practice. There is no typological foundation for considering Wangen as 'Chellian'; it belongs to the same class of industry as Oberwerschen. Oakley compares it with a developed Clactonian (see p. 191), but Grahmann (1937) points out that there are indications of prepared striking platforms. Geologically, it appears to be later than the Elster Glaciation and earlier than Saale, and the Wangen terrace probably was aggraded during the first cool phase of the Penultimate Glaciation.

*Markkleeberg (Levalloisian).* At Markkleeberg near Leipzig (Grahmann, 1935) an interesting industry was found in glacifluvial gravels formed during the advance of the Saale ice-sheet (i.e. PGI<sub>2</sub>) the boulder-clay of which covers the gravels in two separate layers corresponding to two local oscillations. The industry was formerly regarded as Acheulian (or anything from Chellian to Mousterian), but Breuil and Obermaier now consider it as middle Levalloisian (Lev. III-IV). This industrial stage appears in France at about the same time. Grahmann (1937), who has studied the specimens, says they are 'predominately typical of the lower Levalloisian', but 'some specimens show Clactonian technique'. A small number of *derived*, typical Clactonian implements have been found also.

*Hundisburg (cf. Levalloisian).* Hundisburg near Neuhausenleben, Saxony prov., north Germany, has by some been considered as an Acheulian site. The specimens are not characteristic enough to allow of a correlation with French types. Schmidt (1912) denied their Acheulian affinities but found that some flakes were reminiscent of Levalloisian. Andrée assigns Hundisburg, as well as the three afore-mentioned sites, to his 'hand-point' culture. Grahmann (1937) has recognized a primitive Levalloisian technique on most specimens. The geological section of Hundisburg (Schmidt, 1912; Wiegers, 1928) is as follows:

<sup>1</sup> In Zeuner (1935*a*) the 'Chellian' (now Abbevillian) appeared, with a question mark, in the Elster-Saale interglacial, in order impartially to express the view of German writers. This is now proved to be incorrect; the Abbevillian is not later than the Antepenultimate Interglacial.

- 0.75 m. Sandy loess with humus  
 0.2 m. Loamy sand with humus  
 ———unconformity (stone bed)———  
 0.5–2.5 m. Upper boulder-clay  
 2.8–3.8 m. Sand and gravel, fluvial, with shells, bones (*Elephas primigenius*, *Tichorhinus antiquitatis*, &c.), and implements  
 0.6–1.0 m. Lower boulder-clay  
 resting on black Tertiary clay.

The implementiferous gravel contains mammoth and woolly rhinoceros and, therefore, must correspond to a fairly cold climate. According to Woldstedt, this phase was the beginning of the Saale Glaciation. Hundisburg and Markkleeberg thus appear to be contemporaneous.

*Makau (Levalloisian).* At Makau, Ratibor district, Upper Silesia, Lindner (1937) found implements which he considers as closely related to those of Markkleeberg. To judge by his figures they may well be classified as middle Levalloisian. They occur in glaciuvial gravels underneath a boulder-clay of the Saale Glaciation,<sup>1</sup> i.e. in the same stratigraphical level as those of Markkleeberg.

*Mousterian.* No Mousterian or mousterioid industry has so far been described in north Germany from a geological section which is so clear that it admits of one interpretation only. There are several sites which, typologically, may be classified as mousterioid and, geologically, range around the Warthe Phase. For details, I refer to Andrée's book (1939), in which they appear as 'hand-point' cultures.

Kozłowski (1925) placed industries of Micoquian and La Quina (Mousterian) affinities found in caves north of Cracow, Poland, at the beginning of the Weichsel Glaciation. The Warthe Phase, however, had at that time not yet been separated from the Weichsel Glaciation.

Thus, in the formerly glaciated area of central Europe the interval between Saale and Weichsel is still to be regarded as a chronological gap from the archaeological point of view.

The deposits of the Weichsel Glaciation and its equivalent loess, however, have provided a number of upper Palaeolithic sites. Only a few can be mentioned here.

*Upper Palaeolithic of Upper Silesia.* The geological age of upper Palaeolithic sites in Upper Silesia has been studied by Lindner (1937). Most localities are in the Leobschütz district and in the adjacent Opava (Troppau) district of Czechoslovakia, close to the south-eastern end of the Sudeten Mountains. They are all connected with the Younger Loess which is superimposed on boulder-clay or

<sup>1</sup> As regards the age of the boulder-clays of Upper Silesia, compare Zeuner (1932) and Bau (1938).

glacifluvial gravels of the Saale Glaciation. The Younger Loess of Silesia corresponds to the second Younger Loess of west Germany and France and can be traced from south of the Weichsel moraines (Brandenburg phase) across the moraines of the Warthe Phase to Upper Silesia. Remnants of the first Younger Loess are extremely rare (Weinberg section near Katscher; Communal Brickyard at Opava; Karlsberg on the Zobten, Lower Silesia).

At Kösling, Leobschütz district, implements occur which Lindner compares with the earliest Aurignacian of Moravia, the Šipka stage. In Moravia, this industry occurs at the base of the Younger Loess in the Pekárna Cave, where it is called *primaeval* or primitive Aurignacian, or Pseudomousterian, by Absolon and Czižek (1932).<sup>1</sup>

Lindner was unable to study the Kösling section which has been destroyed. At no other place in Upper Silesia has this industry been studied *in situ*, so that it is worth while to reproduce here, from my diary, the section as it appeared on a visit in 1929 (fig. 52). The implements occurred in a stratified sand with pebbles and an admixture of loess, which appeared to me to be nothing but Younger Loess contaminated by sludge or solifluction. This was the early part of the Weichsel Phase.

Two further important sites are at the Schwarzer Berg ('Black Hill') near Dirschel, Leobschütz district. In the Thröm pit, implements of the Willendorf stage (developed Aurignacian, 'eastern Gravettian') were recovered *near the base* of the typical Younger Loess, which rests on contorted glacifluvial gravels of the Saale Glaciation. In the main pit, the section is the same, but implements occur in the *middle portion* of the loess which is about 6 feet thick and are of an early Solutrian type, with affinities to the Moravian site of Předmost, where, according to Lindner (1937, p. 36), following Wiegiers, the same industry is found in the same geological position.

A late Aurignacian, with Magdalenian affinities and with backed blades of the La Gravette type, was found at Janken, Ratibor district. The specimens still occurred in the loess, but at so high a level that they were brought up by the plough.

These localities supply an interesting succession of relative dates for upper Palaeolithic industries. The Younger Loess 2 being the equivalent of the Weichsel Glaciation, the 'primitive' Aurignacian of Upper Silesia appears to be of early Weichsel age, part of the eastern Gravettian of early-maximum, the early Solutrian of maximum, and a Gravettian with Magdalenian affinities of late Weichsel age. All these, however, fall at the time when the climate was sufficiently glacial for loess to be formed. The latest Aurignacian

<sup>1</sup> It is obvious that the exact significance of these typological terms has to be tested in the light of the more recent views concerning the early Aurignacian of western Europe.

(cf. Gravettian) of the loess area appears to be contemporary with the Magdalenian elsewhere.

*Final Palaeolithic in north Germany.* The position of the so-called Magdalenian of north Germany (Schwabedissen, 1951) is on the whole later than in the periglacial and alpine areas. Some of the sites in the Hamburg district (Rissen, c.g.) are older than Ahrensburg on

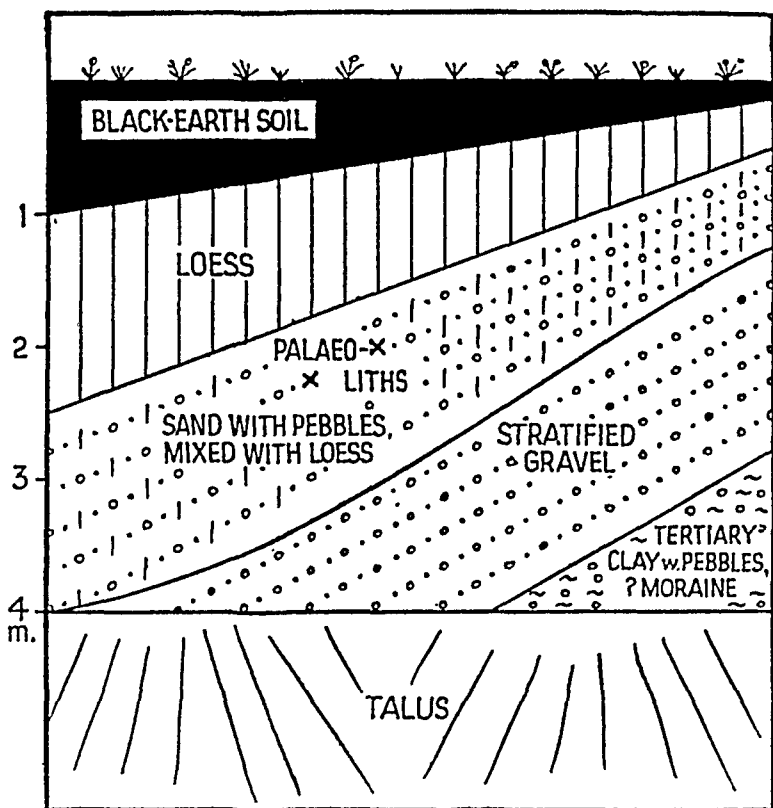


FIG. 52.—Loess section of Kösling near Katscher, Upper Silesia.

geological evidence. Schwabedissen considers the majority of the sites, which he calls late Magdalenian, as younger than the early Hamburgian (Meiendorf) culture.

*Meiendorf.* As a late Palaeolithic site, Meiendorf may be recalled. It has been described in connexion with varve chronology and pollen analysis (p. 72). It is associated with deposits of the Pomeranian phase and is the latest occurrence of the Magdalenoid group of industries which, soon after the climax of the Pomeranian, was replaced by, or developed into, Mesolithic (p. 162).

*Palaeolithic of north Germany, Summary.* The following table will help in comparing some of the Palaeolithic sites of north Germany with those of other areas :

Glacial Phase	Locality	Industry
Pomeranian	Rissen (Schwabedissen, 1954)	'late Magdalenian'
	Meiendorf	Hamburgian
Weichsel	Janken	Gravettian, 'Magdalenian'
	Dirschel	early Solutrian
	Thröm	Gravettian
	Kösling	'primitive' Aurignacian
Warthe		
Saale	Markkleeberg, Hundisburg, Makau, Wangen	Levalloisian, 'hand-point' culture
Great Inter-glacial	Oberwerschen	'hand-point' culture (? cf. Levalloisian or Clactonian)
Elster		

*Palaeolithic of the Alpine area.* Before proceeding to the periglacial zone, a few words must be said about the Palaeolithic of the Alpine area of glaciation which has provided us with some valuable chronological evidence with regard to the Magdalenian.

*Palaeolithic of Switzerland.* Beck (1939) has studied the geology and climatic conditions of the Lower Palaeolithic sites of Switzerland some of which are notable for the altitude in which they are situated inside the high mountain valleys (Wildkirchli cave, 4,923 feet; Drachenloch cave, 8,150 feet, both in the Säntis Range, northern Switzerland; Baechler, 1929, 1930), whilst another site is famous for its abundant and well-studied fauna of mammals (Cotencher in the Jura Mountains; Dubois and Stehlin, 1933). Beck found that they all date from the second part of the Last Interglacial (fig. 53).

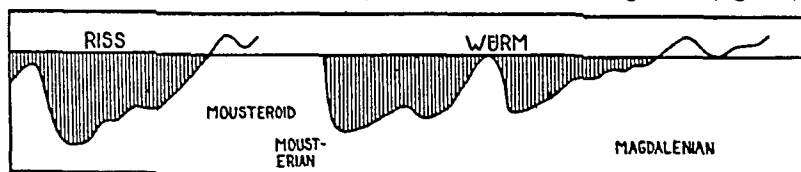


FIG. 53.—Glaciation curve for northern Switzerland, constructed by Beck (1939), and relative position of Palaeolithic industries. The third phase of the Last Glaciation is probably much under-rated, judging from the evidence obtained in the Lake Constance area.

Cotencher is a site with typical Mousterian, whilst the high Alpine stations may best be described as mousterioid, according to Obermaier. These results of Beek agree well with the age of the Mousterian of Ehringdorf and other sites (see p. 159).

*Magdalenian of Lake Constance area.* The upper Palaeolithic is represented in the famous Kesslerloch cave, near Schaffhausen, a little west of Lake Constance. It is closely connected with the terminal moraines of Würm. Among others, it was studied by Penck (1901) and Heierli (1907). Soergel (1919) divided the deposits of the Kesslerloch into three phases, the earliest of which contains a cold fauna and an early Magdalenian. In the middle layer, musk-ox and woolly rhinoceros are absent, but beaver and roe-deer appear instead. These indicate that forests had spread. The industry is a developed Magdalenian. The fauna of the uppermost horizon is again colder, beaver and roe-deer having disappeared. Its industry is regarded as late Magdalenian by R. R. Schmidt.

It is evident that, during the time of Magdalenian occupation of the Kesslerloch, the climate was decidedly cold at first, then milder, and then once more colder for a time.

The connexion of these fluctuations with morainic stages was rendered possible by Schmidle's studies (1914). The Kesslerloch lies just at the margin of the Schaffhausen moraine (Würm 1). When the ice was standing at the Diessenhofen moraine (Würm 2), about 5 km. farther east, the site was not yet habitable, and therefore the lower cold level can at the earliest date from the retreat of Würm 2. The upper cold level, therefore, can at the earliest represent the following belt of terminal moraines, that of Stein-Singen (Würm 3), and the milder intermediate bed an oscillation intervening between the two (for details, see Kimball and Zeuner, 1946).

The importance of the Kesslerloch lies in the fact that its Magdalenian occupation must have begun *after* the maximum extension of Alpine Würm 2, though when the climate was still cold. It continued through a mild oscillation into the cold Stein-Singen phase which has been correlated with the Pomeranian by Woldstedt and others. This result agrees with observations in north Germany (p. 152) and the periglacial area (p. 161).

*Glaciated areas of central Europe, Summary.* The chronology of the Palaeolithic of the formerly glaciated areas of central Europe is summarized in fig. 54. The Alpine area has so far supplied evidence for the Mousterian and the Magdalenian only, but this agrees very well with that from the Scandinavian area. The most interesting feature is the rapid succession of upper Palaeolithic industries during the second phase of the Last Glaciation, and the subsequent persistence of the Magdalenian through the following interstadial to the climax of LG1.

The Lower Palaeolithic is scarce, but of interest, since there is a



PHASE	ALPINE AREA	SCANDINAVIAN AREA	PALAEOLOGIC OF GLACIATED EUROPE	NORTH AMERICAN AREA	N. AMERICAN STONE-AGE
PGL					
	ONE OF THE STAGES IN-SIDE THE MOUNTAINS	FENNOSCANDIAN MORAINE		MANKATO	FOLSOM
W3	ZÜRICH-SINGEN + ULKOFEN	POMERANIAN MORAINE	MESOLITHIC MAGDALENIAN	ST. JOHNSBURY MORAINE	
W2	SCHLIEREN-DIESSENH.	FRANKFURT-POSEN + BRANDENBURGIAN	MAGDALENIAN AURIGNACIAN SOLUTRIAN AURIGNACIAN	HARBOR HILL MORAINE	
				PEORIAN	
W1	KILLWANGEN = SCHAFFHAUSEN	FLÄMING OR WARTHE PHASE		INTERSTADIAL	
				IOWAN, F = RONKONKOMA	
PW		SKARUMHEDE SERIES	MOUSTERIAN	SANGAMON INTERGLACIAL	
		DANISH BED III			
		EEM SERIES			
R2	LATE "OLD MORAINES" + LOWER HIGH TERRACE	SAALE MORAINE	MIDDLE LEVALL		
				ILLINOIAN	
R1	EARLY "OLD MORAINES" + UPPER HIGH TERRACE				
	GLÖTSCH OF BECK	GREAT INTERGLACIAL	HAND-POINT CULTURE	YARMOUTH INTERGLACIAL	
	KANDER OF BECK				
M2	LATE ALT TERRASSE	ELSTER MORAINE		KANSAN	
M1	EARLY ALT TERRASSE				
G2	LOWER BECK TERRASSE	WÄRMECKE'S PRE-ELSTER MORAINES		AFTONIAN INTERGLACIAL	
G1	UPPER BECK TERRASSE			NEBRASKAN	
D3	DONAU GRAVEL I				
D2	DONAU GRAVEL II				
D1	DONAU GRAVEL I				
S	STAUFENBERG GRAVEL				
O	OTTOBERGEN GRAVEL				

FIG. 54.—Chronology of climatic phases and Palaeolithic of the glaciated areas of northern central Europe, the Alps and North America.

suggestion that the Levalloisian technique first appeared in the Penultimate Interglacial. No light has been shed on the replacement of the Mousterian by upper Palaeolithic in the glaciated areas. There is a gap in the record extending over  $LG1_1$  and  $LG1_{1/2}$ . The results may be summed up as follows:

(1) No Abbevillian (Chellian) or Acheulian has been found in the formerly glaciated areas.

(2) The earliest are flake industries reminiscent of the Levalloisian and Clactonian of west Europe. They occur during the

Penultimate or Great Interglacial and continue at least up to the maximum of Saale (PGL<sub>1</sub>).

(3) (Lower or) Middle Levalloisian occurs in glaci-fluvial gravels near the extreme border of the Saale Glaciation, i.e. almost at the maximum of PGL<sub>1</sub>.

(4) The Last Interglacial has yielded Mousterian and mousterioid industries in the Alps. They appear to date from the second half of this interglacial.

(5) Upper Palaeolithic is associated with Weichsel = Alpine Würm 2 (LGL<sub>2</sub>). It appears early during this phase, with Mousterian

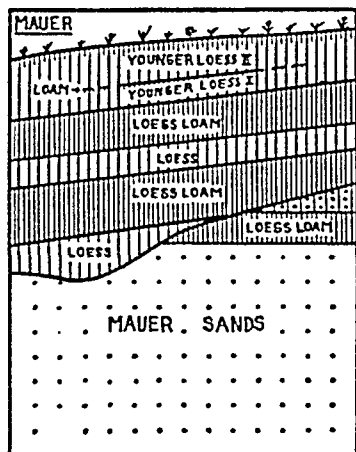


FIG. 55.—Loess section of Mauer, near Heidelberg, Neckar Valley, west Germany. North wall of the section, which does not show the subdivisions of the fluviatile series but contains the entire loess succession. *Homo heidelbergensis* was found in the fluviatile 'Mauer Sands'.—After Soergel (1928) from Zeuner (1945).

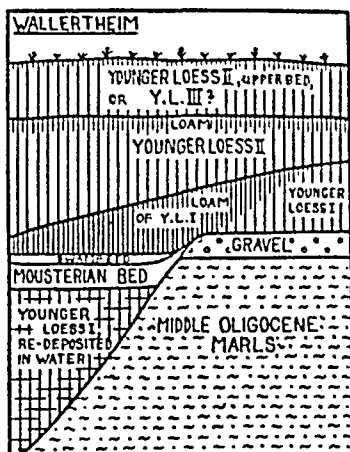


FIG. 56.—Section of Wallertheim, near Mainz, Rhine Valley, with three beds of loess separated by two weathering horizons, and a Mousterian occupation level in the Younger Loess I. The presence of Y.L. III in this section is now established.—Based on Schmidtgen and Wagner (1929), from Zeuner (1945).

reminiscences, in Upper Silesia and Moravia ('Primitive' Aurignacian, Šipka stage). The Solutrian is confined to the maximum of Weichsel, and preceded and followed by Gravettian.

(6) The Magdalenian appears to have started immediately after the climax of LGL<sub>2</sub>, and persisted through a mild oscillation at least up to the maximum of LGL<sub>3</sub>. (See Note (24), p. 415.)

*The periglacial area of central Europe.* It is unfortunate that the river terraces of central Europe contain few artefacts. Thus, in spite of their importance for the detailed chronology of the Pleistocene, they offer little direct help in dating the stages of the Palaeolithic. But we are compensated by the great number of loess sections

which, in many instances, can be dated indirectly by the river deposits on which they rest. Sections consisting of loess and other non-fluviatile deposits have contributed most of the chronological evidence that we require. In addition, there are some composed of travertine (Ehringsdorf, p. 159) and some composed of solifluction deposits (Petersfels, p. 161). We shall consider first four sections from the Rhine Valley which, taken together, provide us with an outline of the archaeological chronology from the time of the Antepenultimate Glaciation onwards.

*Mauer, near Heidelberg.* The first is Mauer, situated in the bow of an abandoned meander of the River Neckar, near Heidelberg (Soergel, 1928, 1933). It is the famous locality of *Homo heidelbergensis*. No stone implements have been recorded from here (presumably since collectors in early Pleistocene deposits are apt to look for hand axes, and consequently inclined to overlook primitive flake implements), but apparently worked bone has been found (Voelcker, 1933). The fluviatile sands in which the finds were made are covered by a great thickness of loess with weathering horizons (fig. 55). The succession, as found by Soergel, is the following :

Bed, and climatic character	Minimum age
(N) Recent soil : temperate	Postglacial
(M) Younger Loess II : cold steppe	LG <sub>1</sub>
(L) Weathering loam : temperate	Interstadial LG <sub>1,1/2</sub>
(K) Younger Loess I : cold steppe	LG <sub>1</sub>
(J) Weathering loam : temperate	Last Interglacial
(I) Upper Older Loess : cold steppe	PG <sub>1</sub>
(H) Weathering loam : temperate	Interstadial PG <sub>1,1/2</sub>
(G) Middle Older Loess : cold steppe	PG <sub>1</sub>
(F) Fluviatile sands, and weathering of these sands and of the Lower Older Loess : long temperate phase	Penultimate Interglacial
(—) Deposition of Lower Older Loess : cold steppe	ApGL <sub>2</sub>
(E) Fluviatile sands subjected to solifluction : cold climate	
(—) Gap, due to denudation	Interstadial ApGL <sub>1</sub> or Antepenultimate Interglacial, late phase
(D) Weathering horizon : temperate	
(C) Floodloam	
(B) Sandy calcareous floodloam	
(A) Mauer Sands.—(A)—(D), including gap : Temperate	

This succession illustrates the type of loess section in which periods of deposition of loess alternate with periods of chemical weathering. The geological dating is hinged on the presence of the two Younger Loesses of the Last Glaciation, and on the fauna of the Mauer Sands (Zeuner, 1945, p. 71), which is slightly more advanced than that of deposits of the Antepenultimate Interglacial, but slightly more primitive than that of the First Preglacial Terrace of Thuringia (at Süssenborn, *l.c.*, p. 262) which is contemporary with the oncoming Elster Glaciation (ApGL<sub>1</sub>). The most likely age

of the Mauer Sands, therefore, is the interstadial ApGl<sub>1,2</sub>. Soergel (1933), though he agrees that this is their *minimum* age, is inclined to assign greater significance to the gap between (D) and (E), and to push the Mauer Sands back into the Antepenultimate Interglacial. There is no direct evidence for this, and even if it were, Mauer must still be appreciably younger than the Cromer Forest Bed of the same interglacial, on account of the evolutionary stage of the mammalia. *Homo heidelbergensis*, therefore, lived either immediately prior to the first phase of the Antepenultimate Glaciation, or (more probably) during the interstadial of this Glaciation. On the radiation curve, his age would be near 450,000 years.

*Achenheim, Alsace (Mousterian and Upper Palaeolithic)*. Of greater typological interest than Mauer is the section of Achenheim, in Alsace, famous since Lyell's days. It has been studied for many years by Wernert (1929, 1934, 1936). The earlier interpretation of this section, as given in the previous editions of this book, was based on the practice of assigning one loess to each major glacial phase, and on the observation that the underlying fluviatile sands contain a fauna of the Mauer type. For years, however, the so-called Middle Older Loess has been a mystery. It is *atypique*, and its fauna mainly temperate. I was most grateful, therefore, to Dr. Paul Wernert for his permission to investigate the sequence. Achenheim was visited in 1950 and numerous samples taken. Though the investigation is not yet complete, some results have emerged which make the sequence appear in an unexpected light. Three Younger Loesses are now known to be present, the so-called Upper Older Loess being the first Younger Loess (Zeuner, 1953*b*). This conclusion appears to have been drawn before by de Ferrière (1937) in a book which is unfortunately unobtainable.

The Middle Older Loess of the section is a complex of loessic hillwash material derived from higher up the slope, and of brecciated loess with large molluscan shells, interrupted by a brown soil. It rests on a blackish soil and is covered by a reddish soil. The entire series appears to have mainly a temperate character, especially the soils and the hillwash. Of the two brecciated loesses, at least the upper indicates a mild climate, for its molluscan fauna (Wenz, 1919) is very rich and thoroughly temperate (Note (25), (p. 416)). The entire sequence of the 'Middle Older Loess' appears, according to the evidence available at the moment, to belong to the Last Interglacial. It rests on an earlier loess, presumably of PGI age, and this on a fluviatile series of ApIgl age, an unconformity separating these two deposits. The cause of the abnormal formation of the Middle Loess is perhaps tectonic.

The prehistoric industries are being studied by Dr. Wernert. So far it can be said that the YL III contains Upper Palaeolithic and the YL II Upper Palaeolithic above and Mousterian below (Wernert,

1929). This late survival of Middle Palaeolithic is not unique (p. 172). The YL I (formerly Upper Older Loess) contains a Mousterioid industry, as does the atypical Middle Older Loess, specimens from which have been compared with Clactonian (Wernert, 1934, p. 10) or Tayacian (Wernert, 1936, p. 3). Levalloisian influence is strong especially in the higher levels, and a true Acheulian is absent.

*Wallertheim, near Mainz (Mousterian).* That the Mousterian was the industry of the first phase of the Last Glaciation, is confirmed by the interesting site of Wallertheim in the Mainz Basin (fig. 56). Schmidtgen and Wagner (1929) found a Mousterian hunting station on the banks of a small stream, where there appears to have been a watering-place frequented by the larger species of mammals. The occupation horizon is later than the deposition of the main mass of the Younger Loess I, but earlier than the loamy weathering of the interstadial separating the two Younger Loesses (LGI<sub>1/2</sub>). The fauna (Zeuner, 1945, p. 266) consists chiefly of animals of the loess steppe, including the mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros, but several other species indicated that woods had begun to spread. This site, therefore, appears to date from the end of the first phase of the Last Glaciation.

The Younger Loess I, with its weathering horizon, is covered by fresh Younger Loess II. Wallertheim is one of the places where a third Younger Loess occurs, as revealed by the section of the new pit. In this respect, Wallertheim agrees with several localities near Wiesbaden described by Schönhals (1951). The Younger Loess III has been found in Austria also (Brandtner (1950). This is a new and important development (Note (26), p. 418).

*Linsenberg, near Mainz (Aurignacian).* The chronological position of part of the Aurignacian during the early part of LGI<sub>2</sub> is further confirmed by the site called Linsenberg, near Mainz (fig. 57; Schmidtgen, 1930). On the surface of the loamy soil formed on the Younger Loess I, an Aurignacian resting-place was discovered, with a setting of stones and with numerous implements and two sculptures. This site was covered by Younger Loess II. Since the accompanying bones were perfectly fresh, Schmidtgen concluded that no humid weathering took place after they had been left there and that this Aurignacian site dates from the beginning of the cold phase evidenced by the Younger Loess II (LGI<sub>2</sub>). It cannot belong to the preceding mild interstadial during which the soil on the Younger Loess I was formed, since in this case the bones would have been destroyed.

*Ehringsdorf, near Weimar (Mousterian).* The earliest Mousterian site which can be placed in the detailed chronology is that of Ehringsdorf near Weimar, in Thuringia (fig. 58). It is famous for its remains of *Homo neanderthalensis*, beside a rich fauna (Zeuner,

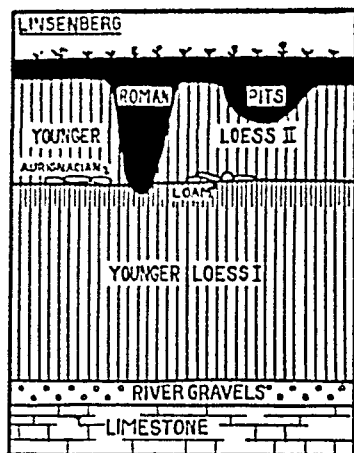


FIG. 57.—Section of the Linsenberg, near Mainz, Rhine Valley, with two Younger Loesses separated by a fossil soil, and an Aurignacian occupation level on the fossil soil.—Based on Schmidtgen (1930), from Zeuner (1945).

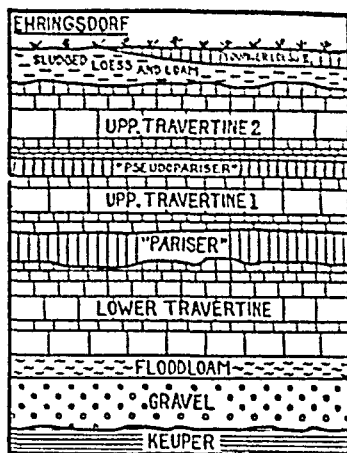


FIG. 58.—Section of the traverines and loesses of Ehringsdorf, near Weimar, Thuringia. The Mousterian-Neanderthal occupation level is in the Lower Travertine.—Based on Soergel (1926a), from Zeuner (1945).

1945, p. 265) and flora. Occupation layers and fossils occur in deposits of calcareous tufa, or travertine, formed by springs and resting on the fourth glacial aggradation terrace of the river Ilm. The succession has been studied by Soergel (1926a, b); it is as follows:

- |   |                                       |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| (H) Younger Loess II  | LGI <sub>2</sub>                      |
| (G) Upper Travertine, with cool-temperate to temperate fauna  | Interstadial LGI <sub>1/2</sub>       |
| (F) Younger Loess I, impregnated with lime from above during the following milder phase. So-called <i>Pariser</i>   | LGI <sub>1</sub>                      |
| (E) Lower Travertine, with temperate forest flora, including walnut and <i>Thuja</i> , forest mammals, <i>H. neanderthalensis</i> and Mousterian industry | Second part of Last Interglacial      |
| (D) Floodloam with mammoth and European pond tortoise   | Cool oscillation of Last Interglacial |
| (C) River gravels of the Fourth Glacial Terrace : cool phase  |                                       |
| (B) Period of erosion   | First part of Last Interglacial       |
| (A) Third Glacial Terrace and Saale Glaciation  | PGI <sub>1</sub>                      |

The dating here given is Soergel's. It relies on the one hand on the presence of two Younger Loesses separated by a mild phase which was not fully interglacial in character, these loesses representing the Last Glaciation, and on the other hand on the interpretation

of the Fourth Glacial Terrace as that of the cool phase which interrupted the Last Interglacial (p. 133), Soergel's *Prewurm* phase.

The Lower Travertine in which the human finds were made, testifies to a very mild climate for the latter part of the Last Interglacial. The average temperature appears to have been somewhat higher than at present. The same is suggested elsewhere, as in the flora of the peat covering the Danish Middle Bed (Zeuner, 1945, p. 33), in the warm mollusca which penetrated into the North Sea at this time (Eem Sea), and in the corresponding warm *Strombus*-fauna which survived into this phase (Late Monastirian) in the Mediterranean. From the archaeological point of view, Ehringsdorf is important because it shows *Homo neanderthalensis*, with a Mousterian industry, living in the warm, second half of the Last Interglacial.

*Petersfels, near Engen, Lake Constance area (Magdalenian)*. While the loess stations of the Rhine valley, and of upper Silesia, suggest that Aurignacian was present during the episode of climatic decline which culminated in the second phase of the Last Glaciation, other sites have suggested that (apart from some continuation of the upper Aurignacian) Magdalenian had appeared when the retreat of the ice began. This applies both in the Lake Constance area (Kesslerloch, Schweizersbild) and in upper Silesia. The Kesslerloch cave in northern Switzerland further suggested that the Magdalenian persisted through the following interstadial into the third phase of the Last Glaciation (p. 154). This conclusion is strongly supported by the recently excavated cave called Petersfels (Peters, 1930; Peters and Toepfer, 1932; fig. 59). The section of the detrital cone in front of the cave is made up, from top to bottom, of:

(F) Weathering loam, 15 cm.	Postglacial
(E) Coarse solifluction deposit composed of local Jurassic limestone, 40 cm.	LGI <sub>1</sub>
(D) Sludge with Magdalenian, 50 cm.	Beginning of LGI <sub>1</sub>
(C) Earth with Magdalenian <i>in situ</i> , 20-40 cm.	Climate becoming colder
(B) Weathering loam, 15-20 cm.	Interstadial LGI <sub>1/2</sub>
(A) Coarse solifluction deposit of local limestone, 100 or more centimetres	LGI <sub>2</sub>

This succession was dated by Toepfer (in Peters and Toepfer, 1932). The two solifluction strata must represent two cold phases. Since the site lies in a glaciuvial valley issuing from the Schaffhausen Moraine (LGI<sub>1</sub>), it is likely that the lower solifluction stratum was formed during the following cold phase, that of the Diessenhofen Moraine (LGI<sub>2</sub>), and the upper one during the Stein-Singen Phase (LG<sub>3</sub>). The great thickness of the lower solifluction, which attains to several metres, indeed suggests that the climate was intensely cold during its formation, though the ice no longer discharged

meltwater through the valley. The earliest stage of the Last Glaciation during which such conditions could have prevailed, was the Diessenhofen Phase. The upper solifluction is thinner, and suggests a somewhat weaker cold phase, such as that of the third phase of the Last Glaciation, locally represented by the Stein-Singen Moraine. None of the later retreat stages of the Last Glaciation has left any stratigraphical evidence in the deposits of the district west and south-west of Lake Constance, so that the dating of the section leads to the same result, whether one starts from the bottom, or from the top.

The Magdalenian deposits with their reindeer fauna were formed when the climate of the interstadial LGI<sub>1,2</sub> had begun to deteriorate, since chemical weathering evidenced by (B) had ceased, and solifluction apparently started immediately thereafter.

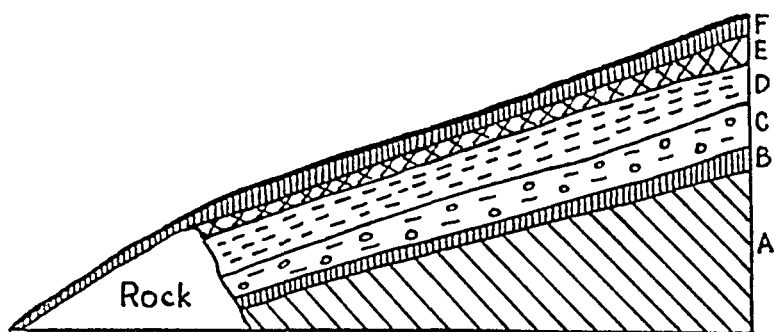


FIG. 50.—Section of the detrital cone of the Petersfels Cave, near Engen, Lake Constance area, after Peters and Toepfer (1932). For lettering compare text. Magdalenian *in situ* in C.

From this evidence and that of the Kesslerloch, it is certain that the Magdalenian survived into the third phase of the Last Glaciation.

*Hohler Stein, Westphalia (Mesolithic).* The end of the Palaeolithic and the beginning of the Mesolithic, after the climax of the Pomeranian Phase (LGI<sub>1</sub>) in the Hamburg district were discussed in Chapter IV (p. 72). It may be added that in some Westphalian caves the final Palaeolithic is found associated with a mammalian fauna of the tundra type, though a few forest forms are present (Andrée, 1932, 1939). A pre-Tardenoisian with close affinities to the final Magdalenian was found by Andrée (1932) in the Hohler Stein cave, together with reindeer on the one hand, and wild boar and red deer on the other. At the time of the early Mesolithic, therefore, the forests had begun to spread.

It is thus probable that the final Magdalenian lasted until the



climax of the third phase of the Last Glaciation had passed, and that it gave way to an early Mesolithic before the climate had reverted to a temperate type.

*Czechoslovakia.* The loess areas of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia have in recent years provided most valuable evidence for the appearance of Upper Palaeolithic industries in  $LGI_{1/2}$  and their survival into  $LGI_3$ . References are given in Note (26), p. 418.

*East Europe and Siberia.* The archaeological chronology of Europe north of the Alps is summarized in fig. 65 (p. 202). If one ventures farther east, in the hope of extending this chronology, one is thrilled with rich and culturally most intriguing sites discovered in south Russia (Bonč-Osmolowskij, 1935 in Crimea, for instance) and in Siberia (Sosnowsky, 1935).<sup>1</sup> At the same time one is disappointed when, on closer study of the published sections, one discovers that these sites cannot yet be fitted into the detailed climatic chronology. This is so for two reasons.

First, it may still be assumed, with reasonable certainty, that in the whole of south Russia loesses correspond to cold phases and buried soils to interglacials or interstadials; but in central Siberia (Afontowa Gora, near Krasnojarsk, or Malta, near Irkutsk), where the recent or interglacial climate is intensely continental, where tjaele occurs as far south as 50° N. lat., and where the reindeer is now found as far south at 49° N., loess and solifluction deposits may well have formed during periods which were not contemporaneous with the glacial phases of Europe.

The second reason why these sites cannot yet be fitted into the detailed chronology is that it has not been possible to work out the local chronology of the Pleistocene. This is, in view of the distances involved and the limitations imposed by the present climate, a most formidable task and we shall probably have to wait for some time before it can be achieved.

*Žuravka and Douginiči, Ukraine (Aurignacian); Derkul (Mousterian).* The first area which is likely to produce an archaeological chronology comparable with that of central or west Europe, is southern Russia, where the sequence of loesses has already been worked out and affords an excellent detailed chronology (Krokos, 1927; Zeuner, 1938), especially as the Upper Older Loess was invaded by the extreme southward advance of the Saale Glaciation (Dnjepr Lobe). But the number of Palaeolithic sites which can be dated on local palaeoclimatic evidence is as yet very small. In the loess area of the Ukraine, only one Mousterian site has so far been found (Derkul, a tributary of the Donetz; Mirčink, 1935; Efimenko, 1935), and this in a section which cannot be dated con-

<sup>1</sup> The discoveries made in Russia and Siberia up to 1935 are described Trans. II. Intern. Conf. Assoc. Study Quatern. Europe, Leningrad-Moscow, 1935, fasc. V. See also Garrod, 1938, and papers by Hančar.

clusively, though Mirčink suggests that the layer containing the implements was formed 'at the outset' of the Last Glaciation.

As examples of Aurignacian sites in the Younger Loess of the Ukraine, Žuravka (Dept. Pryluka) and Dovginiči (Volhynia) may be mentioned. Both were studied by Krokos (1929, 1930), who found that upper Palaeolithic man lived at these places at the end of the interstadial between the first and second phases of the Last Glaciation, when the mammoth had re-appeared and when the Younger Loess II began to form. This is the same stratigraphical position of the Aurignacian as at the Linsenberg, near Mainz (p. 159).

*Kiik-Koba, Crimea (Acheulian).* The lack of Lower Palaeolithic in the loess area of Russia is probably due to the great thickness and wide distribution of the Younger Loess which veils older deposits. In the caves of the Crimea, however, several Lower Palaeolithic stations have been discovered (Bonč-Osmolowskij, 1935). The earliest is Kiik-Koba, where an 'amorphous' industry is followed by 'upper Acheulian' with remains of man. These (only the hand has been studied in detail so far) are regarded as related to Neanderthal Man rather than *Homo sapiens* (Bonč-Osmolowskij, 1941; review by Keith, 1944), a startling find if one considers that elsewhere men resembling *Homo sapiens* appear to have been the makers of the Acheulian industry. Unfortunately, the Acheulian stratum of Kiik-Koba is followed immediately by a surface layer with historical material, so that geological dating is impossible.

It is conceivable, however, that the typological identification of the industries of Kiik-Koba may have to be modified (Zeuner, 1940, p. 14). The 'amorphous' industry appears to have late Clactonian affinities, to judge from the published figures, while the 'upper Acheulian' almost certainly exhibits Levalloisian affinities. The bifaces are mostly made on flakes, and the majority of the 'hand-axes' are worked on one side only. If this industry turns out to be a late Levalloisian, or a Levalloiso-Mousterian, the difficulty of having Neanderthal man associated with Acheulian would be removed. Further notes on this interesting site will be found in Bonč-Osmolowskij's monograph, in Boule (1925, 1926), and Gromova and Gromov, 1937.

*Upper Palaeolithic of Siberia.* It has been pointed out above that the correlation of the Siberian Palaeolithic with that of Europe is still a matter of controversy. It also is a matter of importance, however, since here we encounter in one and the same industry a combination of Mousterian, upper Palaeolithic and even Mesolithic traits which, in Europe, are successive and spread at least from the end of LGI<sub>1</sub> to the end of LGI<sub>2</sub>. The material has been ably summarized and discussed by Sosnowskij (1935).

*Malta, near Irkutsk.* The earliest stations are Malta, Irkutsk

(Military Hospital), and Kaiskaja Gora, all three in the area of Irkutsk on the Angara River, north of Lake Baikal. Their fauna is predominately arctic and includes the mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros, and their industry is essentially based on mammoth ivory, bone and antlers. Typologically, the industry has been compared with the Aurignacian and Solutrian of Europe by Salmony and Gerassimow, and by Gromov with the late Magdalenian. Consulting the stratigraphical position as a possible clue to correlation, we find that the sites occur in a loess-like deposit resting on fluvial loam and gravel of a terrace 18 metres above the river. They are, therefore, later than the fluvial phase of the aggradation of this terrace, but earlier than the deposition of the main mass of the loess.

The formation of this terrace is, however, followed by (1) a period of down-cutting, (2) the accumulation of a 9 to 12-metre terrace, (3) a further down-cutting, and (4) the establishment of the present river level with its floodplain. This is a considerable sequence of events which makes it difficult to interpret the term 'end of Würm' used for the age of Malta as meaning the end of LGI, which it would have in Europe. Since no attempt has apparently been made to study the terrace system from the climatic point of view, or its relation to the sea-level, it is impossible to arrive at a clear view of the age of these stations.

*Afontova, near Krasnojarsk.* The same applies to the later stations, many of which are concentrated in the Krasnojarsk area on the Jenisei river (for instance, Afontova II, lower horizon; Korokewo II, etc.), which were occupied partly during a later phase of loess formation, and partly when the down-cutting had begun.

A still later group of stations (Gromov's Group II) dates from the phase of down-cutting following the aggradation of the 9-to-12-metre terrace at Krasnojarsk. By this time, the mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros had disappeared, and reindeer, horse and aurochs characterize the fauna. This group comprises the sites called Sabočki, near Korokewo, and 'Immigrants' Point', near Krasnojarsk.

Finally, a last group (Gromov's Group III) occurs in various deposits, apparently always near the surface (Afontova II, upper horizon; Afontova IV, Gremjačij stream, near Krasnojarsk). In these, bone artefacts have become rare, and many microlithic implements are present.

The last two groups are classified as 'Postglacial' by the Russian authors. But the long sequence of geological events beginning with the formation of the 18-metre terrace, regarded as 'final Würm', makes one suspect that these terms, as applied to the Siberian Palaeolithic, must not be interpreted in the light of the climatic chronology of Europe. Even though one has to leave open the question what climatic conditions are indicated by river erosion and river aggradation in Siberia, it is clear that during the period

covered by the Siberian Palaeolithic, the rivers have passed through two complete cycles of aggradation and erosion, involving some 50 feet of lowering of the river's course in a flat country. It is difficult to conceive of all this having happened since LG<sub>1</sub>, say within 15,000 years. The evidence for two cycles of accumulation and erosion suggests rather that the earliest sites (Malta, &c.) are about as old as LG<sub>1</sub>, whilst the latest could well be as late as near the end of LG<sub>1</sub>, or the beginning of the Postglacial. It will be interesting to watch the outcome of further stratigraphical work in Siberia. Let us hope that our Russian colleagues will find it possible to make the river terraces and the phases of loess formation the subject of a special study. (See also Movius, 1953.)

### C. PALAEOOLITHIC OF FRANCE AND THE ATLANTIC COAST

France is the classic region of prehistory, especially of the Palaeolithic. Of all countries, France has supplied us with the most complete succession of Palaeolithic industries, and the French typological divisions have become the standard for the world. As regards the detailed chronology of the Pleistocene, however, the only part of France where geological evidence is sufficiently ample, and has been investigated from this point of view, is the valley of the Somme in northern France. This important work was begun by Commont, and continued by Breuil. The connexion of the fluvial terraces with the ancient beaches on the coast of the English Channel has been elucidated by de Lamoignon. The enormous archaeological wealth of the Somme valley and the practical necessity to classify all the important sites within a working chronological system, has tended to obscure the eyes of students to the fact that the number of sections which are conclusive from the point of view of climatic chronology are not many. A few from this number have been selected here for the purpose of demonstrating the detailed chronology of the Palaeolithic of the Somme valley.

*Somme Valley.* The loesses of the Somme valley (pl. XII, fig. B) are similar to those observed in the Rhine valley, with the difference that the Younger Loess is less thick; the Younger Loess II apparently being somewhat under-developed. This is in agreement with the westerly situation of the Somme, where the climate is likely to have been influenced by the sea more during LG<sub>1</sub>, than during LG<sub>1</sub>, in accordance with the smaller size of the ice-sheet.<sup>1</sup> Conversely, solifluction deposits are more conspicuous in the Somme than they are farther east, for the same reason.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Breuil has recently subdivided the two Younger Loesses into two each, but there is no evidence from buried soils that this further subdivision corresponds to separate glacial phases. No more than two, therefore, are distinguished here, in accordance with the conditions observed in most parts of temperate Europe and in accordance with Breuil's system prior to 1930.

<sup>2</sup> For further discussion of these points, see Zeuner (1945, p. 80).

The fluvial terraces of the Somme (pl. XII, fig. C) are, unfortunately, of that complex type prevailing in rivers above the estuary. The movements of the sea-level have combined with climatic aggradation and erosion in a most complicated manner, and great tribute has to be paid to H. Breuil's intuition that has led him to date the industrial sequence so correctly (Breuil, 1932, 1937, 1939). It is impossible in the present context to proceed on strictly logical lines by building up, from various sections, the complete detailed chronology and to prove that only this chronology satisfies the evidence. This has been done in another place (Zeuner, 1945, p. 81 ff.). The sections given, however, do provide some idea of the geological evidence available.

*Porte du Bois, Abbeville (Abbevillian).* Abbeville lies not far from the neck of the modern estuary of the Somme. The pits of the Porte du Bois, just outside the town, have been famous for many years. One of them, the carrière du Moulin-Quignon, is the veritable birth-place of the Palaeolithic, since it was from here that Boucher de Perthes, in 1847,<sup>1</sup> described for the first time human implements associated with extinct mammalia. Chronologically more important is the carrière Carpentier, from which d'Ault du Mesnil (1896) made known a rich Abbevillian<sup>2</sup> industry associated with a mammalian fauna of the age of the Cromer Forest Bed. On palaeontological evidence alone, therefore, this deposit proves to be Antepenultimate Interglacial.

Commont (1910f) was unable to confirm d'Ault's discoveries, but Breuil (1939a) has, by means of fresh excavations and a careful scrutiny of the published evidence, proved convincingly that there is no reason to doubt d'Ault's claim.

The section of the carrière Carpentier (Commont, 1910f; Breuil and Koslowski, 1931) may be summarized as follows:

(VIII) Top layer, possibly containing some Younger Loess.

(VII) Older Loess, weathered to argile rouge.

(VI) *Cailloutis* (pebble layer) covering the sands of (V), with lower Acheulian implements (Acheulian II) apparently derived from the underlying sands.

(V) Upper Gravels and Sands, with two rolled, and therefore derived, Abbevillian hand-axes, beside a 'beautiful Acheulian I, which is fresh and well-worked' (Breuil, 1939a, p. 30). Fauna with typical *Elephas antiquus*, of middle Pleistocene type. Altimetrically, the surface of this fluvial aggradation runs into the Tyrrhenian

<sup>1</sup> Boucher de Perthes (1849). See also his answer to the Laon archaeologists (1859), which gives a vivid picture of the suspicion by which Boucher's claims were met and of his firm conviction that his observations were correct.—Rigollot (1855) reported the discovery of the first implements at St. Acheul.

<sup>2</sup> Commont's Pre-Chellian = Chellian of many authors was renamed Abbevillian by Breuil; see Breuil (1939b). Commont's Chellian = lower Acheulian of Breuil. Note this when reading Commont's papers.

(32 metres) sea-level of the Penultimate Interglacial. We may conclude, therefore, that early Acheulian man lived while the sea rose to its maximum level during this Interglacial.

(IV) Sharp erosional unconformity. Commonly observed a small bed of peat. An erosional phase during which the river cut to a low sea-level.

(III) White Marl, with sandy layers and with an Abbevillian industry. Fauna composed of early Pleistocene species and 'Pliocene survivals', like *Elephas meridionalis*, *Equus stenonis*, *Trogontherium*, typical of the Antepenultimate Interglacial.

(II) Sand with shells.

(I) River gravel with *Hippopotamus* and *Equus stenonis*, referable to the same interglacial as (III).

The sections from Abbeville thus suggest that the Abbevillian belongs to the Antepenultimate, and the lower Acheulian to the Penultimate, Interglacial.

*Amiens, carrière Fréville* (Abbevillian, Clactonian, Acheulian, Levalloisian). Twenty-five miles upstream from Abbeville, as the crow flies, we meet with the second important group of sections in the neighbourhood of Amiens, especially in the suburb of St. Acheul. The carrière Fréville at St. Acheul is important because it confirms the results obtained at Abbeville and permits us to link them up with the sequence of the carrière Bultel-Tellier. The section consists of:

(VII) Weathered surface of Younger Loess.

(VI) Younger Loess. At its base (presumably from the time of the preceding interglacial (LIgl)), middle Levalloisian (Lev. III-IV of Breuil).

(V) Argile rouge, weathered surface of Older Loess. With patinated upper Acheulian (Acheulian V). Weathering of Last Interglacial.

(IV) Older Loess. No implements in the loess, but early Acheulian incorporated in the cailloutis at its base, the produce of denudation previous to the commencement of loess formation.

(III) White sand with lenses of gravel. In the sands, Acheulian I, and numerous implements of Acheulian II on their surface. Interglacial aggradation of the river. Penultimate Interglacial.

(II) Weathering, and period of denudation. Gap in the geological record.

(I) Lower Gravels, in the Rue du Comte-Raoul with primitive *Elephas antiquus* as found at Abbeville, indicating Antepenultimate Interglacial. At carrière Fréville with atypical implements only, but in the neighbouring carrière Leclercq with numerous Abbevillian and Clactonian specimens.

This succession agrees with that from Abbeville in the superposition of a river deposit of the Penultimate Interglacial, with lower Acheulian

(layer III at Fréville, V at Abbeville), on a river deposit of the Antepenultimate Interglacial, with Abbevillian and Clactonian (layer I at Fréville-Leclercq, I-III at Abbeville). These sections tell us that the Abbevillian was the hand-axe culture of the Antepenultimate Interglacial, while the Acheulian appeared during the Penultimate Interglacial. The view held in Germany for many years that the Abbevillian belongs to the Penultimate Interglacial and which is still defended by Andrée (1939), therefore, is no longer tenable. This author's suggestion that something appeared to be wrong in the French succession because he arrived at a different result, falls to the ground, since the geological evidence for the age of the Abbevillian in northern France is sound. It is possible that what Andrée calls 'Chellian' at Neanderthal (his test site) is, in the modern French classification, early Acheulian.

*St. Acheul, carrière Bultel-Tellier (Abbevillian, Clactonian, Acheulian, Levalloisian, upper Palaeolithic).* The sections of the carrières Bultel and Tellier at St. Acheul are perhaps the most important in Europe for the chronology of the lower Palaeolithic, since they give us dates for several industries within the detailed chronology. They were studied extensively by Commont (many papers between 1909 and 1913, especially 1909c). The more recent paper by Breuil and Koslowski (1931, p. 471) contains a synthesis of Commont's earlier work, as well as of their own. The section has been discussed in Zeuner (1945, p. 86) from the view-point of climatic chronology, so that we can confine ourselves to a summary providing chiefly the archaeological evidence (fig. 60):

(XI) Re-deposited Younger Loess (probably result of ploughing), with Neolithic.

(X) Postglacial weathering of Younger Loess II.

(IX) Younger Loess II, in its upper, weathered portion with upper Aurignacian and Solutrian. At its base, in a cailloutis possibly comprising remnants from the preceding interstadial, Levalloisian VI. LGL<sub>2</sub>.

(VIII) Weathering of Younger Loess I. Interstadial LGL<sub>1,2</sub>.

(VII) Younger Loess I, with a cailloutis in the middle, containing upper Levalloisian (Lev. V). At the base, another cailloutis, also with Levalloisian V.<sup>1</sup> LGL<sub>1</sub>.

(VI) Argile rouge, weathering of the Older Loess. In its upper portion, upper Acheulian (Acheulian VI-VII, Micoquian) has been found. Some of the implements lay, with one of their faces, in the argile rouge, and with the other in the cailloutis layer at the base of the Younger Loess (Commont, 1909c). They are patinated white, which testifies to the intense weathering they suffered. This

<sup>1</sup> In the explanation of fig. 10 in Breuil and Koslowski, 1931, p. 472, it is called Lev. III-IV instead. This possibly refers to certain specimens found by Commont on the surface of the argile rouge.

industry, therefore, at least in part belongs to the prolonged mild period which followed the deposition of the Older Loess and preceded that of the Younger Loess, i.e. the Last Interglacial.

(V) Older Loess. No implements in the unweathered portion. PGI<sub>2</sub>.

(IV) Red sands (*Sable roux* of Commont, Breuil, &c., G), resting on eroded surface of earlier deposits (except where III is present). This appears to be a hill-wash formed during the initial stage of PGI<sub>2</sub>.

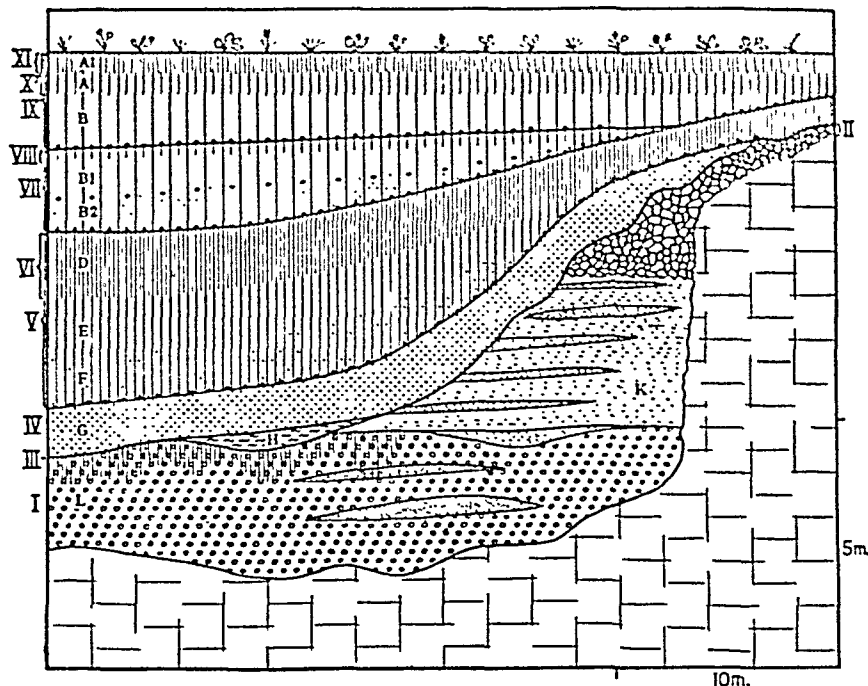


FIG. 60.—Section of the Carrière Bultel-Tellier, Saint-Acheul, near Amiens, north France. For explanation, see text, p. 169.—After Commont (1909c, 1912) and Breuil and Koslowski (1931), from Zeuner (1915).

At the very base of the red sands, a middle Acheulian site was found (Acheulian III, Breuil, 1931; Acheulian IIIb, Kelley, 1937; Acheulian IV, Breuil, 1939b). It is known as the *Atelier Commont*. The implements are strongly patinated, whilst others occurring at a higher level in the red sands are not. It is likely, therefore, that they were subjected to weathering before the red sands were deposited, and that they belong to some phase earlier than that of the red sands. On the other hand, the Atelier cannot be older than the fluvial series (I, below) on which it rests. This middle Acheulian,



therefore, dates from the Penultimate Interglacial at the earliest, and at the latest from the interstadial  $PGI_{1/2}$ .

While the climate deteriorated and the red sands were deposited, middle Acheulian man once more appeared on the scene: a second middle Acheulian horizon (Acheulian IV, Breuil) is found in the red sands.

(III) Lens of white chalky sand, local (H). Where present, resting on the eroded surface of (I). According to Breuil and Koslowski, the shell fauna suggests a 'moderately warm' climate. Interstadial  $PGI_{1/2}$ .

(—) An erosional unconformity separates the earlier deposits from the later (fig. 60).

(II) *Coombe-rock* (frost-weathering debris consisting of chalk), correctly interpreted by Breuil and Koslowski as formed under cold conditions.  $PGI_1$ .

(I) Fluvatile gravels below and fluvatile sands above, of the aggradation leading to the Tyrrhenian sea-level. Penultimate Interglacial, confirmed by fauna.

The gravels contain derived Abbevillian and an un-rolled Clactonian industry which was found *in situ* by Breuil. The sands have yielded an early Acheulian (Acheulian II).

A weathering which affected the gravels is shown both by Commont and Breuil and Koslowski as passing *underneath* the sands. This 'weathering'<sup>1</sup> might afford a parallel to the weathering of the Lower Loam in the 100-foot Terrace of the Thames at Swanscombe, with Clactonian underneath the weathering horizon, and Acheulian above. These two sections assign to the 'Clactonian II' an early part of the Penultimate Interglacial, and to the Acheulian a later one. It must not be overlooked, however, that while the date for Clactonian II appears to apply generally, the Acheulian may well be partly contemporary with it. In Swanscombe, early middle Acheulian is found above the weathering horizon, in St. Acheul, the specimens have been classified as lower Acheulian.

This section thus provides us with a wealth of chronological information. On its evidence, we may assign—

The Abbevillian to a time prior to  $PIgl$ .

The Clactonian II to an early part of  $PIgl$ .

The lower Acheulian (Ach. II) to some later part of  $PIgl$ .

The middle Acheulian (Ach. III/IV) to from late  $PIgl$  to early  $PGI_2$ .<sup>2</sup>

The upper Acheulian (Ach. VI–VII, Micoquian) to  $LIgl$ .

<sup>1</sup> Provided it is a true weathering horizon.

<sup>2</sup> The uncertain position of the Atelier Commont makes it difficult to state the beginning of the middle Acheulian at St. Acheul, but Kelley (1937, p. 18) found Acheulian IIIa in the neighbouring site of the 30-metre terrace gravels at Cagny. This establishes the presence of early middle Acheulian in the Penultimate Interglacial of the Somme.

The Levalloisian V to end of LIGl and LGl<sub>1</sub>.

The Levalloisian VI to interstadial LGl<sub>1,2</sub> or early LGl<sub>1</sub>.

The upper Aurignacian and Solutrian to climax of LGl<sub>1</sub>.

It will be noticed that the evidence from other sites in France and farther east tallies well with this succession, except in the survival of the Levalloisian into LGl<sub>1,2</sub> or even LGl<sub>2</sub>. By this time, Aurignacian appears to have been present in some parts of Europe. The difference, however, is slight, since when the second phase of the Last Glaciation reached its climax the upper Palaeolithic had arrived at St. Acheul also, with the same industries as are found elsewhere at this time. It will be interesting to see whether this apparent survival of the Levalloisian is a matter of some significance or not. For this purpose we have to turn to the Seine valley.

*St. Pierre, near Rouen, survival of Levalloisian into upper Palaeolithic times.* The sections in the brickearth pits of St. Pierre-les-Elbeuf, not far from Rouen, on the slope of the Seine valley, present evidence for three Younger Loesses separated by horizons of humid weathering, resting on thick Older Loess which is weathered to argile rouge in its upper portion. This is the succession with which we are now familiar of PGl<sub>2</sub> (Older Loess), LIGl (argile rouge weathering), LGl<sub>1</sub> (Younger Loess I), LGl<sub>1,2</sub> (weathering) LGl<sub>2</sub> (Younger Loess II) and LGl<sub>3</sub> (Younger Loess III). The sections have also provided evidence for several older loesses, after a detailed examination of the buried soils and mechanical analysis of numerous samples (Zeuner, 1945, p. 81; 1948, p. 14; Bordes, 1954; Zeuner, 1956).

Special interest is attached to St. Pierre by the Palaeolithic implements it contains. I am grateful to Mr. Harper Kelley, of Paris, for the information he gave me on this matter and for his permission to mention the finds, which are preserved in the Laboratoire de Préhistoire of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris. The archaeological significance of this site has previously been stressed (Leakey, 1934, p. 134).

In the lower pit (briquetterie Bigot), Mousterian (Lev. VI-VII) occurs at the base of the Younger Loess II and in its lowermost twelve inches. The same lower Palaeolithic industry is found towards the top of the soil on the Younger Loess I. It will be remembered that, in central and east Europe, Aurignacian appears in this stratigraphical position, but the upper Levalloisian has been found in this level at St. Acheul and, according to Breuil and Kelley, it is quite frequent in the cailloutis at the base of the second Younger Loess of northern France. If it can be shown, therefore, that this Levalloisian occurs *in situ*, in particular in the lowermost twelve inches of the Younger Loess II at St. Pierre, we should have clear evidence for the survival of the upper Levalloisian into the second phase of the Last Glaciation, i.e. into a period when the Aurignacian had established itself elsewhere in Europe.

Outside the present working portion of Bigot's pit, towards the upper pit, called Grande Briquetterie, some implements of upper Palaeolithic aspect have been found. Mr. Kelley collected from the floor of the excavation three cores, two burins, two backed blades and one scraper, and the workmen claim to have obtained from the surface of the *Younger Loess I* two cores and one blade.<sup>1</sup> This material would, in central or east Europe, be in its correct stratigraphical position, but here it conflicts with the evidence of Bigot's pit and many other places. So far as the evidence goes at present, and provided that the stratigraphical positions of the implements are confirmed by further finds, it is suggested that upper Palaeolithic man penetrated to the Seine for a short time at the end of the interstadial between the first and second phases of the Last Glaciation, whilst the lower Palaeolithic continued in spite of this invasion, into the early part of the second phase of the Last Glaciation. This survival was not a general phenomenon. We have met it here in northern France for the first time; and we shall find it suggested in other parts of Europe also. It is a highly interesting phenomenon, and it is desirable that special attention be paid to sections covering the critical period, with the view to dating as closely as possible the succession of industries. (Note (27), p. 419.)

The briquetterie Bigot has further yielded implements which help to continue the Palaeolithic sequence into the past. From the base of the *Younger Loess I*, a Micoquian hand-axe was recovered, whilst a hand-axe of the type of Levalloisian V came from the top of the argile rouge. These industries, therefore, would date from the time before the beginning of the deposition of the *Younger Loess*, or at the latest just from its beginning. This agrees with their position in St. Acheul and other parts of France.

*Renancourt, near Amiens (middle Aurignacian).* By the time of the climax of LG1<sub>2</sub>, the Aurignacian was established in northern France. This is borne out in St. Acheul and in other sections of the Somme valley.

No lower Aurignacian (Chatelperronian of Garrod, 1938) appears to be known, but middle Aurignacian (typical Aurignacian) has been recorded by Commont (1913*a*, p. 504) from Renancourt, near Amiens. The section (Commont, 1911*b*, p. 241) is as follows:

- (IV) 'Hill-wash' of loessic material.
- (III) Upper loess-loam, together with (IV), 1.5 metres.
- (II) *Younger Loess*, 2.5 metres.
- (I) Cailloutis, with middle Aurignacian.
- (—) More *Younger Loess* (Commont, 1913*a*, p. 504), 2.7 metres or more (Commont, 1913*b*).

<sup>1</sup> A Levalloisian flake, however, was extracted in my presence from the weathering horizon of the *Younger Loess I*.

Commont states that this industry occurs in the latest loess at a depth of about 2 metres.<sup>1</sup>

*Montières, near Amiens, Basse Terrasse (upper Aurignacian).* The position of the upper Aurignacian (see also St. Acheul) is stated to be in the 'partie supérieure de l'ergeron (löss récent) ou limon de débordement le couronnant sur les rives actuelles (basse terrasse)' (Commont, 1913a, p. 504). At Montières, for instance, it occurs in a whitish silt immediately above the Younger Loess, considered as a fluvatile deposit by Commont, *below* a deposit containing his pre-Solutrian to be discussed presently. It is very difficult to interpret these late Pleistocene silts of the Low Terrace and the floodplain of the Somme. Breuil and Koslowski (1931), too, have paid attention to this problem and have succeeded in proving in some cases their fluvatile origin, whilst in others they have been able to identify some of Commont's *limons* with Younger Loess. But from published sections which can no longer be checked in the field, it is impossible to deduce the origin of this type of deposit.

*Belloy-sur-Somme (pre-Solutrian).* An upper Palaeolithic with Solutrian affinities, called pre-Solutrian by Commont, was found at Belloy-sur-Somme (Commont, 1909b, 1910d; Breuil and Koslowski, 1931, p. 310, with further references). The level of this industry is at the top of the fresh Younger Loess at the base of the loamy soil (*terre à briques*). Commont (1910d, p. 801) was aware that this industry belongs to the final phase of loess formation. Typologically he compares it with the pre-Solutrian horizon below the true Solutrian at Solutré, but there are strong affinities to the upper Aurignacian also.

*Solutrian and Magdalenian of the Somme valley.* The Solutrian is found on the surface of the Younger Loess; Commont (1913a, p. 504) mentions Conty as a locality where it was found in a section, covered by hill-wash containing Neolithic and Gallo-Roman remains.

The Magdalenian, too, is restricted to the surface of the loess, though it is often covered by peat and hill-wash filling the buried channel of the Somme.

Commont has repeatedly emphasized that the succession of the upper Palaeolithic of the Somme represents a very short space of time. This is borne out by the sections. We have found belated Levalloisian in the lowermost Younger Loess II, in its middle, Middle Aurignacian, in its upper portion upper Aurignacian and pre-Solutrian, Solutrian at or very near the surface, and Magdalenian on the surface. This is the same rapid succession of upper Palaeolithic industries that has been found elsewhere in the Younger Loess II,

<sup>1</sup> Conflicting statements concerning the industry are found in Commont (1913b). On p. 578, it is called 'nettement Aurignacien typique (Aurignacien moyen . . . de la Dordogne)'. On p. 573, it is called 'Aurignacien supérieur'. It is also recorded from the loess-loam, not from the cailloutis. Possibly there are two horizons, but Commont speaks of only one.

with the difference that (the Aurignacian having put in a precocious appearance at St. Pierre during the Interstadial LGl<sub>1,2</sub>), the final Levalloisian survived into this phase (LGl<sub>2</sub>), and that the Magdalenian has so far been found on the surface only. This, however, need not mean a real retardation of this industry, since loess formation must have ceased almost immediately after the climax of a glacial phase, especially in a country so far west as northern France, where the influence of the ocean was stronger than farther east. On the other hand, some of the Magdalenian of northern France may be rather later, but the complete absence, up to the present, of deposits of LGl<sub>1</sub>, renders exact dating impossible.

Thus, except for the survival of the final Levalloisian, the Palaeolithic succession of northern France agrees chronologically with that of the Rhine and farther east.<sup>1</sup>

The French succession is tabulated in fig. 65, p. 202.

*Jersey, Channel Islands.* The subdivision of the Last Interglacial by a cool phase which has been encountered in central Europe is not evident in the French rivers, except for the distinction of a High Low Terrace and a Low Low Terrace introduced by Breuil and Koslowski (1932, p. 27). But this still does not help in the dating of industries within the Last Interglacial. Since the two warm parts of the Last Interglacial have left the clearest evidence in the two Monastirian beaches, it is worth while to study an area where these beaches are preserved. Jersey, the largest of the Channel Islands, affords good opportunities (Mourant, 1933, 1935).

*Cotte à la Chèvre (Levalloisian).* Three beach-levels have been identified in Jersey, one at 33 metres (Tyrrhenian), one at 18 metres (Main Monastirian; Pl. XIV, fig. B; XV, fig. A), and one at 7.5 metres (Late Monastirian; pl. XIV, fig. A; XV, figs. A, B). The Tyrrhenian beach contains no implements. There is, however, an interesting occupation site on the 60-foot (Main Monastirian) level, the Cotte à la Chèvre (fig. 61; pl. XIV, fig. B).

When investigating the cave in 1938, I obtained an untouched section close to the east wall. Earlier excavations (Sincl, 1912, 1923; Marett, 1911) have disturbed most of the deposit, since the presence of huge boulders prevented the digging of proper trenches. The section is reconstructed in fig. 61. Whilst the view has been held that the lower part of the implementiferous layer (3) was sterile, it is now established that the worked flints occur throughout this layer in a peculiar manner. The layer is interrupted by large boulders, some measuring several feet, which rest in the underlying beach sand and pierce the whole section. The grey horizon (3) con-

<sup>1</sup> The form of this statement is necessitated by our chronological approach. From the typological point of view, France should be regarded as the standard region, and tribute be paid to the French workers who have been able to disentangle the industrial succession often without the conception of a detailed climatic chronology.

tains flints right down to the surface of the beach sand which itself is sterile. Flint chips are especially numerous near some of the large boulders, and many were found in a vertical position in the gaps between the boulders. One boulder stood on its narrow edge. This

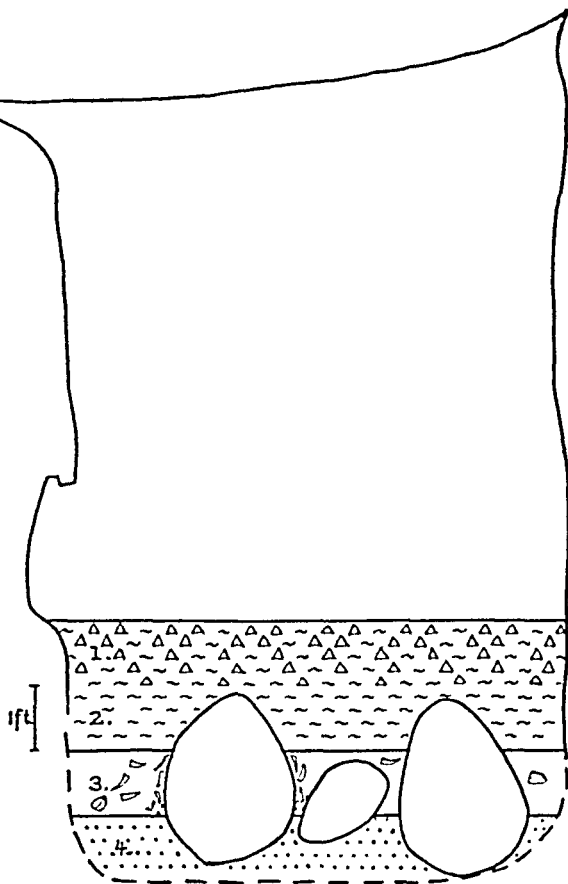


FIG. 61.—Section of the Cotte à la Chèvre, Jersey, Channel Islands. (1) Loess mixed with granitic grit. (2) Purer loess. (3) Whitish-grey clay with numerous flint flakes, especially near the boulders. (4) Bed of beach sand, with huge boulders penetrating the higher horizons.—Based on records, diagrams, and new excavations.

shows that (a) the boulders were used as anvils and that the cave was a workshop, and (b) that the occupation began when the beach sand (4) and the boulders were the only deposits. The grey clayey layer (3) was formed during the occupation. The obvious conclusion to be drawn is that the occupation of the site followed the formation

of the beach *without* a long interval. Typologically, the implements are middle to upper Levalloisian.

The top of layer (3) is stained brown, and probably weathered.

The higher part of the section is made up of a loess-like loam which, in its upper portion, contains granitic grit. Petrologically the gritty portion resembles the head found elsewhere in the island. According to Sinel, it contained flint flakes, but unfortunately vestiges only of the deposit are now left, and the statement cannot be checked.

The importance of the Cotte à la Chèvre lies in the evidence it affords for the following sequence of events :

- (a) Formation of the deposits of the 60-foot shore-line.
- (b) Recession of the sea, very soon followed by
- (c) occupation by middle or upper Levalloisian man.
- (d) Weathering of the occupation layer under a temperate climate, followed by
- (e) deposition of loess and head under cold conditions.

There cannot be any gap worth speaking of between the beach deposit and the occupation. On the other hand, the phase of occupation was followed by a period of weathering indicating prolonged interglacial conditions. Since, altimetrically, the beach deposit belongs to the Main Monastirian phase, the middle or upper Levalloisian of this site has to be assigned to the earlier half of the Last Interglacial.

*Cotte de St. Brelade (Levalloisian).* The cave called Cotte de St. Brelade has become known for the discovery of thirteen isolated teeth of *Homo neanderthalensis* (Keith and Knowles, 1912). This site has been patiently excavated by Dr. R. R. Marett for many years (1911, 1916). Thanks to his great kindness I was enabled in 1938 to study the site and to carry out some excavations in order to try to find geological evidence for the age. My results have been recorded elsewhere in detail (Zeuner, 1940, pp. 10-13), so that it suffices here to give a short summary. Contrary to the widely held view that the deposits of this cave rest on the Main Monastirian beach, no beach deposits were found. If there is one at all, it must be below 50 feet O.D. It is likely that this fissure cave is older than the Monastirian, since it contains a loess which, being covered by interglacial deposits, has to be regarded as an Older Loess, and not younger than the Penultimate Glaciation. The overlying interglacial beds of clay and sand have yielded a temperate flora and fauna, including *Elephas cf. antiquus* and a Middle Levalloisian industry. They are covered by a Younger Loess, with hearth levels, remains of Neanderthal man, a late Levalloisian industry (VI-VII) and a cold fauna. No further subdivisions can be made, but it is difficult to interpret this section otherwise than by regarding the Younger Loess as that of the first phase of the Last Glaciation

and the interglacial deposits as those of the Last Interglacial. The Cotte de St. Brelade, therefore, does not provide information about the relation of the industries to the sea-levels, but it tells us that during some time of the Last Interglacial, middle Levalloisian man lived in Jersey (confirming Cotte à la Chèvre), and that *Homo neanderthalensis*, with a final Levalloisian, lived during the loess phase of the LGl<sub>1</sub>. This association of Levalloisian with Neanderthal man, always assumed to be correct, is known as a fact from this site only, except for the Levalloiso-Mousterian of the Tabun cave at Mount Carmel, Palestine. See Note (28), p. 420.

*Flint implements in 25-foot shore-line of Jersey.* Flint implements have further been found in sections comprising the 25-foot beach (Late Monastirian). At Belcroute Bay, flakes were found *in situ* at the base of the head lying on the pebble bed, by Maurant and Mrs. Hawkes (1939), and an almost unworn hand-axe, presumably derived from the same horizon, lay on the Recent beach. Another, more interesting, set comes from Petit Portelet, the north side of the neck connecting Mont Orgueil (Gorey Castle) with the main island. A shingle deposit rests on the platform of the 25-foot beach and is covered by head and loess-like loam. About 10 specimens with a white patina have been recovered and are preserved in the Museum of the Société Jersiaise, and Dr. Maurant kindly informed me that some were found *in situ* in the upper part of the section. The patina is indeed that of specimens embedded in loess. Some, however, are in a rolled condition and must have been picked up on the modern beach. Four of the specimens are interesting from the typological point of view. One of them (coll. Watson) is almost a blade. It is about 8.5 cm. long and 2-3 cm. wide and of a triangular cross-section. The platform is flat, and its angle 90°. One edge is retouched. This specimen could be upper Palaeolithic, or older. A second specimen (coll. Watson) is a thin flake, 7 cm. long and 8.5 cm. wide. It is chipped so as to form a broad oval. Its bulb end is very thin, and one surface is covered with scars suggesting that it was struck from a carefully prepared core.

Two further specimens (coll. Lawson), both about 3.5 cm. wide, and respectively 5 and 6.5 cm. long, are worn, but at least one of them shows a prepared striking platform. The last three specimens mentioned suggest that the industry is Levalloisian (or possibly Mousterian), and certainly not upper Palaeolithic. The middle Palaeolithic thus proves to have survived the Late Monastirian shore-line in Jersey as elsewhere.

*Portugal.* The distribution of Palaeolithic industries over the successive phases of the Pleistocene, as evidenced by river terraces and fossil shore-lines, has received much attention in Portugal. A large number of papers have been published on the subject since 1940, mostly by Breuil (whose visit to Portugal appears to have



stimulated research), Teixeira and Zbyszewski. The importance of this work lies in the confirmation it provides of the Pleistocene succession of high sea-levels, in the information it supplies of the relative age of a number of Palaeolithic industries, and in the extension it renders possible of the relative chronology of the Pleistocene in the direction of West Africa. The sequence of events is shown in the table (pp. 180-181), according to Breuil and Zbyszewski (1942, 1945) for southern Portugal, and to Teixeira (1946, 1948) for the northern part of the country.

It must be kept in mind, however, that the altimetric levels of the beaches have not yet been determined accurately. Most of them are estimates within 5 metres or so and based on heights of platforms of abrasion. Some, therefore, may be too low. Owing to this difficulty, the duplication of the Monastirian shore-line (which the Portuguese authors call Grimaldian) has not yet been noticed. It appears to be present, however, in the Grotte de Furninha (Breuil and Zbyszewski, 1945, p. 7), where a cave has been carved out at a level of about 15 metres above present sea-level, whilst marine deposits covered by deposits containing land fauna and a mousterioid industry suggest a sea-level in the neighbourhood of only 6 metres.

It should be further noted that Abbevillian is reported from the Sicilian beach (Breuil, Vaultier and Zbyszewski, 1942). The specimens which are rolled, wind abraded and patinated, were found in gravel deposits and may well date from the period of regression which followed the Sicilian, since deposits on marine platforms are usually formed, not during the high-level phase, but when the sea is receding. Even so, however, these Abbevillian specimens would be as old as the Early Glaciation.

The Languedocian (see table) is a variety of the Clactonian, preceding the true Mousterian in the region of the Garonne (Languedoc), hence the name, given by Breuil (1932, p. 131).

*Morocco.* The pioneer work of Lecointre and Bourcart on the succession of ancient shore-lines in Morocco, and their correlation, both with continental deposits and prehistoric industries, has been followed up by Neuville and Rühlmann (1941), Choubert (1946*f*), with valuable results. Four major transgressions of the sea have been distinguished, the earliest up to 100 metres above present sea-level, and correlated with the Sicilian stage, both on faunal and altimetric evidence, followed by the Milazzian level of 55-60 metres, the Tyrrhenian of 25-30 metres, and the Monastirian approximately 12-15 metres. The subdivisions of the Monastirian have been recognized by Gigout (1949). There are suggestions of an 18-20-metre level described by Lecointre (1926, p. 73) at Roches Noires, and that of 5-8 metres is the Ouljien of Gigout. Neuville and Rühlmann emphasize the independent character of the Milazzian stage, which Gignoux attached to the Sicilian on palaeontological

	Extremadura, South Portugal Zbyszewski	metres	Porto, North Portugal Telxela	metres	Morocco (Choubert, Neuville, Rühlmann)	metres
			Branco-Pinheiro da Remposta Telheiras	150-100 125-130		100
Sicilian 'pre-glacial'	Pebble-benches of Açaforn, Magoito, Arenhas do Mar, Cap d'Espichel, with Abbe- villian of Lusitanian facies, rolled and wind-worn.	90-100	S. Mamede de Infesta Chãs do Casadal, &c., very extensive plat- form.	100-105 80-90	Transgression on the Villa- franchian land-surface.	
'Günz'	No deposits known.				Regression, with Clacto-Abbe- villian in regressionnal deposits.	7 + 20
Milazzian Interglacial	Ericcira, Magoito, Cap d'Espichel, Cap St. Vincent, with rolled Abbevillian of Lusitanian facies.	60	Between Avenue de Boavista and the mouth of the Douro.	50-60	Transgression and formation of the main coastal platform. Abbevillian and primitive flake industries.	55-60
'Mindel'	Lower gravels of Porto de Lobos, with rolled Abbe- villian.				Regression, with derived Abbe- villian, and primitive Acheulian.	7 ± 0
Tyrrhenian Interglacial	(1) Basal gravels of Carreço, Peniche, Santa Cruz, Ericcira, &c., with Abbe- villian and Lower Acheulian, rolled. (2) Yellow and pink sands with clayey layers at Ericcira, with Middle Acheulian of Lusitanian facies <i>in situ</i> . (3) Pink or red sands, with Middle Acheulian and Taya- nian <i>in situ</i> .	30	Fairly extensive plat- form with deposits, at Boa Nova, for Lavadores, &c.	20-30	Transgression and cutting of a platform rising to c. 30 metres into the Milazzian platform. Heavily rolled Abbevillian, and partially rolled Acheulian. Levni- loisian.	25-30

'Riss'	(1) Humid phase : solifluction gravels and river deposits, with Upper Acheulian, Lower Languedocian and Tayacian <i>in situ</i> . (2) Dry phase : dune sands and reddish salts, especially on the coast of the Aleutejo, with Upper Acheulian and Tayacian.	0-15	Castelo do Queijo (apparently Late Monastirian).	7-8	Regression. Developed Acheulian, and Levalloisian.	? - 20
Monastirian (Grimaldian) Interglacial	Beach ridges and gravels, sometimes fossiliferous, e.g. Fort of Barralha. Grotte de Furninha, with Languedocian <i>in situ</i> .	0-15	Castelo do Queijo (apparently Late Monastirian).	7-8	Transgression and cutting of platforms rising to 18 metres. Final Acheulian (Micoquian), Late Levalloisian and Mousteroid industries.	12-15 5-8
'Würm'	(1) Humid phase : consolidated calcareous breccias of Arnabida, with Mousterian and Languedocian <i>in situ</i> . Consolidated dunes and red silts. (2) Dry phase : sands and grey sandy silts of Peniche, Santa Cruz, Ericeira, Aleutejo, &c., with Upper Palaeolithic and Upper Languedocian <i>in situ</i> .				Regression. In caves, Mousterian and Lower Aterian.  Transgression and platform (Ambroggi and Gigout, 1950)	- 100  + 2
Postglacial	Asturian and Kitchen-midden.				Aterian, Ibero-Maurisian, &c.	+ 5

grounds, and the ancient shore-lines are horizontal, indicating that no major tectonic movements have taken place, at least in the areas studied in detail.

The sequence is summarized in the table, p. 180, and compared with the Portuguese one which it resembles. The industries are essentially the same as found in the corresponding interglacials in Europe, with local variations. Most interesting is the appearance of a Clacto-Abbevillian in the regression between the Sicilian and the Milazzian, i.e. about the time of the Early Glaciation, according to Neuville and Rühlmann. As in Portugal, so in Morocco, confirmation of this early appearance of the Abbevillian is desirable. Choubert (1946c) considers on the evidence of inland deposits that the Moroccan Abbevillian is of Milazzian age. The industry described by Neuville and Rühlmann is typologically interesting (Zeuner, 1948) as it comprises, apart from Abbevillian hand-axes, core tools with a triangular cross-section reminiscent of East Anglian rostro-carinates. Similar types are known from corresponding typological stages in East Africa. Furthermore, the industry comprises flake-tools made in the Clactonian style. Remains of an archaic Neanderthal man have been found at Rabat (see p. 298). There is no doubt that Morocco is destined to play an important part in the linking of the European Pleistocene and Palaeolithic with the South and East African. (See also Rühlmann, 1951.)

#### D. PALAEOLOGIC OF BRITAIN

The scarcity of loess sections in Britain has the deplorable consequence that geological dating of Palaeolithic sites is possible only in a small minority of cases. Owing to their westerly position the British Isles had, throughout the Pleistocene, a relatively more oceanic climate than the continent of Europe. This fact is clearly expressed in the cold phases by the prevalence of solifluction over wind-borne deposits.

Furthermore, this climatic factor, combined with the multiplicity of ice-centres and the present geographical isolation of the British Isles have rendered difficult the establishment of the succession of climatic phases and the subsequent correlation with the Continental succession. Both these objectives have been brought nearer to attainment in recent years, largely owing to research carried out in East Anglia (where the morainic country resembles north Germany in many respects) and in the lower Thames (where the eustatic fluctuations of the sea-level can be discerned).

In our attempt to establish a chronology of the British Palaeolithic, we have therefore to concentrate our attention chiefly on these two areas. But even here, the number of Palaeolithic sites which can be dated on geological evidence is small, and the reader is likely to be disappointed when he discovers that such famous

localities as Hoxne and High Lodge in East Anglia are not described or fitted into the detailed chronology. Fortunately, some sites which are of first-rate importance in the chronology of the European Palaeolithic, such as the pre-Abbevillian sites of the Ipswich, Norwich and Cromer districts, and Clacton-on-Sea, as the type site of the Clactonian, can be dated fairly closely on geological or palaeontological evidence.

*East Anglia, climatic succession.* East Anglia occupies a prominent place in the chronology of the Palaeolithic, largely as the result of J. Reid Moir's labours. It is to him that we owe the discovery of great numbers of pre-Abbevillian flints in sections which can be dated within the detailed relative chronology. Many workers regard these as human implements.

The general succession of climatic phases in East Anglia has been discussed many times over. Following petrological work on moraines at Cromer by Solomon (1932), it has become reasonably certain that two great ice-sheets (*North Sea Drift* and *Great Chalky Boulder Clay*) passed over Norfolk into Suffolk, and that possibly a third, somewhat smaller one (*Little Eastern*), followed. The latest evidence of glaciation is the *Hunstanton Boulder Clay*, of an ice-sheet which only just touched East Anglia in the north-east.

The correlation with the Continental succession (Boswell, 1936; Zeuner, 1937, 1944) is suggested by palaeontological evidence for the age of the Cromer Forest Bed as Antepenultimate Interglacial, by the relative intensities of the glaciations, and other evidence.

In the Cromer and Norwich districts, the vast ice-sheet of the North Sea Drift Glaciation, partly of Scandinavian origin, is evidenced by part of the Cromer Till and by the Norwich Brick Earth. It was followed by an interglacial (represented by the Corton Sands), a second great glaciation (Great Chalky Boulder Clay), and one or more later and smaller ice-sheets. This sequence resembles closely that of Elster, Saale, and later glaciations in north Germany (Zeuner, 1937; 1944, p. 114). It suggests an Elster age for the North Sea Drift, and this is confirmed by the palaeontological evidence for the age of the Forest Bed which underlies it. (Note (29), p. 420.)

The Cromer Forest Bed, which is a fluvial-estuarine deposit, caps the series of the East Anglian *Crags*, mostly marine shore deposits which, for a long time, were regarded as Pliocene. But, as Boswell (1936, p. 151) pointed out, even if one follows Lyell's original classification, based on the percentage of living and extinct mollusca, the Red Crag and all the later Crags have to be placed in the Pleistocene.<sup>1</sup> In fact, since Ray Lankester in 1912 suggested that the Crags should be considered of Pleistocene Age, this view has been substantiated again and again. In particular, Lankester, and after him Moir, have persistently claimed that the later Crags

<sup>1</sup> Only the Coralline Crag may have to be left in the Pliocene.

correspond to the Early Glaciation ('Günz'). It can even be shown that two sudden increases in the number of arctic shells, in the Newer Red Crag<sup>1</sup> and in the Weybourne Crag, indicate the two phases of the Early Glaciation (Zeuner, 1937, p. 148).

*The basement beds of the Crag and their implements.* At the base of the Crag, in nearly every section, a detritus bed occurs (*basement bed*, *Bone Bed*), about one to three feet thick, consisting of coarse flints and fossils of various ages from the London Clay up to the time when the bed was formed. It is a marine basement formation and likely to antedate the overlying Crag Beds but slightly, being simply the first deposit laid down when the formation of the coastal deposits began. Thus, there is a basement bed beneath the middle Red Crag in the Ipswich district of Suffolk, one that underlies the Norwich Crag in the Norwich district of Norfolk, and one that is found in the Cromer district of Norfolk beneath the Weybourne Crag and the Forest Bed. These basement beds may be continuous, merging into each other, but their ages are not the same, that below the Red Crag being the earliest, and that below the Weybourne Crag and the Forest Bed the latest.

*Red Crag (Ipswician).* Nevertheless, the basement beds being due to wave action, they contain pebbles, fossils and 'artifacts' derived from land-surfaces and the destruction of earlier deposits. As regards the implements, this question has been studied by Reid Moir, especially for the Ipswich area (Moir, 1935) where he distinguished five groups of implements, group I being heavily rolled and patinated, and group V almost fresh. To these 'sub-Crag' implements has to be added the industry of Foxhall Hall near Ipswich (not to be confused with the much later site of Foxhall Road in Ipswich), where two horizons with implements were found *in situ* in the Red Crag. This series of primitive flake implements and rough core implements among which the rostro-carinate is typical may, for convenience' sake, be referred to as the *Ipswician* stage (see p. 185). Boswell (1936, p. 153) has carried further the analysis of these 'implements' which, however, are not generally accepted as human artifacts. Among the workers who regard them as the result of natural processes are Haward (1919) and Warren (1940).

Classifying these flints according to geological horizon and degree of rolling and patination, the Foxhall Hall series is clearly the latest; it fixes the upper limit of the Ipswician *in* the middle Red Crag, so far as our evidence goes. The specimens recovered from below the middle Red Crag (many from the Bramford Pit; Boswell 1927, pl. i) can, following Moir and Boswell, be classified as follows.

<sup>1</sup> Professor P. G. H. Boswell has pointed out to me that when he was working with Harmer, the latter always emphasized that the 'northerners' began to arrive, as individuals, in the Oakley Horizon of the Older Red Crag. It is conceivable, therefore, that part of the Older (Waltonian) Red Crag might have to be added to EGI.

Group V cannot be later than the middle Red Crag or, in the detailed chronology, the first phase of the Early Glaciation. Group IV, which is patinated, would be somewhat earlier than this, and the others, especially groups I and II, which constitute 90 per cent. of the known material according to Boswell, are heavily rolled, striated and patinated and may well be *considerably* older than Group V, though how much older we are unable to judge. Thus, if Moir's claims as to the artifact character of these flints can be substantiated, it becomes probable that tool-making man lived before the Early Glaciation, though there is no need yet to follow Moir in tracing man back to the upper Miocene. Thus, Moir has the great merit of having shown, by his discoveries below the Red Crag of Suffolk, that man may date back to the Villafranchian, Sicilian and possibly Calabrian phases. Within the last two or three years, this suggestion has been corroborated by the finds of primitive industries in and on beaches in Portugal and Morocco, which are regarded as Sicilian.

*Norwich Crag (Norvician).* In the basement bed of the Norwich Crag which, in the detailed chronology, has to be placed in the interstadial  $EGL_{1/2}$ , many 'implements' have been found (Clarke, 1906; 1911; Lankester, 1914; Moir, 1927, 1930; Sainty, 1929). Beside numerous flakes, they include a small number of rostro-carinates, and a rather large number of primitive hand-axes. On the whole, this assemblage looks advanced compared with the Ipsvician to which it is closely related. Moir (1930) regarded it as comparable with the early Abbevillian, chiefly on the evidence of the rough hand-axes. This 'industry' has been called Icenian by Ray Lankester, and Icenian II by Leakey (1934), but Boswell (1936) pointed out that this term, which is the geological term for the Norwich, Chillesford and Weybourne Crag, is apt to be misleading. This is the more so since Leakey called the Ipsvician 'Icenian I', thus extending the archaeological term to the earlier Crag to which the geological term does not apply. It seems advisable, therefore, to use another word to designate the Norwich Crag industry. *Norvician* may be suitable.

As an example of a section which has yielded Norvician specimens, that from Thorpe, near Norwich, excavated by Sainty (1929) is reproduced here (fig. 62).

*Weybourne Crag and Forest Bed (Cromerian).* The third district where supposed implements have been found in a Crag bed is that of Cromer, on the north coast of Norfolk. This is the youngest of the series. The basement bed rests, as usual, on Chalk and is in places covered by the Weybourne Crag, which was deposited during  $EGL_2$ .

The basement bed continues beneath the Forest Bed ( $ApIgl$ ) in close proximity to the Weybourne Crag (Sainty, 1929; Moir, 1930, p. 222). It is very unlikely that the stone beds seen beneath the Weybourne Crag and that seen beneath Forest Bed deposits

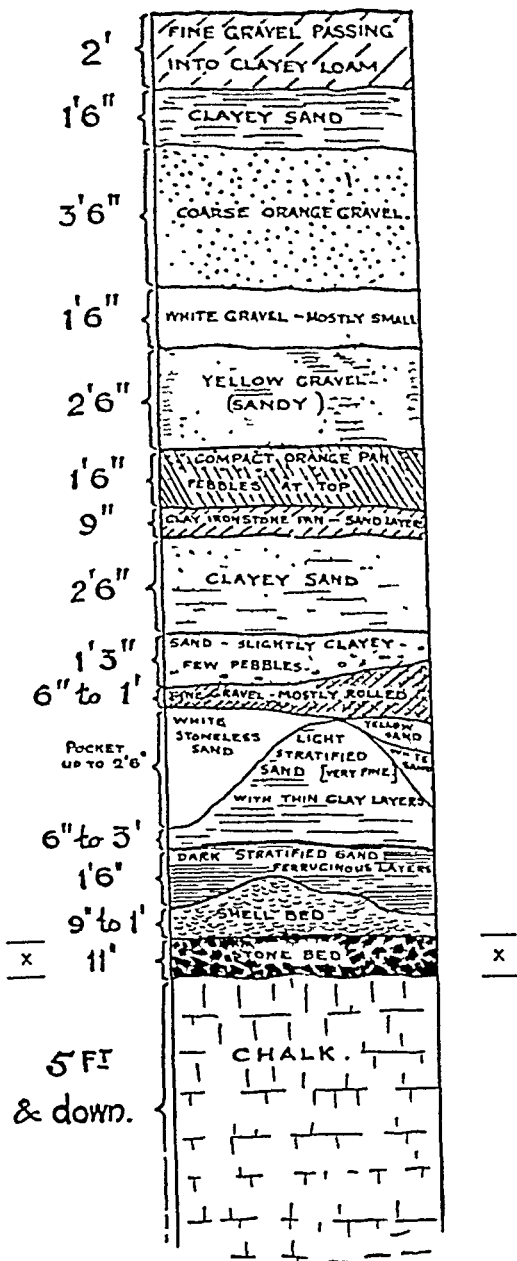


FIG. 62.—Section of Norwich Crag at Thorpe, near Norwich, Norfolk, excavated by Mr. Sainty.—Reproduced with permission, from Sainty (1920).



are different formations. Now, it is easy to understand that a transgressive basement bed was formed beneath the marine Weybourne Crag, but it is difficult to see how a precisely similar formation could develop at the bottom of a river or estuary such as that of the Forest Bed. Since Clement Reid (1882, p. 8) it has been known that the Forest Bed does in places overlie the Weybourne Crag. The Forest Bed series therefore appears to be the filling of a river bed cut into the Weybourne Crag down to the level of the basement bed. On this view, the stone bed at the base of the Forest Bed deposits is the Weybourne Crag basement bed.

The continuity of the stone bed and the close association of the Weybourne Crag and the Forest Bed in the cliffs at Cromer have induced Sainty (1929) to hold the view that these two deposits are quasi-contemporaneous and indicate a regime of shifting river and coastal deposits like bars and beaches. If the interpretation given in the preceding paragraph is accepted, however, there is no need to go to this length, and the palaeontological difficulty that the marine fauna of the Weybourne Crag is cold, and the terrestrial fauna and flora of the Forest Bed warm, is obviated.

This problem of the precise age of the Stone Bed at Cromer has some bearing on the dating of the Cromerian industry. If the stone bed of Cromer is the basement bed of the Weybourne Crag everywhere, then all the implements recovered from it must be regarded as dating from the second phase of the Early Glaciation. This view is preferred here, for the reasons given. If, however, the stone bed beneath the Forest Bed is regarded as dating from the beginning of Forest Bed times, or if Forest Bed and Weybourne Crag are considered simultaneous deposits and dated on the mammalian fauna of the Forest Bed, the implements would belong to the Antepenultimate Interglacial.

*Cromerian implements.* Apart from the geological considerations just outlined, there is a typological argument which supports the Weybourne Crag age of the implements. It has been pointed out by Moir, Sainty and others, that the Crag industries form an evolutionary series, from the primitive Ipswichian of the Red Crag (and earlier times) through the Norwichian of the Norwich Crag to the Cromerian of Cromer.

The Cromerian 'industry' (Moir, 1924, 1921-4) is particularly well-known from the so-called 'foreshore site', a flint spread exposed at low-water. There are two kinds of flints here, one having the characteristic ochreous or brown patina of the stone bed. This site appears to be the residue of the stone bed resting on Chalk, broken up by the modern sea. These implements are unusually heavy, and Moir has repeatedly drawn attention to the difficulty modern man would encounter when using these flakes. The same applies to some of the implements found *in situ* in the stone bed,

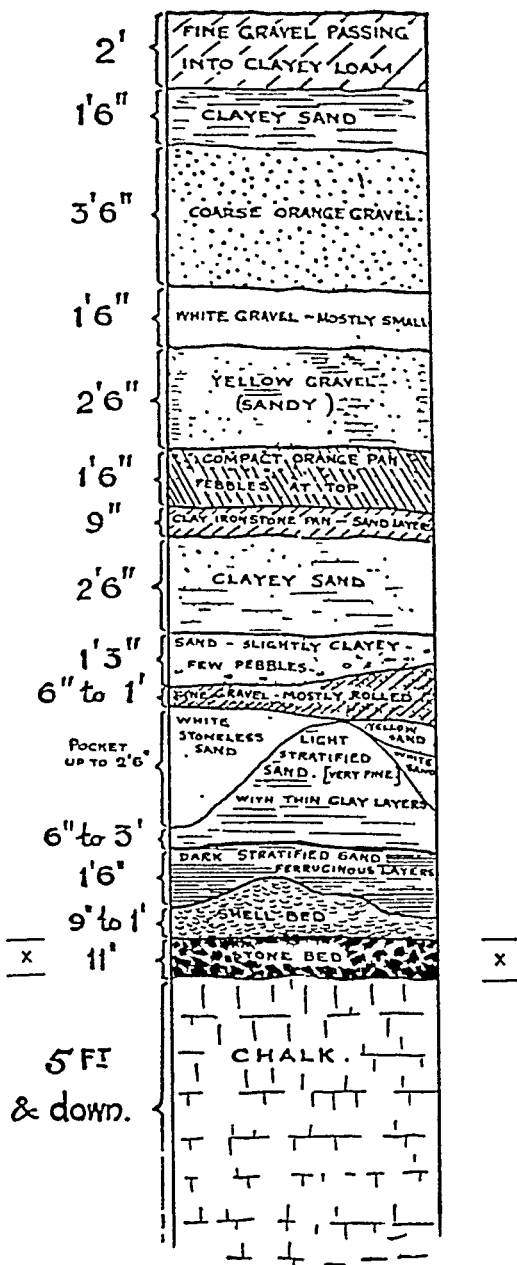


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for instance to a giant hand-axe from Sheringham (Moir, 1934), found by J. P. T. Burchell, which weighed over 14 lbs. Moir therefore thinks that the makers and users of these implements must have been of a more powerful build than modern man, and he recalls in this connexion the Heidelberg jaw which is indeed remarkably massive.

The Cromerian industry is more advanced than the Norvician, especially in the greater individuality of the tools. Rostro-carinates have become rare, and the hand-axes are decidedly of an early Abbevillian type. Yet the majority of the tools are made from heavy flakes which give the industry its distinctive character.

Returning to the question of chronology, the Antepenultimate Interglacial of northern France is known as the time of the *typical* Abbevillian. Since the Cromer Forest Bed is of the same interglacial, it is more reasonable to assign its *early* Abbevillian to a somewhat earlier phase. In fact, primitive Abbevillian specimens are now claimed to occur in Sicilian, i.e. pre-Early Glaciation deposits. These typological considerations—which should not be regarded as conclusive chronological arguments—lend support to the view that the stone bed of Cromer is slightly older than the Antepenultimate Interglacial. Its assignment to the base of the Weybourne Crag (EGI<sub>1</sub>), therefore, frees the industrial succession from a slight regional discrepancy which otherwise would have to be accepted.

*Crag industries, summary.* The Ipsvician, Norvician and Cromerian are industries in which flake tools predominate, although core tools did play some part. These include rostro-carinates, and hand-axes. Moir has shown that the former type is possibly ancestral to the latter in the technical sense, though they occur together both in the Norvician and the Cromerian. While the rostro-carinates practically disappear with the Early Glaciation, the primitive hand-axes develop into the well-known Abbevillian hand-axes. Moir and most other workers regard these core-tools as integral constituents of the industries with which they are found, so that flakes and cores were utilized simultaneously. But Leakey (1934) regards the rostro-carinate—hand-axe series as a different culture, to which he applies Moir's term, *Pre-Chellian*. Geological evidence from the sites so far does not support this separation.

*Forest Bed and Cromer Till.* On the basement bed, which we ascribe to the Weybourne Crag, rests the Forest Bed series in those places where the Weybourne Crag deposits have been removed by fluvial erosion. The Forest Bed series consists of a Lower Freshwater Bed, Estuarine Gravels, and an Upper Freshwater Bed. Both the Estuarine Gravels and the Upper Freshwater Bed have yielded artifacts, but these are very rare and not susceptible of cultural classification (Moir, 1936). Their presence, however, is of some

importance since Mr. Sainty was fortunate enough to find a beautiful Abbevillian hand-axe in the Cromer Till, the ground moraine which covers the Forest Bed series and contains much material derived from the latter (Moir, 1923). Since man cannot have lived on the spot while the ice was there, it must be assumed that this hand-axe was picked up by the ice, conceivably from the Cromer Forest Bed. Since the Cromer Till represents the Antepenultimate Glaciation, and probably its second phase, this Abbevillian specimen testifies to the presence of Abbevillian man during the Antepenultimate Interglacial or, at the latest, the first phase or the interstadial of the Antepenultimate Glaciation. (Note (31), p. 420.)

*Penultimate Interglacial (Runtonian).* The later deposits of East Anglia merely confirm the datings of industries obtained on the Continent. In the marine sands which intervene between the two great glaciations of Norfolk, at Runton near Cromer and at Corton, on the coast not far from Norwich, Moir and Baden-Powell found implements which they describe as an industry consisting mostly of small flakes (Moir and Baden-Powell, 1938; Baden-Powell and Moir, 1942). The specimens are mostly unrolled, and Moir says that, 'by reason of the prevalence on the flakes of plain unfacetted striking-platforms,' they 'may perhaps be assigned to an early Clactonian industry' (Baden-Powell and Moir, 1942, p. 217). The age of these sands has been determined as the interglacial between the North Sea Drift and the Great Chalky Boulder Clay by Baden-Powell, i.e. our Antepenultimate Interglacial. Clactonian is characteristic of this interglacial in the Thames valley as in northern France. For the Acheulian of Hoxne, see Note (30), p. 420.

*Last Glaciation, first phase.* Although East Anglia is not devoid of Acheulian and Levalloisian or Mousterian, none of these industries has been found in a position in which unambiguous geological dating is possible. The difficulty is caused by the so-called Little Eastern Glaciation, an ice-sheet of smaller dimensions than the two preceding ones, the limits of which and the chronological affinity of which are not yet decided. It occupies in many ways a position comparable with that of the Warthe Glaciation of north Germany (Zeuner, 1937; 1944, p. 107). A ground moraine called *Upper Chalky Boulder Clay* is believed by many workers to be the deposit of this phase, which was given the name, *Little Eastern Glaciation*, by Solomon. This moraine, however, has not yet been found in a section overlying the two older moraines; its independence has been suggested by the combination of certain sections with two boulder clays, some of which are supposed to contain the North Sea Drift (or an equivalent moraine) plus the Great Chalky Boulder Clay, others the Great Chalky Boulder Clay plus Upper Chalky Boulder Clay. This method of correlation is full of pitfalls, as has been shown elsewhere (Zeuner, 1945, p. 109). If the independent

existence of the Upper Chalky Boulder Clay can be established, it would, in the detailed chronology, correspond to the first phase of the Last Glaciation. (See Note (31), p. 420.)

A site of great potential importance is Elveden, in the Breckland on the Cambridgeshire-Norfolk border. It was excavated by Paterson and Fagg (1940). Their fig. 3 shows a section (their section C), in which two boulder clays occur, and between them deposits containing an industry described as 'Upper Clactonian-Acheul'. The two boulder clays are regarded as the Great Chalky and the Upper Chalky Boulder Clays, and Paterson, in 1939, correlated the upper one, though with a question mark, with the first phase of the Last Glaciation. Paterson holds the view that there is a third, oldest boulder clay in the area, corresponding to the North Sea Drift Glaciation.

*Last Glaciation, Hunstanton Boulder Clay (upper Palaeolithic).* The last event in the glacial history of East Anglia is the arrival of an ice-sheet which only just touched the north-west coast, where it left a very characteristic brown boulder clay, the *Hunstanton Boulder Clay*. This is identified with the Hessle Boulder Clay of Lincolnshire, and both are part and parcel of the Newer Drift Glaciation which, on all available evidence, is the chronological equivalent of the Weichsel Phase of the Scandinavian ice-sheet (LGI<sub>2</sub>).

At the base of, and scattered throughout, this boulder clay, 'implements' of upper Palaeolithic facies have been found. Moir reported them from the Hunstanton area of Norfolk, and Burchell from below the uppermost boulder clay in Yorkshire (Moir and Burchell, 1930). Additional evidence was brought forward by Moir in 1931. Although the 'implements' are not typical enough to assign them to a substage of the upper Palaeolithic, Moir is inclined to regard them as upper Aurignacian. Their occurrence in genuine Hunstanton Boulder Clay seems to be well established, and Moir rightly concludes that upper Palaeolithic man lived here, or farther north, before or while the ice of this glaciation was spreading. Provided the specimens prove to be genuine artifacts, upper Palaeolithic was present during the advance of LGI<sub>2</sub>. It will be remembered that, in northern France, upper Levalloisian survived into this phase, and it will be interesting to see whether such survival did occur in other parts of England (p. 201).

This concludes the rapid survey of the chronology of the East Anglian Palaeolithic. We shall now consider the lower Thames, where sites are available which, at least in part, fill the middle Pleistocene gap of the East Anglian succession.

*The Lower Thames valley.* The most important sections are crowded in a small area at Swanscombe, near Gravesend. The discovery by Marston (1938) of a skull fragment of a *Homo cf. sapiens*, led to the subsequent investigation of the site by a committee

(Swanscombe Committee, 1938, report by Hinton, Oakley, Dines, King, Kennard, Hawkes, Warren, Cotton, Le Gros Clark and Morant). This site is the Barnfield Pit at Swanscombe; it may here be taken as the starting point for our chronology. The section is composed of:

*Swanscombe, Kent (Clactonian and Acheulian).*

- (F) 'Upper Gravel,' a solifluction deposit with a clayey matrix.
- (E) 'Upper Loam,' Decalcified, sandy loam, with a contemporary wedge of a sludge deposit. Contains white-patinated Acheulian hand-axes. Surface at 110 feet O.D., concluding the eustatic aggradation of the river to the Tyrrhenian sea-level. Penultimate Interglacial, probably a late phase. With Middle Acheulian.
- (D) Upper Middle Gravel, passing into (E) without break, chiefly consisting of clean yellow sand. At its base, in a more gravelly layer, the skull was found. Middle Acheulian industry.
- (—) Erosional unconformity.
- (C) Lower Middle Gravel, with Middle Acheulian industry.
- (—) Phase of weathering of Lower Loam.
- (B) Lower Loam, weathered from above, and with root cavities. No implements.
- (A) Lower Gravel, a coarse gravel containing some pebbles of quartzite, &c., probably derived from boulder clay. Industry, Early Clactonian.
- (—) Thanet Sand, Eocene.

The succession from (A) to (D) is later than the glaciation which reached the Thames Valley. That this was the Antepenultimate Glaciation (ApGl<sub>2</sub>) can be shown on other evidence in the Thames Valley. The surface of the aggradation agrees, within a foot or so, with the average height of the Tyrrhenian sea-level, so that the succession from (A) to (D) can only belong to the Penultimate Interglacial. The aggradation was interrupted, perhaps only locally, or, as suggested for instance by Oakley (1937, p. 253), by a phase of general down-cutting, after the Lower Loam was deposited. This Hiatus also corresponds to a break in the industrial sequence, since Early Clactonian (Chandler, 1930; Breuil, 1932) occurs in the Lower Gravel, and Middle Acheulian in the upper. The resemblance of this succession with that of St. Acheul has been mentioned before (p. 171). (Note (31a), p. 420.)

The Barnfield Pit section, therefore, provides us with evidence for the Great Interglacial age of the Early Clactonian (stage Clactonian IIa) and of the Middle Acheulian, the latter following the former. Hawkes, in co-operation with Oakley and Warren, made a careful study of this Acheulian (Swanscombe Report, p. 30 ff.) and found that the industry of the Lower Middle Gravel is an Acheulian III (Breuil's classification), that the Upper Middle Gravel,

though poorer in implements, contains the same type of industry, and that rare specimens of a more advanced Clactonian (recalling the Clactonian III of High Lodge) occur in the Middle Gravel, mainly at the lowest levels. This Clactonian seems to correspond, according to Oakley (Swanscombe Report, p. 56), fairly closely to the industry of Wangen on the Unstrut (p. 148).

Since, for geological reasons, the aggradation of the Swanscombe gravels, in particular of the Middle Gravel up to the Upper Loam, is considered as a late episode of the Great Interglacial, this section suggests that by that time the Clactonian was approaching the Clactonian III stage, and the Acheulian was still Middle Acheulian. No clear evidence for any Levalloisian has come forward (see, however, Warren's view, Swanscombe Report, p. 47).

*Clacton-on-Sea (Clactonian).* The type site of the Clactonian industry is Clacton-on-Sea, some 45 miles downstream from Swanscombe on the coast of Essex, north of the present Thames estuary. Although it cannot be dated on purely geological grounds, its fauna is typically of the Great Interglacial type. Archaeologically, it is closely related to the Clactonian of the Lower Gravel of Swanscombe, but in view of its slightly more advanced nature, recognized already by Warren, Oakley and Leakey (1937) classify it as Clactonian IIb and regard the deposit as intermediate between the Lower and Middle Gravel of Swanscombe. The industry and the site were described by Warren (1922, 1933), Breuil (1932) and Oakley and Leakey (1937); and further notes on the deposits given by Warren (1923, 1934), and King and Oakley (1936). From the botanical standpoint also, Clacton-on-Sea proves to be of Great Interglacial age (Pike and Godwin, 1953).

*Dartford Heath gravels (derived Abbevillian).* If we look for evidence which might fill the gap between the Clactonian II of the Great Interglacial in the Thames Valley, and the Abbevillian of the Antepenultimate Interglacial (incorporated in the Cromer Till) of East Anglia, we have to be content with suggestions drawn from derived, rolled and scratched implements. The gravels of Dartford Heath, generally held to be contemporary with the Swanscombe aggradation, but almost certainly older (Hinton and Kennard, 1905; Zeuner, 1945, p. 267), were apparently aggraded during the first phase of the Antepenultimate Glaciation or in the following Interstadial. These gravels contain broken and abraded Abbevillian hand-axes (King and Oakley, 1937, p. 59), which cannot be younger than these gravels but may well come from the Antepenultimate Interglacial. This suggests much the same chronological position for the Abbevillian of the Thames area as for that of East Anglia, and it agrees with the ApIgl age of this industry established in the Somme.

Furthermore, the Clactonian I appears to go into the gap



between the Swanscombe deposits and the Cromer Forest Bed series. Chandler (1930) and Breuil (1932, p. 150) emphasize that the Lower Gravel contains, apart from fresh Clactonian flakes, many which are heavily rolled and striated; Breuil finds appreciable differences between the two series and attributes the striation of the derived series to solifluction. For this reason, and relying on evidence from northern France (p. 168), he classifies the Clactonian I late in the Antepenultimate Interglacial, though in England there is no geo-

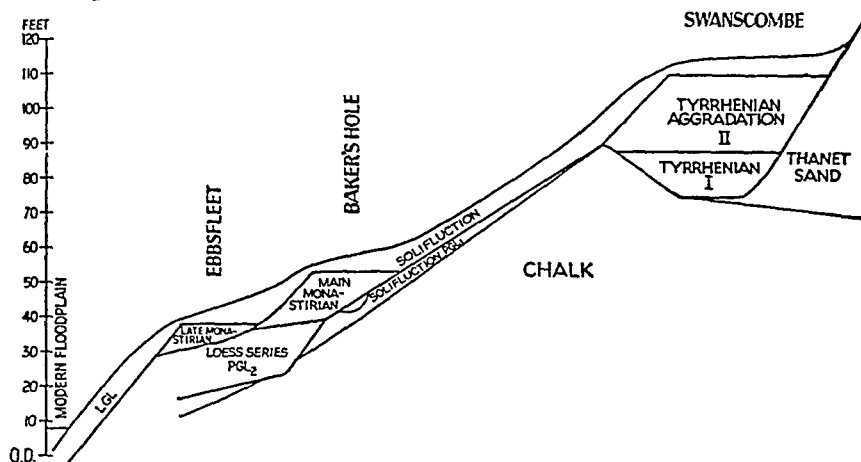


FIG. 63.—Very diagrammatic, and much simplified, section from the Ebbsfleet Valley to Swanscombe, Lower Thames, illustrating the sequence of climatic phases as suggested by the evidence at present available.

After the cutting of the bench at Swanscombe, aggradation (in two stages) to Tyrrhenian sea-level of the Penultimate Interglacial, with Clactonian II and early Middle Acheulian.

Then erosion to low sea-level, and formation of Main Coombe Rock (solifluction) and of some stream-deposited gravel (Baker's Hole) in the cold climate of the first phase of the Penultimate Glaciation, with early Levalloisian at Baker's Hole.

Partial removal of the Coombe Rock suggests a slight break in the sequence (? interstadial PGL<sub>1/2</sub> ?), which was followed by deposition of cold gravels (Middle Levalloisian) and loess (second phase of Penultimate Glaciation).

Aggradation of river gravels to the Main Monastirian sea-level followed in the first part of the Last Interglacial (Upper Gravels at Baker's Hole).

Thereafter, the sea-level dropped again, erosion cutting through the Main Monastirian gravels and partly the loess series (Burchell's Ebbsfleet section). A new rise of the sea-level (Late Monastirian) brought the aggradation of the 'temperate loam' of Burchell, in the second part of the Last Interglacial.

This was followed by a further phase, or phases, of down-cutting and solifluction during the Last Glaciation.

Finally, the sea-level rose to its present height.

logical evidence either for this, or a slightly later (ApGI) age. In either case, it appears conceivable that the Clactonian I is roughly contemporary with the Antepenultimate Glaciation, or perhaps the later part of the Antepenultimate Interglacial.

*Baker's Hole, near Ebbsfleet, Kent (Early Levalloisian). The*

aggradation of the Middle Gravels of Swanscombe (Great Interglacial) was followed by a period of erosion and formation of solifluction deposits of the coombe-rock type (King and Oakley, 1936, p. 60; Dewey, 1932, p. 49; Burchell, 1933). At Baker's Hole, in the Ebbsfleet valley close to Swanscombe, a floor of Levalloisian occurred underneath a coombe-rock (monographed by Smith, 1911). This Levalloisian, therefore, is earlier than the cold phase evidenced by the solifluction.

The dating of this cold phase is made possible by the deposits which overlie the coombe-rock in the neighbourhood, and to which J. P. T. Burchell has paid special attention. The significance of the evidence has been given elsewhere (Zeuner, 1936; 1945, p. 127 ff.). In a few words, Burchell (1933) showed that the main coombe-rock antedated the Taplow Terrace aggradation of the Thames which, on independent evidence, proves to belong to the Last Interglacial. The coombe-rock, therefore, belongs to one of the two phases of the Penultimate Glaciation. Now, the coombe-rock of Baker's Hole (usually called Main Coombe-Rock) is cut into and in part even removed down to the Chalk (Burchell, 1935*a*, p. 90) and the resulting valley filled with deposits chiefly of a loessic nature. This second erosion and the subsequent deposition of loess suggest a second cold phase, and the Main Coombe-Rock thus would represent PGI<sub>1</sub>, and the loess phase, PGI<sub>2</sub>. (See Note (32), p. 420.)

*Ebbsfleet (Middle Levalloisian).* Burchell was fortunate enough to find, in the filling which followed the second erosion, and underlying the loess, a gravel with Middle Levalloisian implements (Burchell, 1933; 1936). This, therefore, must be more or less contemporary with the second phase of the Penultimate Glaciation, as it has been found to be in northern France and in Markkleeberg, though this industrial stage apparently lingered on into the Last Interglacial.

*Brundon, Suffolk (Middle Levalloisian).* The persistence of the middle Levalloisian is shown, in southern England, by the section of Brundon in Suffolk (Moir and Hopwood, 1939). A fluvatile gravel rests on a boulder clay which is generally regarded as that of the second great glaciation of East Anglia;<sup>1</sup> and it is covered by solifluction deposits which are attributed to the Last Glaciation. Strictly on geological lines, however, the age of this gravel cannot be established, since the number of climatic phases represented in the section is insufficient. But the inference to be drawn from the geological conditions, namely that the gravel corresponds to the Last Interglacial, is borne out by palaeontological evidence. From his thorough analysis of the mammals, Hopwood concluded that

<sup>1</sup> Note that Moir calls it *Upper Chalky Boulder Clay*, while in the terminology of the present book it would be the *Great Chalky Boulder Clay*. The very confused terminology of the East Anglian moraines cannot be discussed here (see Zeuner, 1944, p. 101).

Brundon is demonstrably later than the Ilford deposits, and somewhat later than the Crayford deposits. The latter are predominately of Last Interglacial age, though in part they date back to the oess-phase of PGI<sub>2</sub> of Ebbsfleet. This makes Brundon certainly later than the Penultimate Glaciation, and therefore, most probably, Last Interglacial.

The industries found mostly come from the gravel. Moir distinguishes a land surface at the base of the gravel, but after an inspection of the section I am unable to corroborate this view. There is no pedological evidence for a land surface, and the 'manganese layer' must be included in the basal portion of the gravel.

The gravel has yielded—

(a) in a derived, patinated, striated, or rolled, condition: Early Clactonian, early Acheulian, 'late' (middle) Acheulian, Levalloisian I-II (Baker's Hole type), and some specimens reminiscent of High Lodge (Clactonian III);

(b) in a fresh, unabraded and unpatinated condition: a middle Levalloisian comparable with that found by Burchell in his Ebbsfleet sections.

This assemblage suggests that, during the episode of the Last Interglacial when the Brundon gravels were accumulated, middle Levalloisian man was on the scene, and that, in addition to several industries already known to us from the Great Interglacial, and the Penultimate Glaciation, the Acheulian referred to above and the High Lodge Clactonian antedate this middle Levalloisian. Yet, since both Acheulian and High Lodge Clactonian implements are rare in Brundon, this suggestion must not be taken as an established truth.

*Halling, Medway valley (upper Palaeolithic).* The Thames Basin does not provide chronological evidence for the change from lower to upper Palaeolithic. But there is a site, apparently of upper Palaeolithic age, which, in spite of the doubts which have been expressed as to the amount of disturbance suffered by the site, is of interest. It is Halling, some miles upstream from Rochester, on the Medway, a river flowing into the Thames estuary. In the Lower Floodplain Terrace of the Medway, a human skeleton was found, together with a small number of flints (Cook and Killick, 1924; Garrod, 1926). This terrace, which has been called the Halling Stage by King and Oakley (1936), is later than the Late Monastirian phase, from which it is separated by a period of down-cutting. It appears to have been aggraded during the interstadial LGI<sub>1/2</sub> (Zeuner, 1945, p. 133). The typological classification of the flints is difficult. Some specimens recall the industry of the upper levels of the Creswell Crags (Pin Hole and Mother Grundy's Parlour, see p. 198), but a scraper suggests middle Aurignacian. It is evident that the flints found just above the skeleton (top of Cook's layer 5)

are upper Palaeolithic, but whether they are middle Aurignacian, or Creswellian, or any other stage, cannot be said with certainty. The importance of Halling lies in the fact that it shows upper Palaeolithic to have been present during the interstadial LG1<sub>1</sub>. It will be remembered that Moir found upper Palaeolithic in the boulder clay of what appears to be LG1<sub>1</sub> in East Anglia (p. 190), but the evidence from the Creswell Crags is at variance (p. 198), suggesting a survival of Mousterian tradition into this phase in Derbyshire.

*High shore-lines between Portsmouth and Brighton.* The chronology of the Palaeolithic industries, ascertained so far from the glaciated area of East Anglia and from the area of river deposits of the lower Thames Basin, is further substantiated by the finds made in the beaches of the Tyrrhenian and Monastirian phases on the south coast of England. All along the south coast, which appears to have been outside the zone of isostatic disturbance, ancient beach deposits are found which can be referred to the Tyrrhenian level of 32 metres, the Main Monastirian level of 18 metres, and the Late Monastirian level of 7.5 metres. Those of the coast east of Portsmouth contain numerous implements.

*Tyrrhenian beach near Chichester (middle to late Acheulian).* Fowler (1932) described the exposures in the so-called 100-foot beach near Chichester. There is a continuous sheet of sand and gravel at 80-90 feet O.D. (Aldingbourne beach), but in pits at Waterbeach and Slindon, marine deposits reach or exceed 130 feet O.D. In these pits, marine sand is overlain by reddish, unstratified, clayey gravel which has generally been regarded as a solifluction deposit (coombe rock). In Marshall's pit, Slindon, the sand and the unstratified gravel are interbedded to some extent (Oakley and Curwen, 1937). From this it would appear that, in the final phase of transgression, the sea was working up some gravel deposit which, perhaps, formed a cliff, and when the sea receded from this level, the cliff collapsed, or other agents spread the gravel over the abandoned sandy beach. This mode of formation of unstratified deposits (pseudo-solifluction) can be observed in many places along the cliff-coast of Essex and East Anglia, the only difference being that they do not last but are sooner or later destroyed by the waves. The climate during the time of maximum transgression of the 100-foot phase, therefore, need not have been cold.

In the underlying sands, moreover, a temperate shell fauna is found.

It is difficult to determine the exact height of sea-level to which these deposits refer. The 80-90-foot level of Aldingbourne probably marks a recessional phase only slightly later than the maximum phase (100 feet and over). In the higher complex, the surface of the sand lies at 120 feet (36 metres) at Slindon, and at 130 feet (39 metres) at Waterbeach (Fowler, 1932). If one regards the

former value as close to high-water mark at the time of maximum transgression and makes allowance for the local tidal amplitude, the mean water-level of the '100-foot' beach would have been at about 33.5 metres. This is a very good approximation to values found elsewhere (Jersey, 32-4 metres; mouth of Somme, 32-3 metres; see fig. 46). Waterbeach would then have to be considered as an exceptional deposit, perhaps part of the storm beach. The mean sea-level, if based on Waterbeach, would have been about 36.5 metres.

Implements have been found at the base of the 100-foot beach (at Netley an Acheulian ovate), in beach gravel at several localities (mid Acheulian hand-axes and early Clactonian), and on the beach-sand, but underneath the supposed coombe-rock, at Slindon Park, an occupation level of developed middle Acheulian (Palmer and Cooke, 1923; Calkin, 1934; Pyddoke, 1950). Since some implements of this level were rolled, the site was occupied when the sea still had access to this level.

It is clear that this beach is the marine equivalent of the 100-foot terrace of the Thames at Swanscombe. The archaeological contents agree at Swanscombe and at Chichester, but in the latter area the so-called 'late' Acheulian came in at the very end of the period of aggradation. There are indications that the same applies to Swanscombe also (Hawkes, in Swanscombe Report, p. 45). It must be noted, however, that the distinction of 'late' from middle Acheulian is a somewhat arbitrary one, and that a new stage of the Acheulian cannot be recognized clearly before the advent of the Micoquian.

A 50-foot level (Main Monastirian) has been distinguished by Palmer and Cooke (1923) only, but its existence has been established at Portland (Baden-Powell, 1930), and the Selsey mud deposit with its warm fauna can be referred to it also (Zeuner, 1945, p. 239). No implements have been found in the beach gravels in this area.

Finally, a 15-foot beach is very well developed. At Selsey it forms a headland, far distant from the ancient cliff and, consequently, well below mean sea-level of that time. Locally, however, it rises to 28 feet O.D. No implements have been found in it.

*Brighton.* The 15-25-foot Late Monastirian level extends almost uninterruptedly from Selsey past Bognor to Brighton, where it ends in the cliffs of the Black Rock (White, 1924; Martin, 1929). The marine deposits near Brighton rise locally to 30 feet O.D., and head or coombe-rock is commonly found covering them. Apart from rolled Acheulian, one Mousterian (?Levalloisian) implement has been found in the fossil beach at Brighton, and finds made in the Chichester district show that the 'Mousterian' survived this sea-level of 15-25 feet (Palmer and Cooke, 1923, p. 273). The same relationship

between the Late Monastirian beach and the Mousterian (Levalloisian) industry has been established in Jersey (p. 178).

The exact height of mean sea-level during this phase, at any rate at Brighton, is difficult to ascertain. Undercuts are rare in Chalk cliffs, and the coast east of Brighton is rapidly being eroded away. Only at Black Rock can the height of the inner edge of the platform be measured, but it has not been done yet. But the shingle beds of this beach extend to 25 feet above high water mark, so that the mean water-level is likely to have been very close to 7.5 metres, the average for the Late Monastirian phase.

Thus, the south coast of England affords corroborative evidence for the middle Acheulian being the industry of the Great Interglacial, and for the Mousterian or Levalloisian flake industries being contemporary with, or even surviving, the Last Interglacial.

*Pin Hole Cave, Creswell Crags, Derbyshire (Mousterian and upper Palaeolithic).* The most important site for the chronology of the industries of the British Upper Pleistocene is the Pin Hole Cave in Derbyshire. It was excavated by Armstrong (1931; 1933; 1939, p. 101 ff.). The section is reproduced in fig. 64.

The strata are sealed by a stalagmite, above which in a superficial earthy deposit a temperate fauna was found containing brown bear, wolf, badger, pig and red deer. In the underlying 'red cave-earth', the fauna is predominately arctic in the top layers ('developed Aurignacian'), cool-temperate in the middle (Font Robert level, with *Bison*, horse, red deer, but also reindeer), and cold in the bottom layers (upper Aurignacian and proto-Solutrian, with reindeer, mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, arctic fox, arctic hare. The same cold fauna is contained in the 6 inches of 'Mousterian 3' which underlie the proto-Solutrian and which are usually referred to by Armstrong as part of the lower cave-earth, presumably on account of its industry, though in his figure they are included in the upper. The upper, 'red' cave-earth rests on a slab-layer with an exclusively cold fauna, which Armstrong interprets as the product of frost-weathering. This sequence, therefore, suggests an oscillation of the climate from cold through moderately temperate (though the reindeer persists!) to cold and, after the formation of the stalagmite, followed by temperate conditions which presumably represent the Postglacial.

I am not inclined to attach so much climatic importance to the covering stalagmite as is done by Armstrong, since this is apparently due to the cave having become increasingly damper in consequence of the gradual blocking of the exit by the deposits. The stalagmite in part penetrated the top of the cave-earth, and thus incorporated some of the cold fauna of the latter. This difference of opinion, however, does not affect the climatic sequence.

The lower part of the section (Armstrong's 'yellow cave-earth')

is subdivided by another slab-layer into an upper and a lower portion. The upper yellow cave earth again shows a 'moderately warm' oscillation in the middle (with 'Mousterian 2'), established on faunal evidence. It is cold above and at the bottom, which indicates the transition from the cold conditions of the lower slab-layer to the more temperate conditions of the upper yellow cave earth, and again back to the cold conditions of the upper slab-

CORRELATION	CLIMATE	SECTION	CULTURE	FEET
LG 3	GLACIAL		STALAGMITE	1
	WET and COLD		DEVELOPED AURIGNACIAN (MAGDALENIAN AGE)	2
INTERSTADIAL	TEMPERATE	RED CAVE-EARTH	FONT-ROBERT LEVEL	3
			UPPER AURIGNACIAN & PROTO-SOLUTREAN	4
			MOUSTERIAN 3	5
			MOUSTERIAN 3	6
LG 2	GLACIAL	SLAB LAYER (2)	7	
INTERSTADIAL	COLD	YELLOW CAVE-EARTH	MOUSTERIAN 2	8
	MODERATELY WARM			9
	COLD			10
LG 1	GLACIAL	SLAB LAYER (1)	11	
LAST INTER-GLACIAL	MODERATELY WARM	YELLOW CAVE-EARTH	MOUSTERIAN 1	12
				13
				14
				15
				16
				17
				18
		BED ROCK	STERILE	19

FIG. 64.—Section of Pin Hole Cave, Creswell Crags, Derbyshire, according to Armstrong.—Reproduced from Armstrong (1931), modified.

layer. The lower slab-layer contains an arctic fauna, and so does the uppermost portion of the lower yellow cave-earth. This part of the section, therefore, adds a third, and earliest, cold phase to the sequence.

The lower yellow cave-earth has a fauna containing horse, bison, giant deer, lion, &c., described as moderately warm.<sup>1</sup> It contains a Mousterian industry ('Mousterian 1').

The obvious chronological interpretation of this section was given by Armstrong, when he assigned the three cold phases to the Last Glaciation, and the lower yellow cave-earth to the Last Interglacial. Since, however, he was not then aware that the three-fold subdivision of the Last Glaciation had been established on the Continent and that the Hunstanton Boulder Clay (Newer Drift) was likely to represent the second of these, he suggested that the stalagmite corresponded to the Newer Drift. In the light of our present more detailed knowledge, this correlation appears improbable, since the third of the three phases of the Last Glaciation is known to have been much weaker than the first two. This picture is reproduced in the Pin Hole section, where the first two cold phases are represented by periods of frost-weathering, while the third is not. Nevertheless, Armstrong's correlation of the entire complex from the lower slab-layer upwards with the Last Glaciation agrees with the evidence better than any other alternative.

Movius (1942, p. 46) proposes to correlate the stalagmite and the top of the red cave-earth with LG<sub>2</sub>, and the upper slab-layer with LG<sub>1</sub>, leaving the lower slab-layer unaccounted for. If this lower slab-layer were absent, this correlation would at first sight appear most suggestive, but the lower slab-layer does call for an explanation. One might be inclined to regard it either as the equivalent of the cool oscillation which has been called Prewürm by Soergel (p. 161), or as a phase of the Penultimate Glaciation. The first alternative is unlikely because that minor phase appears to have produced hardly any frost-weathering. If one nevertheless assumes that its climate permitted as much frost-weathering as evidenced by the lower slab-layer, one is forced to attribute to the upper red cave-earth (the supposed equivalent of the Newer Drift Glaciation) an even more rigorous climate. But the top of the upper red cave-earth exhibits little evidence of cold; so that it becomes clear that this alternative cannot be upheld.

Lastly, if one relegates the lower slab-layer to the Penultimate Glaciation, one finds it difficult to include the whole of the Last Interglacial in about one foot of upper yellow cave-earth, whilst about six feet of a temperate cave-earth are found below this slab-

<sup>1</sup> The fauna has not yet been published in detail. It is, I understand, being studied by Dr. W. Jackson in Manchester. References to species given here are taken from Mr. Armstrong's published reports.



layer. Furthermore, the fauna does not appear to support so great an age for the lower slab-layer, judging from the expression 'arctic fauna' of slab-layer 1, used by Armstrong. Typically 'arctic' faunas are characteristic of the Last Glaciation. This argument, however, cannot be regarded as conclusive until the faunas of the consecutive layers have been published in detail.

Thus, for the reasons given, the three cold phases of the Pin Hole section are probably to be regarded as the three phases of the Last Glaciation. The ensuing archaeological chronology is most interesting.

The developed Aurignacian of the higher levels is often called *Creswellian*. It is a local, or perhaps British, facies of the Aurignacian with abundant evidence for upper Magdalenian influence (Garrod, 1926, pp. 147, 149, *et al.*). It eventually merges into an Azilio-Tardenoisian, found in the neighbouring cave of Mother Grundy's Parlour (Armstrong, 1925; Garrod, 1926, p. 135), where the transition to the Mesolithic coincides with the change of the fauna from cold to temperate. The Mesolithic therefore appears here at the same time as elsewhere in temperate Europe, namely after the climax of LG1<sub>3</sub>, when the climate begins to improve.

The Creswellian itself corresponds to the upper, red, cave-earth, of the interstadial LG1<sub>2/3</sub>, and LG1<sub>3</sub> until the climax. This is, in other parts of temperate Europe, the time of the Magdalenian which, indeed, has had a profound influence on the Creswellian.

In the basal, cold, portion of the red cave-earth, however, a Solutrian influence is noticeable, and this proto-Solutrian horizon emerges from a Mousterian one. The proto-Solutrian and the typical Solutrian are, as far as known, confined to the maximum of LG1<sub>2</sub>, and the position of the corresponding horizon in the Pin Hole agrees well with this. The Mousterian which leads up to it is, however, an unusual feature.

The Mousterian of the Creswell Crags has been divided into three stages, the earliest of which would date from the Last Interglacial, possibly a late phase. It is, according to Armstrong (1939, p. 103) typical old Mousterian. Below this Mousterian floor, 'the artifacts recovered include flakes of massive Clactonian type which correspond in facies and technique with the Tayacian industry of La Micoque'. The old Mousterian of Derbyshire thus appears to have succeeded a Tayacian, during the Last Interglacial.

The Mousterian 2, of the cave-earth of the interstadial LG1<sub>1,2</sub>, is called a 'typical' one, but its mixture with a bone industry with upper Palaeolithic traits is an extraordinary feature. It may be recalled that Mousterian survived the first phase of the Last Glaciation in the Rhine Valley (Wallertheim, p. 159). But we know that during the following interstadial Aurignacian began to spread. A curious piece of evidence for contemporaneity of this Pin Hole

Mousterian 2 with some Aurignacian is the bull-roarer found by Armstrong (1936).

The Mousterian 3 follows immediately the formation of the second slab-layer, and the fauna is still cold. It must, therefore,

TIME SCALE	CLIMATIC PHASE	CENTRAL EUROPE	NORTHERN FRANCE	BRITAIN
25000	Pg1	MESOLITHIC		AZILIO-TARDENSIAN
	LGl <sub>3</sub>	PRE-TARDENSIAN FINAL MAGDALENIAN		CRESWELLIAN
72000	LGl <sub>2/3</sub>	MAGDALENIAN		CRESWELLIAN
	LGl <sub>2</sub>	MAGDALENIAN SOLUTRIAN	MAGDALENIAN SOLUTRIAN	PROTO-SOLUTRIAN
	LGl <sub>1/2</sub>	AURIGNACIAN	UPPER AURIGNACIAN MIDDLE AURIGNACIAN	PIN HOLE MOUSTERIAN
115000	LGl <sub>1/2</sub>	AURIGNACIAN	FINAL LEV. (VI) AURIGNACIAN ? LEV. VI	PIN HOLE MOUST. AURIGN.
	LGl <sub>1</sub>	MOUSTERIAN		
	LIg1	MOUSTERIAN	LEV. V MICOQUIAN LEV. V MICOQUIAN	OLD MOUSTERIAN CF. TAYACIAN
187000	PGl <sub>2</sub>	MID. LEVALLOIS-UPPACHEUL	MIDDLE ACHEULIAN	MIDDLE LEVALLOISIAN
	PGl <sub>1/2</sub>		MIDDLE ACHEULIAN	
230000	PGl <sub>1</sub>	CF. CLACTON OR TAYACIAN		EARLY LEVALLOISIAN
	PIg1	UNCLASSIFIED FLAKE INDUSTRIES	LOWER & MIDDLE ACHEUL	MIDDLE ACHEULIAN
	PIg1	CF. LEVALLOISIAN(?) OR CLACTONIAN	LOW. ACHEUL CLACTON II	CLACTONIAN II
435000	ApGl <sub>2</sub>			
	ApGl <sub>1/2</sub>			
476000	ApGl <sub>1</sub>			
	ApIg1		ABBEVILLIAN CLACTON I	ABBEVILLIAN
550000	EGl <sub>2</sub>			CROMERIAN
	EGl <sub>1/2</sub>			NORVICIAN
590000	EGl <sub>1</sub>			IPSVICIAN
	VILLA-FRANCHIAN			

FIG. 65.—Chronology of the Palaeolithic of central Europe, France and Britain. Unconformities between the three areas have not been smoothed out.

be assigned to LGl<sub>2</sub>, whose climax it apparently just survived, to be replaced by ('to merge into', Armstrong) the proto-Solutrian level. With the proto-Solutrian we are again on familiar ground.

The survival of the Mousterian into upper Palaeolithic times

is borne out, in both levels 2 and 3, by the abundant utilization of bone and the presence of many complex artifacts and 'amulets'. Armstrong (1939, p. 107) is not aware that similar artifacts have been recorded elsewhere, and he sums up the evidence thus: 'Taken as a whole, these facts and objects appear to indicate a much higher degree of culture than has generally been assigned to man of the Middle Palaeolithic period.' By fitting the Pin Hole section into the detailed chronology of the Upper Pleistocene, this has been shown to be the result of the co-existence of the Creswell Mousterian with upper Palaeolithic (Lower and Middle Aurignacian) elsewhere. Even in England, evidence for the presence of upper Palaeolithic man during the interstadial LGI<sub>1,2</sub> is available (Halling, p. 193), quite apart from Continental sites. Thus, the Pin Hole Cave (and the other caves of the Creswell Crags) afford a most instructive parallel to the survival of the final Levalloisian in northern France.

#### E. SUMMARY

The evidence for the age of Palaeolithic industries, determined from sections which can be dated by geological or palaeontological methods, or both, without reference to archaeological pre-conceptions, is summarized in the table, fig. 65. The three areas, or provinces, distinguished, central Europe, northern France, and Britain, correspond to what one might call scientific provinces, in which research has proceeded on somewhat independent lines. Nevertheless, the resulting chronologies are found to agree closely.

The table comprises only such industries as have been discussed in the preceding parts of this chapter. Owing to our insistence upon the dating of sites by non-archaeological evidence, many well-known industrial phases do not appear, but the reader who is familiar with any one of the 'provinces' can easily complete the picture for himself by adding to this skeleton the probable chronological positions of the missing phases of the Palaeolithic.

The discussion of the significance of this chronology is best reserved for a special chapter which will follow those treating the evidence from the Mediterranean and from other continents.

### CHAPTER VII

#### CHRONOLOGY OF THE PLEISTOCENE AND THE PALAEOLITHIC OF THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA

##### A. THE CLIMATIC SUCCESSION

While evidence for the detailed relative chronology of the Pleistocene in temperate Europe is abundant, this is not yet so in other areas. This chronology is the back-bone of the absolute chronology as based on the astronomical time-scale. In turning our attention

to the Mediterranean region, therefore, it is necessary to keep in mind that the application of the astronomical method to such an area is tentative.

With this proviso, however, one is justified in making an attempt to extend the astronomical chronology to the Mediterranean, first, because its successful application in temperate Europe renders it highly probable that the same close relation between the stratigraphical succession and the fluctuations of radiation also exists in the adjacent regions. Secondly, the stratigraphical evidence which has been brought forward in the Mediterranean region, notably that from the Lower Versilia in northern Italy and from Mount Carmel in Palestine, already shows that the Mediterranean upper Pleistocene can be explained more satisfactorily by adopting the astronomical method than by any other. This matter has been treated at some length in a different place (Zeuner, 1945, Chapter VII), so that it will suffice here to summarize the most important features.

*Main features of the Pleistocene climate of the Mediterranean.* Evidence for the Pleistocene climate is available chiefly from the Grotte de l'Observatoire, Monaco, and the Grimaldi caves ( $44^{\circ}$  N.), the coastal plain of the Lower Versilia ( $44^{\circ}$  N.), the Pontine Marshes ( $42^{\circ}$  N.), the Grotta Romanelli ( $40^{\circ}$  N.), and Mount Carmel ( $33^{\circ}$  N.) It is fairly complete for the subdivisions of the upper Pleistocene, but very scanty for the lower and middle Pleistocene. The following generalized statement appears to be permissible:

(1) During the Last Interglacial (Monastirian beaches at 18 and 7.5 metres, with *Strombus bubonius*-fauna), the sea was warmer than at the present day.

(2) The most complete sections, those of the Grimaldi caves and of the Lower Versilia, confirm that there were three phases of cool and damp climate corresponding to the three phases of the Last Glaciation in temperate Europe.

(3) Of these, the first was moderate, and the second the most intense, but climatic evidence for LG<sub>1</sub> has not been found south of  $43^{\circ}$  N., so that this phase may have been very weak in the south.

(4) LG<sub>1</sub>, on  $40^{\circ}$  N. and north of it, can be subdivided into a first, humid, subphase, and a subsequent cold and more continental subphase. On  $33^{\circ}$  N., however, the climate corresponding to a glacial phase appears to have been humid throughout.

(5) LG<sub>1</sub> is represented by a humid phase everywhere; it was cool north of  $42^{\circ}$  N., and temperate to the south of it.

(6) It follows from (4) and (5), that there were latitudinal differences of the climate which were most pronounced with regard to LG<sub>3</sub>, and least pronounced with regard to LG<sub>1</sub>.

(7) It further follows from (4) and (5), that the ordinary type of climatic phase representing a glacial in the Mediterranean is a phase of humid, or oceanic, character which, when conditions were

severe, as during LGI<sub>2</sub>, was followed by a cold and continental subphase in the northern part of the Mediterranean.

(8) Climatologically it is to be expected that a *pluvial* of the Mediterranean type falls into three subphases, namely (A) the initial subphase of decreased summer radiation and increased winter radiation, with rainfall more evenly distributed over the seasons than at present, with cooler summers, but not necessarily a greater annual total precipitation. This subphase is called the *pseudo-pluvial*; it favoured the extension of temperate forest in the Mediterranean area. (B) The period of the greatest extension of the ice-sheets in northern Europe, during which the secondary effects of the glaciation (p. 142) affected the Mediterranean, through the deviation of many rain-bringing depressions into the Mediterranean, and through frequent invasions of cold air from the glaciated area. Unsettled weather with much rain and rapid and intense changes of temperature, with frost in the northern Mediterranean. This is the *Pluvial* proper, with pseudo-continental climate north of approximately 40° N. Finally (C), the period of disintegration of the glacial anticyclone. Rapid return to the present Mediterranean type of climate, with its rainy winters and dry summers.

This deduced course of the climate during a pluvial phase corresponding to a glacial phase in northern Europe is corroborated by the geological evidence as summarized under (7).

(9) A pronounced latitudinal differentiation is to be expected. In the countries bordering the Mediterranean in the south, the secondary effects of the glaciation are likely to have been confined to an increase in the number of rain-bringing depressions, so that subphase (B) would have been mild, and distinguished from subphase (A) merely by an increase of precipitation.

The latitudinal differentiation should have been accentuated by the latitudinal differences in the amount of radiation received. In particular, the summer minimum of LGI<sub>3</sub> grows weaker as one goes south.

Geological evidence confirms this theoretically expected differentiation according to latitude (compare points (3), (4) and (5)).

(10) In accordance with the radiation curves, it is to be expected that the pluvials are doubled, except for the Last Glaciation, which should be represented by three pluvial phases.

Evidence shows that there were indeed three pluvial phases following the Last Interglacial, and the duplication of the pluvial corresponding to the Penultimate Glaciation is suggested in the Grotte de l'Observatoire.

(11) The succession of interglacial, eustatic, high sea-levels (see p. 127) should confirm the succession of climatic phases as based on terrestrial evidence. The Monastirian does so, since it is followed by the three pluvial phases of the Last Glaciation. For the earlier

high sea-levels, however, no detailed correlation can be established, for lack of evidence from contemporary terrestrial deposits. All one can say is that the Calabrian corresponds to the late Pliocene.

*Absolute Chronology in the Mediterranean.* The palaeoclimatic material summarized in these 11 points permits one to construct a tentative absolute chronology for the upper Pleistocene of the Mediterranean. The 'pluvial' phases which can be correlated with glacial phases of temperate Europe were almost contemporaneous with them, but only the pseudopluvial subphase, which in the geological evidence will appear rather damper than it actually was, corresponds strictly and without retardation to the minimum of summer radiation of the latitude in question. Taking the figures for 35° N. as an average, the three pseudopluvials of the Last Glaciation are dated at 116,000, 72,000 and 22,000 years B.P. But the pluvial proper followed this subphase in each case, in accordance with the retardation of the maximum development of the ice-sheet (see p. 142) and was, therefore, later, possibly by several thousand years.

#### B. ITALO-FRENCH RIVIERA

We may now turn to a survey of localities, which will help in elaborating several of the points just outlined. The localities have been selected in part for their archaeological importance, and in part for their chronological significance. These two do not always coincide, and the reader is likely to look in vain for some sites he might expect to find. But since this book is concerned with the chronological aspect and is not intended to provide a synopsis of the areas considered, such selection could not be avoided. The localities are arranged in a geographical order, beginning with the classic sites of the Italo-French Riviera, passing southwards through Italy, thence to Palestine, Egypt, Algeria and, finally, the Iberian Peninsula.

*Grotte de l'Observatoire, Monaco.* The Grotte de l'Observatoire (Boule, 1927, Verneau, 1933), in Monaco, is important because it contained deposits of an earlier age than most other caves. It lies as much as 100 metres above the present sea-level, just below the upper edge of the rock of the mainland, facing the peninsula of Monaco. It is not a sea-cave and differs in this respect from most of the caves to be described subsequently.

Standing in the entrance, one looks down into the excavated chamber of the cave which possesses a rock-wall protecting it against the outside (fig. 66). In the background, the floor drops steeply into an opening, the 'fosse', leading down to some inner chambers with stalactitic formations. As far as we know, however, these were not used by Palaeolithic man. The earliest human traces, i.e. implements, were found in the lower part of the fosse, which is too narrow and steep for habitation. Breuil (1932, p. 186) rightly

suggested that the finds in the fosse had either slipped down or were thrown into it. A regular habitation did not become possible until the larger portion of the fosse had been filled up with sediments and a more or less even floor established. The cave has been completely excavated, but vestiges of the deposits can still be seen *in situ*.

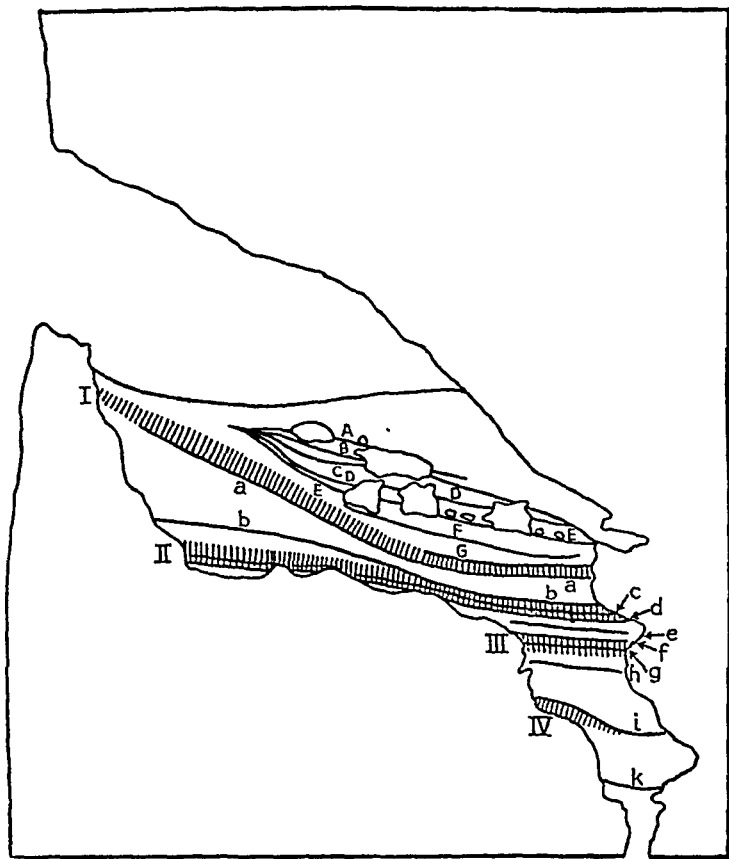


FIG. 66.—Grotte de l'Observatoire, Monaco. Section of deposits.—A to G, and a to k, foyers or occupation horizons.—I, II, III, IV, stalagmitic horizons.—After Boule and Villeneuve (1927), modified.

The section, as described by Boule and Villeneuve (1927) (figs. 66, 67), is characterized by four stalagmitic horizons separated by loose deposits of cave-earth. Since no stalagmite is formed in this cave under the present climatic conditions, the four stalagmitic horizons appear to represent four phases with a climate more humid than the present one.

The deposits of cave-earth are more difficult to interpret. Some preserved patches of the cave-earth which intervened between the first (i.e. uppermost) and second stalagmites show that it was not a cave-earth in the usual sense of the word, but rather a calcareous sand, which could be neither eolian nor water-laid. Whether it was a product of disintegration of limestone, or an unconsolidated travertine or stalagmite, I am unable to say; in any case it does not reveal the climatic conditions of its formation.

The uppermost cave-earth contains numerous large blocks. One is inclined to take these as evidence of a frost climate, and the fauna would corroborate this view, but it is not impossible that the frequent action of fires lit in the cave by Aurignacian man detached the blocks from the roof of the cave.

Fortunately, the fauna recovered from the deposits suggests to a certain extent what the climate of the cave-earth phases was like. Since the fauna was adequately described by Boule (1927), it is sufficient for the present purpose to tabulate it as done in fig. 67. Only a few of the species require special mention.

Among the carnivora, a wild dog is found, *Cuon alpinus europaeus* Bourg., a form of a species now living in the Altai Mountains of Siberia, with close relatives ranging through India into the Malay Archipelago. This species is climatically indifferent.

Two forms of lynx are found in the Grotte de l'Observatoire, the northern form, *Lynx lynx* (L.), and another called by Boule *Lynx pardina* race *spelaea*.<sup>1</sup>

The ibex (*Capra ibex* L.) is very abundant throughout the section, and frequent in the Grimaldi caves also, as well as in some Italian localities as far south as the Grotta Romanelli under the fortieth degree of latitude. In accordance with its present, high-alpine distribution in Europe the ibex has been regarded as an indicator of cold conditions for the Mediterranean area. It is conceivable, however, that, originally, the ibex was merely accustomed to rocky country irrespective of the climate, so long as it did not become too dry in summer. Its present restriction to scattered mountainous localities ranging from Spain to Siberia and south to Yemen and Abyssinia is in part the result of man's interference with these goats; which are extremely shy and at the same time a much esteemed game. Though the Alpine ibex became very frequent at low altitudes in glacial times, it need not have been entirely absent there in the mild interphases, at any rate not along the coast of the Riviera where the Alps rise directly from the sea.

The occurrence of *small* numbers of ibex in a fauna of the Riviera type, therefore, appears to have little climatic significance; if they are very *abundant*, it is likely that good grazing was available at

<sup>1</sup> Miss D. M. A. Bate kindly informs me that this form is osteologically quite distinct from *Lynx pardina* Temminck (recte *Lynx pardella* Miller).



low altitudes, the climate probably being less Mediterranean and more temperate than now. They were also able to withstand a frost climate. The more one goes southwards, however, the more the ibex is likely to have been a form of comparatively cool and humid phases.

The fauna of the lower horizons of the Grotte de l'Observatoire

DEPOSITS	FAUNA	CLIMATE	INDUSTRIES	SUGGESTED CORRELATION
REDDISH CAVE-EARTH WITH LARGE BLOCKS AND SEVEN LEVELS OF OCCUPATION (A-G) LOWEST FOYER a	TEMPERATE FOREST SPECIES, + HORSE, IBEX, REINDEER, ICE-FOX, CUON, CAVE BEAR, HYENA, LYNX PARDINA, LYNX LYNX, MARMOT	COLD FOREST CLIMATE	DEVELOPED AURIGNACIAN	LAST GLACIATION
STALAGMITE I		HUMID		
HIATUS? FOYER a CAVE-EARTH WITH SMALL ROCK FRAGMENTS FOYER b	TEMPERATE FOREST SPECIES + RHINO, MERCKII, IBEX, CUON, CAVE BEAR, HYENA, LYNX PARDINA, [MARMOT POSSIBLY IN BURROWS FROM HIGHEST LEVEL]	TEMPERATE-COOL	MORE CHARACTERISTIC MOUSTERIAN REMINISCENT OF GRIMALDI MOUSTERIAN, CF. UPPER MOUSTERIAN	
STALAGMITE II FOYER c		HUMID		PHASE I
HIATUS? FOYER d CAVE-EARTH FOYER e FOYER f	ATYPICAL FAUNA, BUT NO COLD FORMS	TEMPERATE	TWO ACHEULIAN PIECES, AND FLAKE INDUSTRY REMINISCENT OF MOUSTERIAN	PENULTIMATE GLAC.
STALAGMITE III FOYER g		HUMID		
HIATUS? FOYER h CAVE-EARTH FOYER i	ATYPICAL FAUNA, BUT NO COLD FORMS LYNX PARDINA	TEMPERATE	FLAKE INDUSTRY REMINISCENT OF MOUSTERIAN	
STALAGMITE IV	IBEX, REDDEER, PANTHER, LYNX, CUON, ETC.	HUMID		PHASE I
HIATUS? FOYER k CAVE-EARTH	HYENA, CAVE BEAR	TEMPERATE	CLACTONIAN, AND ONE ABBEVILLIAN PIECE	

FIG. 67.—Chronological table for the Grotte de l'Observatoire, Monaco.—For explanation, see text.

is poor. Cold forms have not been found, except for the cave-bear, which, though frequent in cold deposits, is not absent from deposits of mild phases in temperate Europe. The few other forms present suggest the climate of a temperate forest.

A richer assemblage of species occurs between the second and first stalagmites. Most of these also are elements of the temperate forest. Some cold types have, however, been mentioned from this level, though the question whether they really came from this level remains open to doubt. The reindeer was queried by Boule himself, the cave-bear is not reliable as a climatic indicator, the arctic fox (*Vulpes lagopus* (L.)) has recently been removed to the uppermost level by Obermaier (1937), and the marmot occurs possibly in burrows descending from the uppermost level. Thus, the fauna cannot be said to be cold; it is temperate, and possibly somewhat cooler than the present Mediterranean climate of this area.

The uppermost cave-earth, above the first stalagmite, contains a fair number of cold elements beside forms of the temperate forest. There are the reindeer, the arctic fox, the northern lynx, the cave-bear, and the marmot, together with the horse, wild boar, red deer, roe-deer, ibex, red fox, wolf, *Cuon*, hyena, and others. This fauna does not suggest an arctic climate but rather that of a cold forest not far from the limit of tree-growth. It has a decidedly colder aspect than that of any of the lower layers.

The climatic history of the Grotte de l'Observatoire thus provides evidence for the fourfold repetition of a decidedly humid climate followed by one of temperate forest. The last temperate-forest phase has left a fauna sufficiently ample to show that the climate was bordering on the cold. For the other temperate phases, the evidence is too incomplete to call the climate cold-temperate, though it probably was more like that of present-day central Europe than like the present Mediterranean climate of the locality.

The lithic industries of the Grotte de l'Observatoire were described by Boule, who gave excellent figures. There are also short descriptions by R. Verneau in the Catalogue of the Monaco Museum (1933). H. Breuil made the important discovery that the large flakes of the basal layers are Clactonian (Breuil, 1932), and recently Obermaier (1937) published an account of the industries of this and other Mediterranean localities. Boule not only discussed the affinities of the Mousterian and upper Palaeolithic industries; he also recorded the levels carefully. This is especially important as regards the two Acheulian pieces found lying on the rock beneath the second stalagmite. A short summary of the industries is included in fig. 67.

Clactonian was found below the lowest stalagmite, Acheulian below the second stalagmite, upper Mousterian between the second and first stalagmites, and upper Aurignacian (so-called Grimaldian) above the first stalagmite.

If one accepts the current theory that humid phases in the Mediterranean area correspond to glacial phases in the north, the succession of industries in relation to the climatic phases appears to be roughly the same on the Riviera as in west and central Europe

(compare fig. 65). The four humid phases would, on the archaeological evidence, represent the second and first phases of the Last Glaciation, and the two phases of the Penultimate Glaciation, Clactonian belonging to the Great Interglacial, Acheulian occurring (together with a mousterioid industry) in the Last Interglacial, upper Mousterian between the two phases of the Last Glaciation, and developed upper Palaeolithic after the second phase of the Last Glaciation, when the climate was still cold.

The section of the Grotte de l'Observatoire, however, does not afford geological evidence for the correctness of this correlation; it is merely suggested by observations made elsewhere. For proofs that this correlation is in its outlines correct, it is necessary to turn to other localities of the Mediterranean area.

*Caves of Grimaldi.* The famous caves of Grimaldi near Mentone lie only about 8 miles east of Monaco. They are quite close to the sea, at a locality known as the 'red rocks', Rochers Rouges in French, Baoussé-Roussé in Provençal, Balzi Rossi in Italian.

For these caves, we are fortunate in possessing a comprehensive memoir by Boule, Cartailhac, Verneau and de Villeneuve (1906-19), which describes the excavations carried out under the direction of Prince Albert I of Monaco. More recently, the Istituto di Paleontologia Umana has resumed work on these sites (Graziosi, 1937).

*Grotte du Prince.* Without exception, the Grimaldi caves appear to have been carved out by the sea during the Monastirian, i.e. the Last Interglacial. Whether the process took place during the Main or the Late Monastirian cannot be decided except in the Grotte du Prince. In this cave (fig. 68), a horizon of rock-boring shells (*Lithodomus*) is found at 22·7 metres above the present sea-level. This cave, therefore, was carved out by the sea during the Main Monastirian phase. Since the corresponding marine deposits filled the cave up to 10 metres above present sea-level, i.e. somewhat higher than the Late Monastirian sea-level, the cave would have been inhabitable during the latter part of the Last Interglacial, at about the time of the Mousterian of Weimar-Ehringsdorf.

This is borne out by the strata which subsequently accumulated over the marine deposits, forming a detrital cone. At the base of the cone, resting immediately on the marine deposit, an occupation layer (E of section) was found, with Mousterian accompanied by a decidedly warm fauna including *Hippopotamus* and *Elephas antiquus*. In the higher occupation levels, the *Hippopotamus* is absent, but some ibex appear. If this small change indicates a deterioration of the climate, it must have been a very slight one. The Mousterian continues.

A marked change, however, occurs in the uppermost layers of the cone. The occupation layers (for instance, B, fig. 68) are no longer on the cone, but in a protected position behind it, and the

fauna has changed, now comprising the reindeer, the marmot, and numerous ibex. The industry is still Mousterian.

The same applies to the topmost occupation level (A), though a long blade, and possibly some other implements, remind one of the oncoming Aurignacian. In view of the superficial position of this layer, however, these upper Palaeolithic specimens may be interpreted as intrusions.

It is certain that the Mousterian here lasted from the warm, latter, part of the Last Interglacial right into the, presumably first, cold phase of the Last Glaciation. For this reason, A. C. Blanc (1937) referred to this section in order to disprove Penck's contention

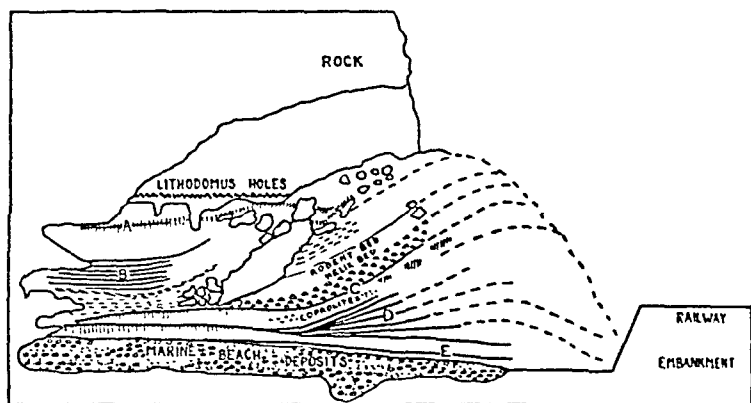


FIG. 68.—Grotte du Prince, Grimaldi. Section of deposits.—A to E, foyers or occupation horizons.—Vertical hatching, stalagmitic levels.—After Boule (1906), modified.

that the whole Mousterian was earlier than the Last Glaciation (Penck, 1936).

The recent excavations of the Istituto di Paleontologia Umana have shown that both in the Barma Grande and in the Grotte des Enfants, both situated close to the Grotte du Prince, the Mousterian complex is overlain by an Aurignacian sequence. The absence of the later deposits in the Grotte du Prince is due to the fact that this cave was filled with debris in Mousterian times, so that it was no longer a convenient place to live in later on.

*Grotte des Enfants.* The stratigraphy of the Aurignacian series is clearest in the Grotte des Enfants.

The cave, the Grotta dei Fanciulli of the Italians, derives its name from the two skeletons of children found by Rivière in the uppermost beds. When the Prince of Monaco took up systematic excavations, more skeletons were discovered, among them two which, according to Verneau, have negroid characters. All these

human remains were associated with upper Palaeolithic. Traces of Mousterian were found at the very base of the section, near the floor of the cave. The excavations by the Istituto di Paleontologia Umana in 1928 (Graziosi 1937), however, uncovered a pocket in the floor, sealed by stalagmite and containing a series of Mousterian deposits.<sup>1</sup>

Graziosi mentions that the Mousterian of the Grotte des Enfants below the hard layer at which the earlier excavations had stopped, was associated with a *cold* fauna; it thus probably corresponds to the *upper* portion of the section in the Grotte du Prince. In the cultural horizons uncovered by the Prince of Monaco and his staff (numbered from A at the top to L at the bottom), layer L which rested immediately on the above-mentioned stalagmitic horizon, still contained flints of Mousterian appearance. Obermaier (1937) says, apparently referring to this layer L, that the Mousterian contained *Rhinoceros merckii*, a species of a mild climate and fond of parklands. With the foyer K, Aurignacian commenced abruptly. It was a 'typical' Aurignacian according to Obermaier.<sup>2</sup> The foyers I, H, and G contained a woodland fauna with wild boar, red deer and roe-deer, wolf and hyena; and the only species which might, though need not, point to cooler conditions were cave-bear, ibex and horse. From layer F upwards, however, ibex and reindeer became frequent. They were associated with a 'Grimaldian' industry (a composite industry according to Brea, 1949).

The section thus shows two cold phases, one associated with upper Mousterian and one with Grimaldian. They are separated by a typical Aurignacian accompanied by a fauna of a mild climate, but possibly preceded by some Mousterian surviving into this mild phase.

The two cold phases thus evidenced are *a priori* likely to be the first and second phases of the Last Glaciation of northern Europe. That LGI<sub>1</sub> is not represented in the sections so far discussed, is shown by independent evidence for this particular phase from the Riparo Mochi to be described presently.

It is noteworthy that the Mousterian may have survived LGI<sub>1</sub> for a short time, whilst the Aurignacian comes in during the interstadial between LGI<sub>1</sub> and LGI<sub>2</sub>, appearing in its typical, not primitive, form. These datings recall similar ones derived from the sections of Wallertheim and Linsenberg in the Rhine Valley, and northern France; they will be discussed in the archaeological summary of this chapter (p. 241).

*Riparo Mochi.* The continuation of the Grimaldi succession is

<sup>1</sup> Another little cave was opened to the left of, and immediately adjoining, the Grotte des Enfants. It was named Grotta del Conte Costantini and contained upper Palaeolithic as well as Mousterian, and a cold fauna.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. presumably Middle Aurignacian.

provided by a set of new sections discovered by A. C. Blanc (1938). They lie half-way between the Grotte des Enfants and the Grotte du Prince. The locality which consists of rock debris in front of a shelter has been called Riparo Mochi. The upper part of the section of trench A (the only one so far excavated to a considerable depth) is composed of:

Beds a, b, c. Up to 60 cm. of powdery earth with limestone fragments, containing a hyper-microlithic industry including Mesolithic implements like burins of Tardenoisian type.

Bed d. Up to 1 metre of uniform, compact earth, without fossils or industry.

Bed e. Up to 1.5 metres of limestone breccia, cemented by stalagmite in certain places, with a macrolithic industry of upper Palaeolithic appearance, with large flat blades and with short flat, sub-circular scrapers of a type found in the French Magdalenian and the North African Capsian.

Bed f. Up to 2.7 metres of limestone debris, but unconsolidated, and mixed with a larger amount of brown earth. It is full of ashes, charcoal and other evidence of foyers. The industry is of a 'microlithic upper Palaeolithic' type and 'can perhaps be attributed to an upper Grimaldian'. Some types of implements (e.g., burins of Noailles) are present which have not yet been found in the Grimaldian of the caves.

This sequence of deposits is younger than those reported from the caves. Its importance is evident. It continues the succession of industries up to the Mesolithic and at the same time suggests a third, weaker, humid phase by the partial cementation of Bed e. The presence of an industry of possibly Magdalenian or Capsian affinity agrees well with the discovery of Magdalenian associated with the third phase of the Last Glaciation at Lake Constance and at Meiendorf in Holstein. In Germany as at Grimaldi, the Mesolithic follows this last cold (or humid) phase of the Last Glaciation.

*Riviera, summary.* The table on page 215 is a summary of the chronology of the Palaeolithic relative to the climatic phases as suggested by the evidence of the Riviera caves.

### C. ITALY

*Lower Versilia.* The succession of the greatest importance from the climatic point of view is that of the Lower Versilia, the coastal plain which lies at the foot of the part of the Apennines called Apuan Alps (pl. XVI, fig. A). It now consists of a flat coastal bar with peaty marshes behind, several kilometres wide. The marshes are replacing a lagoon of which only a lake is left, the Lago di Massaciuccoli. Sand is extracted at this lake by means of pumps and dredgers, and it is here that masses of Palaeolithic implements have been recovered. The section was further explored

		Mesolithic
Last Glaciation	Phase 3	Upper Palaeolithic with elements reminiscent of Magdalenian or Capsian
		Upper Grimaldian
	Phase 2	Grimaldian (developed, or Epi-Aurignacian)
		Aurignacian, typical Mousterian
	Phase 1	Upper Mousterian
Last Interglacial		Mousterian Mousterioid industry, and Acheulian
Penultimate Glaciation	Phase 2	
		Mousterioid industry
	Phase 1	
Great Interglacial		Clactonian, and one doubtful Abbevillian piece

with the aid of borings. The geological and archaeological work on this locality has been carried out by A. C. Blanc (1935, 1936*a*, *b*, 1937*a*, *b*). The plant remains have been studied by Tongiorgi (1936, 1937) and by Marchetti and Tongiorgi (1937).

The succession (for details, see Zeuner, 1945, p. 182; compare fig. 69) may be summarized and interpreted as follows, beginning with the earliest recognizable event:

(A) The sea-level at — 90 metres, receding to even more than this, leaves behind deposits with marine shells on the submarine platform.

(B) As (A) proceeds, terrestrial and freshwater deposits spread over the exposed marine deposits. First phase of the Last Glaciation (LG<sub>1</sub>).

(C) The sea rises again, overwhelms the terrestrial deposits of (B) and extends its realm to the foot of the mountains. Maximum sea-level of this phase at least — 60 metres, possibly higher. Climate mild. Interstadial LG<sub>1,2</sub>.

During the later part of this phase, the rate of the rise of sea-level appears to have slowed down, and a coastal bar with a peaty marsh behind it developed (early part of (D)).

(D) The conditions just described continue, but the sea-level begins once more to drop, the climate becomes cool and continental. Sea-level drops by an unknown amount. Second phase of the Last Glaciation (LG<sub>2</sub>).

(E) The sea-level rises again, at least to — 12 metres and transgresses over the coastal bar and peat of (D), destroying a portion of

the earlier deposits and eventually reaching the foot of the mountains. Climate again mild, 'Purpura-beds'. Interstadial LGI<sub>2</sub>.

(F) A new recession begins, and as the sea retreats, exposing the surface of the deposits (E), sands are laid down, probably in the shape of beach-ridges and dunes. From this level, large numbers of implements have been recovered. Relying on signs of wind-action on some of the implements, Blanc suggests that they come

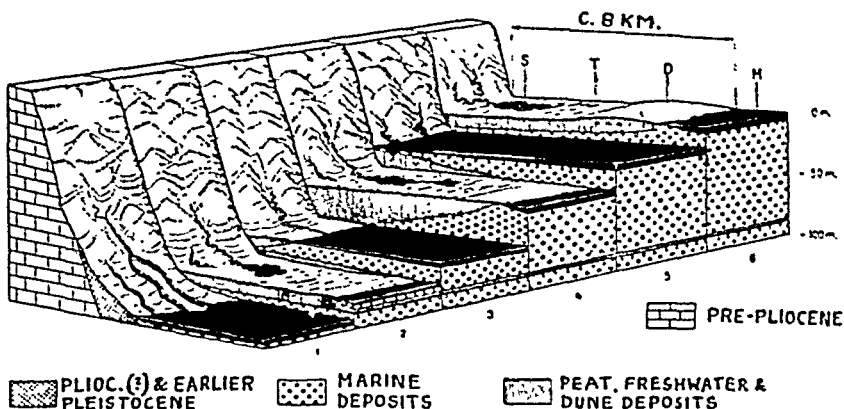


FIG. 69.—Development of the coastal plain of the Lower Versilia, northern Italy, according to A. C. Blanc (1935), from Zeuner (1944). 1. Stage A. 2. Stage B. 3. Stage C. 4. Stage D (regression of sea not clearly shown). 5. Stage E. 6. Stages F and G (regression not clearly shown). S. Lago di Massaciuccoli. T. Peat marsh. D. Coastal dune. M. Sea.

from an colian pebble horizon at a depth of about — 7 metres. Blanc summarizes his results concerning the implements as follows (A. C. Blanc, 1937a, p. 637):

The tools, which number more than 2,000, can be divided into a Mousterian assemblage and an Aurignacian assemblage. The latter could be subdivided, according to differences in typology and condition, into an older and a younger Aurignacian group, the latter of the Grimaldi type. A few pieces suggest the presence of a Mesolithic level, and a few tanged arrow-heads may indicate that Neolithic man was also present in this littoral marsh. The Mousterian assemblage shows a rather advanced technique. The Abbé Breuil, who examined the industry, believes it to belong to a final stage of the Mousterian. It is conceivable, however, that the 'Grimaldian' and 'Mousterian' form in fact a single, 'Gravettian' complex, in which case much of the argument that follows could be simplified.

(G) Behind the deposits of (F), freshwater is ponded up while the climate turns cool and humid and the sea-level is low. Third phase of the Last Glaciation (LGI<sub>3</sub>).

(H) Finally, the sea-level rises again, to its present height. New



beach deposits and dunes are added to, and mixed with, those of (F), producing the flat, sandy beach-bar which at the present prevents the sea from flooding the marshes lying farther inland. Peat is formed in the marshes and the climate resembles that of to-day.

*Prehistoric industries in the Lower Versilia.* The numerous implements found by Blanc in this section all come from (F). They were not collected *in situ*, but sucked up by the pumps from below water-level and may be derived from any horizon of this deposit. Blanc has spared himself no trouble in trying to determine the implementiferous level, or levels, with the hardly satisfactory results summed up under (F), above. Many implements appear to come from about — 12 to — 14 metres, i.e. 5 to 7 metres *below* the level of the lacustrine clays (G). Since any implements coming from higher levels will get into the pumps as well, and since the upper portion of the sands classified under (F) may have been deposited as late as during phase (H), one cannot be surprised to encounter Neolithic and Mesolithic implements in this assemblage.

The intriguing problem is the occurrence of Aurignacian and Mousterian implements in large quantities at a level in the section which cannot be lower than — 14 metres. Geologically speaking, this level is later than the interstadial  $LG1_2/LG1_3$ . On the other hand, since the lacustrine deposit of  $LG1_1$  lies at about — 6 metres, the Palaeolithic level, or levels, is likely to ante-date this cold phase. Thus, the Aurignacian-Mousterian assemblage would lie in deposits dating from the beginning of the third phase of the Last Glaciation.

Clearly, this result is at variance with the evidence obtained elsewhere in the Mediterranean and in temperate Europe, since (a) Grimaldian, 'older' Aurignacian and developed Mousterian have nowhere been found to be contemporary; (b) only the Grimaldian has been found to straddle the early part of the interstadial  $LG1_2/LG1_3$ , and none of them has been recovered from deposits of the third phase of the Last Glaciation.

Two ways of interpreting this state of affairs are possible. The first is to accept the evidence as proof of local survival of these industries, particularly of the Mousterian. This line is taken by Blanc, who published three papers on this subject (1938*b*, *c*, *d*). The second is to contest the geological dating. Since the first alternative has been so ably proposed by A. C. Blanc, the second, hitherto neglected, may be discussed in some detail. It must be borne in mind, however, that there is at present no means available of deciding which alternative is correct.

If the deposits containing the implements were made up of river gravels one would find it quite natural that several industries are mixed and would assign to the deposits the age of the latest of the industries, considering the others as derived. Thus, the archaeological phase of the Versilia-level (F) would be Grimaldian,

and the older types, including the Mousterian, derived from older deposits. All depends, therefore, on the character of the deposit containing the implements. Nobody has ever seen the deposits *in situ*, but at — 7 metres, or 5 to 7 metres above the level from which most implements are pumped up, a horizon of wind-worn pebbles exists, and the entire series might be regarded as eolian, representing coastal dunes. Flints, however, cannot be blown about, and if they are exposed to the wind and re-embedded in sands of wandering dunes, they would inevitably come to lie in the same or a *lower* horizon, but not in a higher one. If the series (F) is purely eolian, therefore, Blanc must be right in stating that the Mousterian of the Versilia survived into the third phase of the Last Glaciation.

On the other hand, the sands of (F) need not be purely eolian; they can be of a composite marine-eolian origin as, indeed, most coastal beach deposits are. The waves take up sands from the surface of the submerged shelf, i.e. from deeper levels, and throw them on to the beach, where a flat ridge or bar is formed. From this, sand is readily picked up by the wind and transformed into coastal dunes. If, therefore, the deposit (F) were of composite marine-eolian origin, wave-action would have transported Mousterian implements, washed out from lower levels, into positions above the sea-level of that period, and the 'continental' sands (F) resting on the *Purpura*-beds would then be contemporary with the Grimaldian, as explained previously.

Yet another possible explanation of the implementiferous deposits is afforded by the lower peat (D), which is in a compressed condition. It may be that coastal dunes and beach-ridges of different ages are incorporated in deposit (F), and that the compressed peat (D) was formed at a much higher level than that in which it occurs to-day, perhaps nearly as high as the implementiferous sands. Part of these sands may be contemporaneous with part of the lower peat, and the present low position of the lower peat be due to compression after its formation.

A certain amount of compression and, therefore, of depression of the lower peat from the altitude-level of its formation down to that in which it is now found, *must* have taken place, an exception being only the basal stratum of the peat. How much the ensuing vertical displacement amounted to, however, cannot be estimated, but one has to admit the possibility at least of older beach-ridges and coastal dune deposits occurring at levels in which the *Purpura*-sands or even the implementiferous sands appear elsewhere. If this is so, or if this was so at any time before the *Purpura*-sea destroyed such deposits, the occurrence of Mousterian implements in the sands classified under (F) finds a more satisfactory explanation.

Since nobody has been able to study the implementiferous sands

*in situ*, the question of their age and origin has to be left open. I am confident that, in the course of time, A. C. Blanc's continued survey of the locality will provide the answer, but for the time being caution is advised in basing conclusions on the presence of Grimaldian, Aurignacian and Mousterian in level (F) of the Versilia section. The local survival of final Mousterian into the third phase of the Last Glaciation has to be admitted as possible, though it would not affect the interpretation of other sections in the Mediterranean, where the prehistoric chronology agrees to a very high degree with that of temperate Europe.

*Pontine Marshes.* Another district of great palaeoclimatic and archaeological interest are the Pontine Marshes, about 30 miles south of Rome. Again it is to A. C. Blanc that we owe the investigation of the sections (various papers, 1935 to 1939).

The Pontine Marshes differ from the Lower Versilia in several important respects, chiefly in the replacement of the transgressive deposits of the Versilia by dune sands. In other words, the accumulation of dune sands and beach-ridges here proceeded at so fast a pace that the rising sea was at no time able to overwhelm them. This is due to more favourable local conditions, the volcanic and other deposits of the area of Nettuno and Anzio providing large quantities of easily eroded material which is redeposited between this area and the limestone island of the Monte Circeo in the south (pl. XVI, fig. B). The lagoon behind the coastal sand belt thus created constitutes the Pontine Marshes proper; it is comparable with the lagoon of the Lower Versilia.

A detailed discussion of the deposits may be found in Zeuner (1945, p. 186), as well as in Blanc's numerous original papers among which that of 1937 (*a*) is probably the most readily accessible. The most important section is that of the Canale Mussolini (fig. 70), at the second weir (Briglia II), which may be summarized and interpreted as follows (from the surface downwards):

— Surface, with Neolithic.

(A) Reddish, chiefly eolian sands, with upper Palaeolithic, including La Gravette blades (Blanc, 1938*e*) and Grimaldian (Obermaier, 1937; Blanc, 1936*a*). Not younger than interstadial LGI<sub>2/3</sub>.

(B) Yellow sands. Mousterian near base, upper Palaeolithic frequent in the upper 1.5 metres.

— Unconformity.

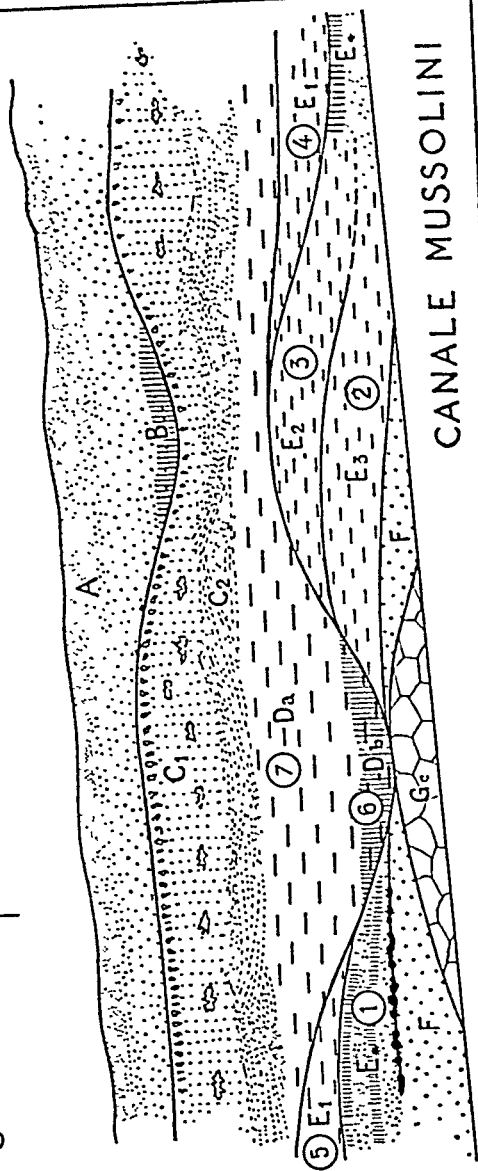
(C<sub>1</sub>) Greyish-green sands with calcareous concretions. *Elephas primigenius*, *Equus hydruntinus*. Artifacts Mousterian, but an 'early Aurignacian influenced by Mousterian is perceptible in the uppermost layers' (Obermaier, 1937; Blanc, 1937*a*, *b*). LGI, according to Blanc, cold-continental climate.

(C<sub>2</sub>) Reddened, cross-bedded sand with *Elephas primigenius*

1 Km. a monte di  
Borgo Sabotino

Briglia II

Briglia III



CANALE MUSSOLINI

FIG. 70.—Section along the Canale Mussolini, Pontine Marshes, middle Italy, at 'Briglia II'. For lettering, compare text, p. 217.—After Tongiorgi (1937), from Zeuner (1945).

supposed to come from this deposit, but not found *in situ*. Possibly dunes of high sea-level during interstadial LGL<sub>1,2</sub>.

(D) Grey sands, sometimes argillaceous, with plant remains. *Abies alba* indicating cool and humid conditions. *Elephas primigenius* and Mousterian. LGL<sub>1</sub>.

— Unconformity.

(E) Lacustrine peaty beds with flora at first mild, but *Abies* immigrating. Transition from Last Interglacial to first phase of Last Glaciation.

(F) Beach sands with *Strombus* fauna, not exceeding 10 metres above sea-level. Second part of Last Interglacial (Late Monastirian).

The chronological interpretation of the section is uncertain with respect to the separation of the first and second phases of the Last Glaciation. That (C<sub>1</sub>) corresponds to LGL<sub>2</sub> is, however, reasonably certain, since one arrives at this determination whether one starts from the Late Monastirian beach deposits at the base of the section, or from the top. As regards the latter approach, it is necessary to supplement the section by a morphological feature, namely the narrow strip of lagoon which separates the belt of red dunes ((A) of the Canale section) from the white dune which is being formed by the sea at the present day. This lagoon affords evidence for a phase of low sea-level separating the phase of the red dunes from the phase of the modern high sea-level (pl. XVI, fig. B), and this oscillation is most adequately explained on the theory of glacial eustasy as the equivalent of the third, and last, phase of the Last Glaciation.

*Archaeological succession of the Pontine Marshes.* If one accepts the chronology of the deposits as outlined above, implements of the following industries occur (not necessarily in an underived condition) in deposits of the following climatic phases:

Postglacial and Recent: Neolithic.

Last Glaciation, phase 3: sterile.

Interstadial LGL<sub>2</sub>/LGL<sub>3</sub>: Aurignacian (La Gravette blades and Grimaldian), at lower levels Mousterian.

Last Glaciation, phase 2: Aurignacian influenced by Mousterian above, Mousterian below.

Interstadial LGL<sub>1</sub>/LGL<sub>2</sub>: sterile.

Last Glaciation, phase 1: Mousterian.

In northern France and Derbyshire, the lower Palaeolithic (final Levalloisian and Mousterian, with distinct upper Palaeolithic influences) lasts into the second phase of the Last Glaciation, to be replaced during the same cold phase by a developed form of the upper Palaeolithic (pp. 172, 196). And this happened while in adjacent areas the Aurignacian established itself in the course of the interstadial LGL<sub>1,2</sub> and continued throughout the second phase of the Last Glaciation.

Since, in the Grotte de l'Observatoire and the Grimaldi caves, the upper Palaeolithic was well established during LGL<sub>1</sub>, a local survival of the Mousterian at least into LGL<sub>2</sub>, as postulated by Blanc, suggests itself for the Pontine Marshes also. It is noteworthy that an Aurignacian influenced by Mousterian appears temporarily during LGL<sub>1</sub>.

Whether this survival lasted into the next interstadial, LGL<sub>1,3</sub>, is doubtful. The occurrence of Mousterian in the lower portion of the yellow sands (B) can be explained either as (a) evidence for a portion of these sands being contemporary with layer (C<sub>1</sub>), dating from the first interstadial of the Last Glaciation, or (b) being due to wave action which threw implements picked up at lower levels on to the beach-ridge, where they were subsequently incorporated in the dunes, or (c) as evidence for the survival of Mousterian into this phase. It is at present impossible to choose between these alternatives. (a) might conceivably be tested in the field, though it is difficult to separate dune deposits of different age unless fossil soils intervene; (b) raises the more general question of the occurrence of pebbles in dune sands, which is not confined to the Pontine Marshes and the Versilia. Miss Gardner (1937) mentions that in the Fayum pebbles are found in dune sands on a water divide, in a position which excludes wave-action almost entirely; whilst observations on Recent coastal dunes show that, during gales, pebbles are thrown on to the dunes. Finally, (c) implies that the Mousterian survived into the interstadial LGL<sub>1</sub>/LGL<sub>2</sub>, and that the Aurignacian either co-existed or disappeared temporarily.

Future research, especially careful investigation of new sections, will no doubt provide the answer to the problem of the survival of the Mousterian in middle Italy. There are, for instance, the numerous sea-caves of the Monte Circeo, the promontory bordering the Pontine Marshes on the south. These caves were mostly carved out by the sea of the Monastirian phase, and many contain Mousterian and Aurignacian beds. The best known are the Grotta delle Capre and the Grotta del Fossellone (Blanc 1937c, 1939b), but recently Blanc has made a preliminary study of a good many other caves (1938f), among them one which contained a skull of *Homo neanderthalensis*.

*Grotta Guattari with Homo neanderthalensis.* This cave, the Grotta Guattari (Blanc 1939a, c, 1940, 1942; Zeuner, 1940) was completely sealed by rock-waste. When opened, it revealed a floor strewn with bones, and with a human skull lying on it. Only preliminary reports are available so far. The accompanying fauna indicates a climate of the woodland type. Cold elements are absent, unless one counts ibex as such. A Mousterian industry was found at the entrance, covered by the debris which blocked the cave.

Blanc is inclined to think that, as in the other caves of the Monte

Circeo, the cultural stratum rests on the deposits of the Monastirian beach. Since the cave is only 5 metres above sea-level and the maximum height of the lower Monastirian sea-level is 8 metres, the cave was used by man after the beginning of the regression of the sea which was to culminate in the first phase of the Last Glaciation, but before the local climate deteriorated to any great extent. This is the earliest possible date for the skull, the latest possible being the beginning of the second phase of the Last Glaciation when thermoclastic weathering could for the last time have produced the quantities of rock-waste which sealed the cave. The Neanderthal skull of the Grotta Guattari thus proves to be younger than the two skulls discovered at Saccopastore, near Rome, to be discussed presently.

The skull from Grotta Guattari shows a large fracture over the right eye, due to a violent blow. The occipital foramen was enlarged artificially, after the manner of the modern Melanesian extracting the brain for culinary purposes. No other human bones, except a mandible possibly belonging to the skull, were found, and the skull lay in the middle of a circle of stones. Blanc concluded from these circumstances that the cave contained the remains of a ceremonial feast of cannibals.

*Saccopastore, Homo neanderthalensis.* At Saccopastore, near the confluence of the River Aniene with the Tiber, just upstream from Rome, two Neanderthal skulls associated with a Mousterian industry were found in a gravel pit (Sergi, 1929, 1935, 1948; Breuil and Blanc, 1935, 1936; Blanc, 1938g, 1939d, 1942, 1946; Köppel, 1935). Both skulls lay in fluvial deposits of the Aniene, but evidence of wind action is found in the uppermost layers of the section (Breuil and Blanc, 1936).

Köppel (1935), and Breuil and Blanc (1935, 1936) agree that this deposit was formed during the Last Interglacial. The aggradation of the terrace in which the human remains of Saccopastore are incorporated, can probably be correlated with one of the sea-levels of the Monastirian phase. The history of the lower Tiber and its affluent, the Aniene, is exceedingly complex, much more so than Lipparini (1935) believed, whose views were criticized by A. C. Blanc (1935c). Volcanism may have interfered with the eustatic rhythm of down-cutting and aggradation. The data which can be derived from the papers by A. C. and G. A. Blanc, Köppel, Sergi, Lipparini, Verri and others suggest that the system of terraces of the Tiber resembles that of the Thames (*a*) in the aggradations running into high-sea-level deposits, and (*b*) in the benches dropping into a sunk channel which, near the Porta S. Paolo in Rome, reaches down to at least 50 metres below sea-level.

The Saccopastore deposits, the surface of which is at 21-23 metres, cannot be older than the beach deposits of the Main Monas-

tirian phase which are preserved at the foot of the hills towards the coastal plain, as for instance at Palidoro (A. C. Blanc, 1936c), at a height of 19 metres above sea-level. If the aggradation of the river at Saccopastore is contemporaneous with the rise of the sea-level to this beach, the skulls would date from the early part of the Last Interglacial (Main Monastirian). This suggestion is supported by indications that the next younger aggradation plain of Tiber + Aniene, which is commonly regarded as the modern floodplain (16 metres at the mouth of the Aniene) appears to connect with the Late Monastirian sea-level at the mouth of the Tiber.

On the other hand, the fauna accompanying the skulls and Mousterian implements contains, apart from *Hippopotamus* and *Bos primigenius*, an extinct horse, *Equus hydruntinus*, a steppe form (G. A. Blanc, 1936, A. C. Blanc, 1946). The bed containing the skulls also produced six species of terrestrial snails, three of them with one specimen each, the three others (*Candidula profuga* A. Schm., *Zenobiella incarnata* Müll., *Theba cartusiana* Müll. ssp. *complanata* Monte) frequent but represented by small specimens. Kennard, who determined the mollusca from Saccopastore, stated that this impoverished, small-sized assemblage indicates either a cool climate or unfavourable local conditions. Its association with *Equus hydruntinus* suggests a dry phase, with steppe conditions. This is all that can be deduced from the evidence. The interpretation in terms of climate, however, is ambiguous. Kennard and Blanc are inclined to accept the evidence as a sign of cooler conditions and therefore of the very beginning of the first phase of the Last Glaciation. This is the latest possible date for the Saccopastore skulls. The more conclusive climatic evidence from the Versilia and the Pontine Marshes, however, shows that the phases of the Last Glaciation were initiated not by a dry steppe phase but by a humid or oceanic phase, and there is reason to believe that the first phase was humid throughout in middle Italy. It is more likely, therefore, that the steppe phase of Saccopastore is part of the Last Interglacial rather than the beginning of the Last Glaciation. This is corroborated to some extent by the snail fauna of one of the beds overlying the skull stratum. It has yielded a fauna of at least 16 species (Breuil and Blanc, 1936, p. 11) which are definitely characteristic of a humid and shady forest in a mild climate.

Thus, as regards the geological age of the Saccopastore skulls, one can either follow Blanc and place them late in the Last Interglacial or at the beginning of the Last Glaciation, or otherwise early in the Last Interglacial. It will be remembered that a similar alternative existed at the Monte Circeo. In both cases, Blanc favours a 'late' age, and in both an 'early' age is suggested by part of the evidence. In either case, however, Blanc is right in maintaining that the Saccopastore skulls are relatively older than the



Monte Circeo skull. As regards the climatic chronology of the Mediterranean Pleistocene, it can be said that the steppe phase of Saccopastore is either a phase of the Last Interglacial, or, if contemporary with the beginning of the Last Glaciation, a local phenomenon. The botanical evidence of the Pontine Marshes (only 60 km. from Saccopastore) and of the Versilia suggests that, normally, the climate was humid at the beginning of the Last Glaciation.

The surroundings of Rome are certainly one of the most promising areas for Pleistocene research in Italy, with Saccopastore and its human remains, the terraces of the Tiber connected with volcanic deposits, and the marine beaches in the region of the mouth of the river. Palaeolithic implements other than Mousterian have come to light also; G. A. Blanc has described an Abbevillian hand-axe (1935), and A. C. Blanc a Clactonian flake (1936*d*).

*Grotta Romanelli.* The Grotta Romanelli is a sea-cave on the Adriatic coast of Apulia, below 40° N. lat. For some time its abundant lithic industry was the subject of controversy, some Italian archaeologists regarding it as Neolithic. But authorities like Issel and Mochi (1912) recognized its Palaeolithic character. The issue was finally settled by G. A. Blanc (1921, 1930) who excavated the cave with great care and discovered evidence for climatic phases contemporary with the Last Glaciation. A description of this site is found also in Vaufreys's book on the Italian Palaeolithic (1928). Analyses of deposits were published by G. A. Blanc (1938, 1941). The section (fig. 71; pl. XVII, figs. A, B) may be summarized and interpreted as follows, the lettering being taken from G. A. Blanc, and beginning with the earliest deposit:

(K) Resting on an irregular rock-floor at about 7.5 metres above low sea-level, a beach conglomerate is found which, on altimetric evidence, can be correlated with the Late Monastirian phase of the Last Interglacial. On its surface, a discontinuous layer of ash and charcoal with bones of *Hippopotamus*, fallow-deer, &c., indicates a warm climate. Some flint blades and several limestone flakes have been recovered from this horizon, the flakes being described by G. A. Blanc as 'analogous to those which have been reported from the Grimaldi caves and the Grotte de l'Observatoire'. This implies that they are not upper Palaeolithic in type.

(I) Angular rock-waste up to one metre in thickness, in places with traces of decalcification and loamification. The fauna still indicates a Mediterranean climate. Faint beds of charcoal and ashes, and a few atypical flint and limestone flakes are the only evidence of the presence of man.

(H) Stalagmitic horizon, about 20 cm. thick. Climate more humid. Fauna poor, apparently temperate rather than warm (hare and fox present). First, humid, phase of Last Glaciation.

Once more the presence of man is evidenced by faint horizons of

charcoal, with burnt bones, but worked stone has not yet been found.

(G) The 'Terra Rossa', a purplish-red, crumbly deposit of fine earth with small angular pieces of limestone, about 0.8 metres

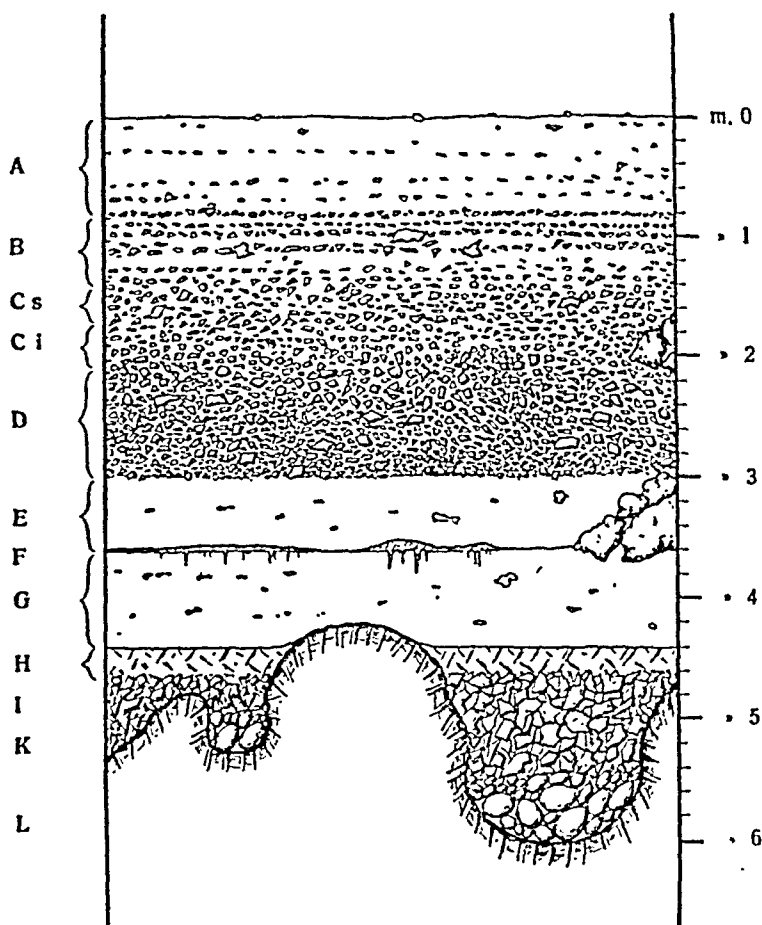


FIG. 71.—Schematic section of Grotta Romanelli, southern Apulia. For lettering, see text.—After G. A. Blanc (1921), from Zeuner (1944).

thick. Probably of composite origin, weathered soil from the neighbourhood of the cave, and some colian sand, carried by wind into the cave and mixed with debris from the roof. The fauna is warm and comparatively dry. *Hippopotamus* and *Elephas antiquus* exclude a cold climate, two bustards indicate grasslands, fallow-deer

and red deer suggest the presence of some woodlands. Interstadial LG<sub>1,2</sub>.

The presence of man during this phase of genial climate is confirmed by the discovery *in situ* of a number of stone implements. There are blades, points, scrapers, discs made from ends of blades or from short flakes, a 'départ de burin', a flake from a pebble, a spherical core, and a flat hammerstone of hard limestone. G. A. Blanc considers this industry as reminiscent of the upper Aurignacian of west and central Europe and also of the Capsian of North Africa. He emphasized the importance of the fact that, here, an upper Palaeolithic industry is found associated with a fauna comprising *Hippopotamus* and *Elephas antiquus*. Vaufreys (1928, p. 61), however, was inclined to call this industry Mousterian, but at the time when he pronounced this view Blanc's figures of the specimens (1930) had not yet appeared.

(F) Discontinuous layer of stalagmite, up to 5 cm. thick, indicating a short, humid, phase. From the evidence provided by (E) to (A), it has to be inferred that this stalagmite was formed during the pseudopluvial subphase of LG<sub>1,2</sub>.

(E to A). The 'Terra Bruna', a brown, earthy deposit stratified by layers of fine sand and angular rock-waste. Blown into the cave by wind and interstratified with local debris, but climate cooler than during the formation of the 'Terra Rossa', as indicated by the brown colour and the abundance of rock-waste in (C) and (D) which suggests thermoclastic (? frost) weathering. Thickness, over 3.5 metres.

Fauna in agreement with the geological evidence for non-Mediterranean, comparatively cold conditions. Warm-Mediterranean elements replaced by those of northern temperate Europe. Among the birds are found a remarkably large number of species which are now restricted to more or less northerly regions, for instance the great auk. 'Pluvial', of a continental character, possibly second subphase of LG<sub>1,2</sub>.

The Terra Bruna abounds in specimens of worked flint. They have been described by G. A. Blanc. Vaufreys (1928) too published some figures of implements from Romanelli. The industry belongs to the major group of the upper Aurignacian and can perhaps be classified as a variety of the Gravettian of Garrod (1938), or the Grimaldian (Vaufreys). A characteristic feature is, however, the presence of microburins, which have been specially studied by A. C. Blanc (1939c). These are a feature of the Mesolithic of temperate Europe (Azilian and Tardenoisian), so that Blanc speaks of a precocious appearance of Mesolithic technique and implements in this deposit. The chronological difference is striking indeed, since (as will be shown presently) the microburins appear during the second phase of the Last Glaciation in southern Italy, and only after the third phase in temperate Europe. In the lower Capsian of North

Africa, however, microburins are found, and in the Magdalenian VIb of Aveline's Hole, a microburin was found (Garrod, 1926, fig. 14, no. 23), though it was not at first recognized as such. There are other microburins in the upper Palaeolithic of Europe.

The upper Aurignacian of the Terra Bruna of Grotta Romanelli has further yielded bone points, some with engraved marks (?marques de chasse), a series of perforated teeth of deer, and a number of limestone blocks with engravings. Engravings, some representing conventionalized human figures and animals, are found also on the walls and the roof of the cave (A. C. Blanc, 1938*a*, 1940*b*; Graziosi, 1932).

Thus, in the Grotta Romanelli, the upper Palaeolithic is found to have been present during the entire interstadial LG1<sub>1/2</sub>, i.e. perhaps slightly earlier than in many places farther north. It will be seen that the same applies to Palestine, though there the industrial phases of the upper Palaeolithic are not the same. Such differences will ultimately enable investigators to state the routes of immigration of upper Palaeolithic man. First attempts in this direction have been made by Garrod (1938) and A. C. Blanc (1938*b*, *c*, 1939*c*). We shall return to this interesting matter in the summary, p. 239, and again in Chapter IX. (Note (83), p. 421.)

*Italy, summary.* The Italian evidence covers only the upper Pleistocene in any detail. Following the clearly recognizable warm Late Monastirian phase of the Last Interglacial, three humid, or cool, phases can be distinguished, of which the second was decidedly cold and continental, though apparently immediately preceded by a more humid subphase. The three phases of the Last Glaciation can thus be correlated with three pluvial phases in Italy. Of these, the second was the most intense, and the third appears to have been decidedly weak.

*Homo neanderthalensis* was present in Italy in the Last Interglacial and during the first phase of the Last Glaciation. This agrees with northern Europe. The upper Palaeolithic appears during the first interstadial of the Last Glaciation in the south of Italy; since no Mousterian was found in the deposits of this phase in the Grotta Romanelli, it may be that the upper Palaeolithic was present here since the very beginning of the interstadial, whilst in temperate Europe and on the Riviera, the Mousterian appears to have lasted into this phase. But the chronological difference is slight, and it is based on negative evidence only. In the coastal plains of the Versilia and the Pontine Marshes, however, Mousterian may have continued into LG1<sub>2</sub> and perhaps even survived this phase. This claim of local survival of the Mousterian requires further confirmation, though it finds support in similar survivals in northern France and Derbyshire. On the other hand, neither in the Versilia nor in the Pontine Marshes are Mousterian and upper Palaeolithic as clearly separated

stratigraphically as one could wish. The question may therefore be raised whether they were chronologically distinct, whether they co-existed for some time ; or, at least in part, were constituents of one and the same, transitional, mixed, industry.

#### D. THE SOUTHERN SHORE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

*Palestine, Mount Carmel caves.* Among the countries bordering the Mediterranean on the south, Palestine and Syria are the only ones where, up to the present, thorough work has established a sequence of pluvial phases with which the succession of prehistoric industries can be correlated. The most important is the work of Garrod and Bate on the caves of Mount Carmel ; its outstanding significance lies in the fact that it has strongly suggested that the number of damp phases, or pluvials, of the upper Pleistocene is at least two, and that they were preceded by another humid period which appears to correspond to the Penultimate Glaciation. It is clear, therefore, that theories explaining the pluvial phases, which require one pluvial for each glaciation, or one pluvial for each two glaciations, are difficult to maintain in the Mediterranean.

The deposits of the caves of Mount Carmel were described by Garrod and Bate in a comprehensive monograph (1937). Two of the caves are particularly important from our point of view, namely Tabun and Wad, and the following summary of the succession is chiefly based on these. A diagram (fig. 72) will help in understanding the various changes. The fluctuations in humidity of the climate are expressed by the relative frequency of fallow-deer (a woodland form) and gazelle (a steppe form), a method which has been applied by Miss Bate with great success.

At the time of the formation of the earliest fossiliferous layer, Tabun (F), the fauna as a whole suggests a warm and damp climate. Upper Acheulian is present.

In the following stratum, Tabun (E), forest predominated, and the uppermost Acheulian (Micoquian) was present. Towards the end of this phase, grasslands extended their domain and attained to a maximum while the next two layers were being formed, Tabun (D) and (C). These contain lower Levalloiso-Mousterian.

A Neanderthaloid female skeleton, and a male jaw, were found in level C of the Tabun cave. This proves that Neanderthal man was contemporary with the lower Levalloiso-Mousterian of this comparatively dry phase which, as will be shown later, represents the latter part of the Last Interglacial. In the neighbouring Skhul cave, however, a deposit containing the same industry, but a damper fauna (Bate, 1937, p. 148), with a frequent large *Bos*, and with fallow deer more common than in Tabun C, yielded burials of nine individuals with mixed *H. sapiens* and *neanderthalensis* characters,

some approaching *H. sapiens* closely (McCown and Keith, 1939). According to Bate, 'heavier rainfall had started, prior to the wet period of Tabun B', which indicates the beginning of the first pluvial phase corresponding to the Last Glaciation. These human remains will be discussed further in Chapter IX.

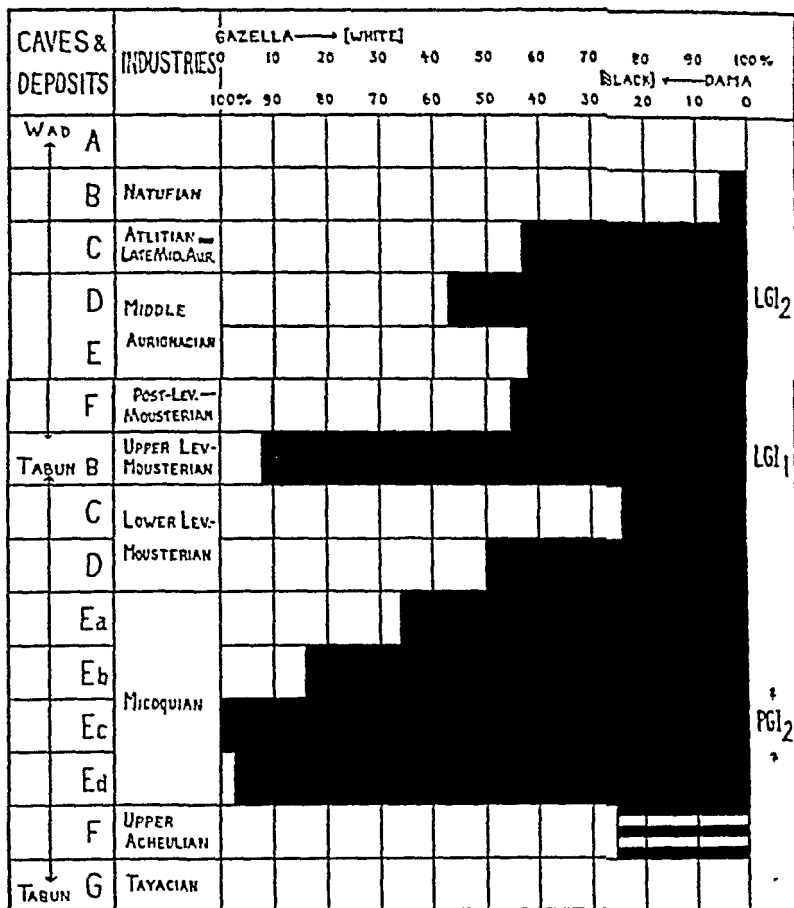


FIG. 72.—Relative frequency of Gazelle and Fallow Deer, indicating climatic conditions, in the deposits of the Mount Carmel caves, Palestine. Prehistoric industries on the left.—Modified, after Bate, in Garrod and Bate (1937).

The dry phase of Tabun (D) and (C) was followed by a long period of forest conditions, suggesting on the whole a damper climate. There is evidence for two maxima of forest development, one during the upper Levallouso-Mousterian, in Tabun (B), and the other during

Wad (D) with its middle Aurignacian. They are separated by a drier phase with post-Levalloiso-Mousterian and early middle Aurignacian, in Wad (F) and (E).

Following this double maximum of humidity, conditions have tended to become increasingly drier. Wad (C), with Atlitian (middle Aurignacian), shows this, and so do the Mesolithic deposits of Wad (B). This Mesolithic ('Natufian') contains the domesticated dog. Miss Bate (1940) has found indications that the Mesolithic was followed by a slightly damper phase which, however, did not persist. This suggestion is corroborated by other evidence from the Sahara and southern Arabia (p. 248). Miss Garrod has in fact pointed out that there is a gap in the archaeological record of the Wad cave, between layers (C) and (B), which is filled in part by the successions of the Kebarah cave, Jabrud (Rust, 1950), and El Khiam (Neuville, 1951). These, therefore, deserve special attention from the palaeoclimatic point of view.

Now, as to the correlation of the climatic phases with the glacial phases of Europe, there are three pluvial phases available in Mount Carmel, not counting the post-Mesolithic one which belongs to the Postglacial. It is impossible to correlate these three pluvial phases with the three phases of the Last Glaciation since (a) the last two damp phases are more closely linked, and separated from the first by a more intense and prolonged dry phase than that which separates them from one another, and (b) the fauna changes suddenly at the beginning of the second pluvial. A similar change in the terrestrial fauna marks the *beginning* of the Last Glaciation in Europe. It is likely, therefore, that the second and third pluvials of the Mount Carmel succession correspond to the first and second phases of the Last Glaciation in temperate Europe. The first pluvial of Mount Carmel should then represent the Penultimate Glaciation. If this interpretation is correct, the third phase of the Last Glaciation has left no traces in Mount Carmel, but fresh evidence from other sites suggests that it may exist (Note (34), p. 421).

Archaeological evidence, as furnished by Mount Carmel, confirms this correlation in a most convincing manner. The succession of industries in relation to climatic fluctuations is, *broadly speaking*, much the same in Palestine and in Europe. During the Last Interglacial, the Acheulian is replaced by a Levalloiso-Mousterian industry. The first phase of the Last Glaciation still belongs to the Levalloiso-Mousterian. The upper Palaeolithic appears only in the interstadial LG<sub>1/2</sub>. Upper Palaeolithic survives the second phase of the Last Glaciation and is replaced by Mesolithic at a time after LG<sub>2</sub> which is suggested by Jabrud and Ksar 'Akil in Syria (Ewing, 1947).

In detail, however, differences between the Palestinian and European successions are apparent. The task of discussing these must on the whole be left to the typologists, though a few

implications of both the detailed relative, and the absolute chronology will be mentioned in the summary (p. 239), and in Chapter IX. (Regarding recent work on Syria, Note (34), p. 421.)

*Egypt.* The chronology of the Pleistocene deposits of Egypt and their contained Palaeolithic industries is still not clear, in spite of much valuable work which has been done. The terraces of the Nile have been the subject of intensive study by Sandford and Arkell (1929-1939) and Ball (1939). The lake-levels of the Faiyoun depression were investigated by Sandford and Arkell (1929), Caton-Thompson and Gardner (1926, 1929, 1934), Little (1936), Caton-Thompson, Gardner and Huzayyin (1937) and others, and Huzayyin (1941) has published a comprehensive survey of all the work done.

The basic difficulty of Palaeolithic chronology in Egypt is the lack of definite connection of the Nile terraces with sea-level stages of the Mediterranean. Different methods of bridging the gap were designed by Sandford and by Ball. The writer, in conjunction with Mr. Day Kimball, therefore, has critically studied the publications on the subject in order to arrive at the minimum skeleton of a chronology which may be regarded as reasonably well supported by evidence.

The terraces of the Nile between El Fasha (about 30 kilometres south of the Faiyoun) and Cairo were plotted in a longitudinal profile from the evidence provided by Sandford and Arkell, Ball, Little and Huzayyin. Points which appeared to be ambiguous were excluded. The remainder was projected on to a carefully constructed profile, in which the floodplain outside the belt of levées was used as the base-line. This was found to be parallel with the water-level in the river. The outcome of this revision, in which conditions were applied which were more rigorous than those applied by the original authors, was that Sandford's system of terraces has to be regarded as reliable. It is with this system, therefore, that the ancient sea-levels at the mouth of the Nile, and also the lake-levels of the Faiyoun depression, have to be connected.

Unfortunately, for a direct linking by geological evidence the evidence is not yet sufficiently complete. The lake-levels of the Faiyoun have been re-investigated by Little. Four of these levels are important for Palaeolithic chronology, namely those of 42, 34, 28, and 23-24 metres above sea-level. The geological evidence and considerations of river mechanics suggest that the first three of these correspond to the Nile terraces of 18, 9 and 4 metres above the floodplain. But alternative correlations are perfectly possible (for instance Huzayyin, 1941; Caton-Thompson, 1946, 1947), and the climatic deductions that may be drawn are inconclusive.

As to the connection of the Nile terraces with the interglacial levels of the Mediterranean Sea, it is necessary to account for the existence in the past of a delta, of unknown dimensions. It is on



this point that Sandford's and Ball's views differed most widely. Since at the time when these authors were studying the problem, no evidence for ancient shore-lines on either side of the delta had been available, their attempts to bridge the gap were inevitably speculative. In the meantime, some evidence has been found which, though it does not remove the element of speculation entirely, at least affords a solid 'hinge' in the form of a sequence of raised beaches. These lie to the west of Alexandria in the hinterland of Arabs Gulf.

The raised beaches consist of stretches of consolidated coastal bars containing ancient lagoon floors. Physiographically, these bars and lagoons are of the type whose mode of formation was described by Johnson (1919, p. 350), and they are being formed in Arabs Gulf at the present day. Good topographical maps exist, and the following sequence of bars was identified. In this work, Mr. Roger Summers contributed his intimate personal acquaintance with the area.

*Bars of Arabs Gulf*, beginning with the highest that can be identified:

- (1) Alam Shaltut bar, sea-level at 103 metres. Sicilian A.
- (2) Ragabit el Halif bar, sea-level at 90 metres. Sicilian B.
- (3) Mikheirta bar, sea-level at 85 metres. Sicilian C.
- (4) Alam el Halfa bar, sea-level at 80-100 metres. Sicilian D.
- (5) Gebel Bein Gabir bar, sea-level at 80 metres. Sicilian E.
- (6) Ruweisat bar, sea-level at 58 metres. Milazzian, First Interglacial.
- (7) Sanakra-Habbub bar, sea-level at 35 metres. Tyrrhenian, Great Interglacial.
- (8) Gebel Maryut bar, sea-level at 15-20 metres. Main Monastirian, first part of Last Interglacial.
- (9) Gebel Abu Sir bar, sea-level at 5-10 metres. Late Monastirian, second part of Last Interglacial.
- (10) Harbour Island bar, sea-level about the same as to-day, but separated from it by a phase of low sea-level. This stage appears to be the same as the Lower Floodplain stage of the Thames (Zeuner, 1945, p. 134), also identified as a platform of abrasion in the Channel Islands, and probably corresponding to the First Interstadial of the Last Glaciation.

*Egypt, summary.* Apart from the fact that these ancient shore-lines supply evidence for the succession of interglacial sea-levels with which the Nile must have communicated, the positions of the bars indicate clearly that the shore-line has advanced relatively little. The size of the delta, therefore, has increased but moderately since early Pleistocene times. This enables one to arrive at the important decision that Ball's hypothesis of delta-growth is not in accordance with the evidence and has to be discarded. The tentative correlation of sea-levels with Nile terraces which emerges from the scanty

information available for the western side of the modern delta supports Sandford and Arkell's earlier construction. Thus, at the present, the correlation would appear to be as on p. 235.

This table is not altogether satisfactory. One might wish to make the Epi-Levalloisian later than the First Interstadial of the Last Glaciation. How reliable the exact correlation of industries with Faiyoum lake-levels is, remains to be seen, and there are possibly complications in the lake-level sequence such as the duplication of the 34-metre level suggested by Caton-Thompson (1946). But the elimination of Ball's hypothesis of delta formation simplifies the position. How many alternatives had become possible as the result of Ball's suggestion was shown by Caton-Thompson. Further work in the crucial areas, i.e. the Nile-Faiyoum divide and the area between Cairo, the Delta, Alexandria and the Wady Natrun, will reduce them still further.

*Syrian Coast.* Wetzel and Haller (1945) have studied the ancient shore-lines of the coast of Syria. The beaches retain constant heights above the present sea-level, so that tectonic movements may be regarded as negligible. The shore-lines are found at the following heights above the present sea-level: 95, 55-60, 45, 30-35, 15, 6, and 3-4 metres. The regression following the 95-metre level is not evidenced. But the 55-60-metre stage is clearly followed by a regression after which the sea rose to 45 metres. Again, no evidence has been found for a regression separating the 45- and 35-metre stages, but the 15- and 6-metre stages are each preceded by a regression. The 6-metre stage is followed by a pronounced regression to below present sea-level, after which the 3-4-metre stage occurred.

It appears reasonable to correlate the 95-metre stage with one of the Sicilian phases of Arabs Gulf, the 55-60-metre stage with the Milazzian, and the 35-metre stage with the Tyrrhenian. The intercalated 45-metre stage has its counterpart in the suspected corresponding stage at Arabs Gulf. The 15- and 6-metre stages appear to represent the Monastirian, as everywhere. One would be tempted to link the 3-4-metre stage of Syria with the Harbour Island phase of Arabs Gulf, but it contains Iron Age according to Wetzel and Haller. It may therefore be the equivalent of the latest high sea-level observed in the Postglacial of the North Sea area; unless the archaeological evidence was not *in situ*.

A simple flake industry, comparable with the Tayacian, occurs in red soil formed after the 55-60-metre stage. Hand-axes of Acheulian aspect weather out from deposits which are not later than the 35-metre level. Implements of Levalloisian and mousterioid type are frequent on the 15- and 6-metre beaches. Upper Palaeolithic, found in caves, is later than the 6-metre beach, and therefore later than the Last Interglacial. This succession agrees, broadly speaking, with that established in Europe. (Note (34), p. 421.)

Geological phase	Sea-level (metres above S.L.)	Nile terraces (metres above F.P.)	Faiyoun lake (metres above S.L.)	Faiyoun industry
Antepenultimate Interglacial	58	55		
? Great Interglacial	?	45		
Great Interglacial	35	33		
Last Interglacial	15-20	18	42	? Acheulian + Acheulio-Levallois
	5-10	9	34	Up. Faiyoun Levalloisian
	± 0	4	28	Faiyoun Epi-Levalloisian I
L.Gl. First Interstadial			23-24	Faiyoun Epi-Levalloisian II
L.GL 2/3?				

L.Gl.: Last Glaciation. S.L.: present sea-level. F.P.: Floodplain.

*Western North Africa.* For the north coast of Africa, which is so prolific from the archaeologist's point of view, climatic evidence is as yet insufficient.<sup>1</sup> The relation of early man to the Main Monastirian sea-level has been elucidated by Doumergue's papers (1922, 1934). At St. Roch-sur-Mer, Algiers, there is a sea-cave slightly above the present sea-level. It must have been formed during or after the 18 metres high level. It is filled with terrestrial deposits containing a Mousterian industry which, therefore, post-dates the 18 metres phase. Another Mousterian or Levalloisian site was described by Doumergue from Karouba. It lay on the 18 metres deposits with *Strombus*-fauna and confirmed the conclusion that at least part of the Mousterian or Levalloisian is later than this, the Main Monastirian, level. This agrees with observations made elsewhere. For Tunisia and Morocco see Notes (35) and (36).

#### E. WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND SPAIN

*Gibraltar, Devils Tower.* The famous rock-shelter of Devils Tower, Gibraltar, has not provided a climatic succession. An attempt to fit it into the general chronology, however, is worth while. The site was discovered by Breuil and excavated by Miss Garrod (1928). It yielded *Homo neanderthalensis* and a Mousterian industry, resting on a marine beach 8.5 metres above the present sea-level. The position renders any age earlier than Late Monastirian unlikely. Since the cave appears to have been entered by the waves of this phase of the Last Interglacial, the deposits containing evidence of early man can, at the earliest, date from the time of the recession of the sea from this high level to the low level of the first phase of the Last Glaciation. This is confirmed by Gorham's Cave (Waechter, 1951; Zeuner, 1954; Note (37), p. 423).

The vertebrate fauna, determined by Miss Bate (1928), indicates a climate somewhat cooler and damper than the present and therefore supports the conclusion just arrived at, ibex being frequent, and the great auk and the alpine chough present. The Devils Tower deposit is thus best regarded as dating from the beginning of the first phase of the Last Glaciation. The Neanderthal skull and the accompanying Mousterian are, on this view, contemporary with the skull from the Monte Circeo in Italy (p. 222).

*Olha, Basses-Pyrénées.* The Pleistocene climatic fluctuations and their relation to the Palaeolithic industries in northern Spain is illustrated by the Castillo cave, near Villacariedo, in the province of Santander, and on the French side of the western Pyrenees by the rock-shelter of Olha (Basses-Pyrénées).

As demonstrated by Obermaier (1924, 1935, 1937a) and A. C. Blanc (1937d), there is faunal evidence at Olha for a change from warm to cold conditions during the Mousterian, the lower Mousterian

<sup>1</sup> See Huzayyin (1941).

beds containing *Dicerorhinus merckii* and a deer (not reindeer), whilst the higher Mousterian Levels are accompanied by reindeer, woolly rhinoceros and mammoth. The climate of the higher Mousterian level, therefore, appears to have been fairly cold on the French side of the western Pyrenees.

*Castillo cave, north Spain.* In the Castillo cave, however, the faunal change is not the same. The sequence of deposits of this important locality is as follows (Obermaier 1924, pp. 161-6; Blanc 1937d, p. 11):

- (Z) Recent detritus.
- (Y) Stalagmitic deposit.
- (X) Eneolithic industry.
- (W) Azilian industry with flattened harpoons.
- (V) Stalagmitic deposit.
- (U) Late Magdalenian industry, including harpoons with a single row of barbs and perforated base. Fauna chiefly red deer. *Cyprina islandica*.
- (T) Clay layer, almost sterile.
- (S) Early Magdalenian. An enormous deposit of ashes, nearly six feet deep. Flint implements poor, but many artifacts in bone and horn. Human remains. Chief among the fauna red deer, also a few remains of reindeer. *Cyprina islandica*.
- (R) Clay layer, almost sterile.
- (Q) Early Solutrian, with laurel leaf points without concave base. Fauna consisting chiefly of horse. A few remains of reindeer. *Cyprina islandica*.
- (P) Clay layer, almost sterile.
- (O) Late Aurignacian, with typical Gravette points. Fauna consisting chiefly of horse, with a few remains of reindeer. 'Aurignacian A.'
- (N) Clay layer, almost sterile.
- (M) Late Aurignacian, a few industrial remains. Principal fauna, horse. 'Aurignacian B.'
- (L) Clay layer, almost sterile.
- (K) Late Aurignacian, few industrial remains. Principal fauna, horse. 'Aurignacian C.'
- (I) Clay layer, almost sterile.
- (H) Middle Aurignacian, keeled scrapers, and bone points with cleft base. Scattered human remains. Principal fauna, red deer and *Dicerorhinus merckii*. 'Aurignacian D.'
- (G) Stalagmitic deposit.
- (F) Late Mousterian industry in stone, small but characteristic, including hand-points and scrapers. Many large implements in quartzite, serpentine, sandstone and limestone. Principal fauna, red deer, *D. merckii*, and *Elephas antiquus*. 'Mousterian A.'
- (E) Clay layer, almost sterile.

YEARS B.P.	EQUINOXIAL PHASE IN 181	44°N. RIVIERA CLIMATE	INDUS.	VERSILIA N. CLIMATE	43°N. CASTILLO CLIMATE	INDUS.
	POST- GLACIAL		MESOLITHIC			MESOLITHIC
2500	LG1 <sub>3</sub>	HUMID (WEAK)	ORCAPIAN	COOL-HUMID	HUMID	
	LG1 <sub>2/3</sub>		MICROLITHIC UPPER PALAEOLITHIC	MEDITERRAN.	[FOREST]	LATE MAGDALEN
7200C	LG1 <sub>2</sub>	COLD FOREST ----- HUMID	GRIMALDIAN	COLD- CONTINENTAL COOL-HUMID	COLD- CONTINENTAL (PPE)	SOLUTRIAN GRAVETTI
	LG1 <sub>1/2</sub>	COOL (ABOVE -TEMPERATE)	AURIGNACIAN MOUSTERIA	MEDITERRAN.	[FOREST]	MIDDLE AURIGNACIAN
11500C	LG1 <sub>1</sub>	HUMID	UPPER MOUSTERIA	SEA-LEVEL AT -90 M.	HUMID	COLD MOUSTERIA AT OLHA
	LG1		ACHAEULIAN		[FOREST]	LATE MOUSTERIA
18700	PG1 <sub>2</sub>	HUMID			HUMID	
	PG1 <sub>1/2</sub>		MOUSTERIAN			ACHAEULIAN
23000	PG1 <sub>1</sub>	HUMID				
		TEMPERATE	CLACTONIAN			

FIG. 73.—Chronology of climatic phases and Palaeolithic in the Iberian Peninsula. The data is no longer complete.

42° N. PONTINE MARSHES		40° N. ROMANELLI		36° N. GIBRALTAR		33° N. MOUNT CARMEL	
CLIMATE	INDUSTRIES	CLIMATE	INDUSTRIES	CLIMATE	INDUSTRIES	CLIMATE	INDUSTRIES
				TEMP.		DRY	MESOLITHIC
SEA-LEVEL LOW				COOL	UPPER PALAEO-LITHIC	[STEPPE]	
	GRIMALDIAN [MOUST. SURV.]			LESS COOL			
COLD-CONTINENTAL	"EARLY" AURIGNACIAN MOUSTERIAN	COOL-CONTINENTAL HUMID	GRIMALDIAN WITH CF. CAPSIAN	COOL	UP. PAL. MOUST.	HUMID [FOREST]	ATLITIAN MIDDLE AURIGNACIAN
		MEDITERRAN.	GRIMALDIAN	MEDITERRANEAN		DRY [STEPPE]	MIDDLE AURIGNACIAN CHATLPERRON
COOL-HUMID	MOUSTERIAN	HUMID		TEMPERATE FOREST	MOUSTERIAN	HUMID [FOREST]	UPPER LEVALLOIS- MOUSTERIAN
SEA WARMER THAN NOW		WARM 8M-SEA- LEVEL	PRE-AURIGN.	SEA WARMER THAN NOW		DRY [STEPPE]	LOWER LEV- MOUSTERIAN UPP. ACHEULIAN
						HUMID [FOREST]	MICOQUIAN UPPER ACHEULIAN
							TAVACIAN

Mediterranean. The presence of a separate Chatelperronian in Palestine is regarded as certain.

(D) Late Mousterian industry with finely made small forms. Few large quartzite implements. Principal fauna, red deer and *D. merckii*. 'Mousterian B.'

(C) Stalagmitic deposit.

(B) Early Acheulian, with typical hand-axes, worked on both sides. Much worked limestone. Ochre. Principal fauna, red deer and *D. merckii*. 'Isidrense.'

(A) Clay, with a few atypical implements and remains of hearth fires. Principal fauna, cave-bear and, rarely, reindeer and marmot. 'Lower Isidrense.'

(—) Rock bottom of cave.

In this cave, a basal deposit with reindeer and marmot suggests a cold phase older than any so far considered, since it is covered by a stratum containing early Acheulian and since the remaining succession accounts for the three phases of the Last Glaciation. Layer (A), therefore, dates at least from the Penultimate Glaciation. Layer (B), containing the Acheulian, is associated with a forest fauna which, for northern Spain, suggests temperate, interglacial or interstadial conditions. Layer (C), a stalagmite, suggests a damp phase. After this, the succession can be fitted into the frame-work of the chronology of the upper Pleistocene.

In layers (D) to (F) (not considering the sterile horizons), a late Mousterian is associated with a forest fauna, from which cold elements are absent. A damp phase followed (layer (G)), evidenced by a stalagmite. Remembering that in other parts of southern Europe damp phases appear to represent the glacial phases of the north, it is conceivable that the stalagmite (G) is the equivalent of the cold Mousterian deposit at Olha and, thus, of the first phase of the Last Glaciation. The absence of cold fauna from the Castillo cave may be explained either by assuming that it is accidental, no man or beast having lived in the cave during this cool phase, or by saying that here, south (more correctly west) of the great barrier of the Pyrenees, the cold fauna joined with a certain retardation, appearing only with the second phase of the Last Glaciation (A. C. Blanc, 1937*d*, p. 13). If this is correct, the first phase of the Last Glaciation would have been felt as a cold phase in southern France, and as a damp phase in northern Spain.

In layer (H) a temperate forest fauna is associated with middle Aurignacian. Being intercalated between deposits datable as LGI<sub>1</sub> and LGI<sub>2</sub>, (H) represents the interstadial LGI<sub>1/2</sub>.

With layer (K) a series of a different aspect begins. The predominant faunal element is the horse, which may be taken as signifying steppe environment. With it, the late Aurignacian (Gravettian) appears. The horse remains predominant through layers (M), (O), up to (Q), in which the Aurignacian is replaced by the Solutrian. In (O) and (Q), the reindeer appears, indicating that the steppe had



become cold. A lowering of the temperature is further confirmed in (Q) by the presence of the marine shell *Cyprina islandica* which no longer lives on the coast of northern Spain. One thus gains the impression that the climate deteriorated from (H) to (Q), and that forests were replaced by cold steppe.

The following fossiliferous horizon, (S), is still cold, since reindeer is present, but forests must have begun to spread, since the red deer becomes the dominant species. Early Magdalenian replaces the Solutrian. *C. islandica* is still found.

In layer (U), the fauna indicates a further improvement of the climate, since the reindeer has disappeared. Red deer suggests forests. But the temperature had apparently not returned to the present-day level, since *C. islandica* still persisted in the neighbouring sea. This is the time of the late Magdalenian.

A stalagmitic deposit (V) covers immediately this late Magdalenian layer. It may be taken as evidence of a damp phase. Thereafter, the climate reverted to a less damp type, and the Mesolithic appeared (W). The three layers (U), (V) and (W) suggest that a damp phase occurred which was bordered by the late Magdalenian below and the Mesolithic above.

It is evident that one decidedly cold phase is contained in this succession, proved by (K) to (Q). It was followed by a moderate improvement of the climate, in (S) and (U), and by a decidedly damp phase. The Solutrian coincides with the maximum of the cold phase, the approach to which is marked by the late Aurignacian, and the decline of which by the Magdalenian. The damp phase is immediately followed by the Mesolithic. This succession resembles that of the second and third phases of the Last Glaciation of central Europe so much that it may be regarded as probably correct.

In northern Spain, therefore, we observe a threefold division of the Last Glaciation, into a damp first phase, a dry and cold second phase, and a damp third phase. The ages of the Palaeolithic industries relative to the climatic phases are more or less the same as observed in central Europe.

#### F. CHRONOLOGY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN PALAEOLITHIC

*Early phases up to the beginning of the Last Glaciation.* The climatic phases and the succession of human industries during the (middle and) upper Pleistocene of the Mediterranean are summarized in the table, fig. 73.

Although the evidence for the correlation of pluvial phases with glacial phases is not yet as complete as one could wish, it must be admitted that the results so far achieved are consistent with one another and also with the astronomical theory. The tripartition of the Last Glaciation is evident in the north of the Mediterranean, but not so in the south, where the third phase appears to have been much weaker.

Archaeologically, the absolute chronology suggested by this correlation is of much less interest than the small differences in relative timing that become apparent. Here again, the available evidence is highly suggestive, but not yet complete enough to say that we are on perfectly safe ground.

During the Last Interglacial, we meet with Micoquian and lower Levallois-Mousterian in Palestine, and with Acheulian and a mousterioid industry in the Riviera. This is quite consistent, and the *stratigraphical* evidence so far does not suggest any regional or chronological replacement of hand-axe by flake culture, or *vice versa*. Only towards the end of the interglacial, Mousterian, or a corresponding Levalloisian appears to prevail everywhere, the Acheulian having disappeared from the scene. This development agrees with that observed in temperate Europe.

The first phase of the Last Glaciation was witnessed by Mousterian and Levalloisian man in temperate Europe. In the Mediterranean, we find precisely the same, over more than ten degrees of latitude and over thirty degrees of longitude. *Homo neanderthalensis* is the only human species found.

*Homo sapiens* and upper Palaeolithic in the first interstadial of the Last Glaciation. With the beginning of the first interstadial of the Last Glaciation, regional differences become more apparent. They are significant because they are closely connected with the immigration of *H. sapiens* into Europe. In the preceding description of sites which are important from the standpoint of climatic and absolute chronology, I have as a rule adopted the nomenclature of the industries used by the authors themselves. It is now necessary to raise this evidence on to the comprehensive plane provided by Miss Garrod's analysis of the upper Palaeolithic (1936, 1938). In doing so, it must be remembered that this important interstadial was by no means short, since 30,000 years may safely be assigned to it. This is a period long enough to permit of vast migrations and of repeated wholesale replacements of cultures over wide areas.

Typologically, three main groups of industries are now distinguished by Miss Garrod in the Mediterranean, which correspond roughly to the older divisions of lower, middle and upper Aurignacian :

Old Terminology	New Terminology
Upper Aurignacian	Grimaldian (partly contemporary with upper Gravettian) Upper Gravettian (including Font Robert) Lower Gravettian
Middle Aurignacian	Aurignacian s. str.
Lower Aurignacian	Chatelperronian

Strange to say, the Chatelperronian is much restricted in distribution, being confined to France and perhaps Palestine ; it has been

recorded from Poland (Garrod, 1938, p. 20). Its presence in East Africa is no longer accepted. Unfortunately, the French Chatelperronian has not yet been fitted into the detailed climatic chronology, so that we are unable to say whether it belongs to the interstadial  $LG1_{1/2}$ , or is earlier. This is a question which requires an answer, since the supposed Palestinian Chatelperronian, which is less primitive than that from France, follows the pluvial of  $LG1$ , apparently without any delay (Wad F, fig. 72). It is conceivable, therefore, that the true primitive Chatelperronian is earlier than this, and contemporary with the first phase of the Last Glaciation, or even earlier still. There is one good reason which points to this possibility, namely the presence of a Chatelperronian element in the Micoquian of Palestine (Garrod and Bate, 1937, Tabun Ea and Eb), during the early half of the Last Interglacial. Furthermore, one might well explain the scarcity of Chatelperronian in Europe with the more general presence of Mousterian and Levalloisian during the late  $LIgl$ , and  $LG1$ . We would therefore have to visualize upper Palaeolithic man, or his ancestor (? a *sapiens*-type), present in some parts of the world during the Last Interglacial, spreading to Europe and occupying restricted areas during the first phase of the Last Glaciation while Neanderthal man was dominating the scene, but not succeeding in ousting the latter with his Mousterian or mousterioid industry. As has been pointed out by A. C. Blanc (1938*b*, p. 12) and Coon (1939, p. 25; see Chapter IX, p. 301) the contemporaneity of the two types of man is suggested by the mixture of their characters observed in the skeletons from the Skhul cave in Palestine.<sup>1</sup> The layers from which the skeletons came, were formed either at the end of the Last Interglacial, or during the first pluvial phase of the Last Glaciation. The existence of *H. sapiens* alongside of *H. neanderthalensis* for some time prior to the first interstadial of the Last Glaciation is, therefore, probable.

At the beginning of the interstadial in question, we thus find Mousterian surviving in certain areas, at least for a short while. This seems to apply to the Riviera, and Blanc has claimed it for the Pontine Marshes, though here this view is based on the occurrence of Mousterian in the following cold phase, *not* in deposits of the interstadial itself. Whether any Chatelperronian existed at this stage, we cannot say. However, the scarcity of sites with industries from the beginning of the interstadial creates the impression of a certain gap, as if the population of Europe and the northern Mediterranean was extremely thin. The Chatelperronians did not spread at the expense of the Mousterians.

Instead, we find that, when the mild conditions of the inter-

<sup>1</sup> In fairness to the describers, Keith and McCown (1937), it should be said that they prefer to regard Mount Carmel man rather as a transitional type than a hybrid race.

stadial were properly established, a new immigration brought the middle Aurignacian to Europe (now 'Aurignacian' proper). Its typological relationship to the Chatelperronian is not clear (Garrod, 1938, p. 20). Chronologically, it occupies the second half of the interstadial  $LGI_{1,2}$  in Palestine, whilst in western Europe it is found either in late deposits of the same phase, or in a chronologically uncertain position. It appears to have spread from the east (Garrod, 1938, fig. 6), but it also reached Italy.<sup>1</sup>

The cultural complexity of the first interstadial is further increased by the presence of a variety of the upper Palaeolithic in south Italy. The 'Terra Rossa' of the Grotta Romanelli contains an industry which G. A. Blanc, and also Obermaier (1937), assign to the Grimaldian. Affinities to the Capsian of North Africa are noted as well. If these claims can be substantiated, the Grimaldian of the Terra Rossa of Romanelli, from the interstadial  $LGI_{1,2}$ , would be the earliest in Europe. The implications of such a date are considerable (see also p. 294), since it might suggest a southern route of immigration. But much depends on the definition of the terms Grimaldian and Capsian and on fresh evidence.

*Second and third phases of the Last Glaciation.* Elsewhere, the upper Aurignacian, either in the form of the Gravettian, or the Grimaldian (chiefly in Italy), is characteristic of the second phase of the Last Glaciation.

Typical Gravettian comes from France, where its precise chronological position has not yet been studied. But judging by the fact that it immediately precedes the short-lived Solutrian, which in central Europe is confined to the maximum of  $LGI_2$ , the typical Gravettian presumably dates from the first half of this cold phase, though it might have continued on in areas where the Solutrian does not provide a datum line. In the northern Mediterranean, the Grimaldian largely replaces the Gravettian. It is typical of the cold-continental phase of  $LGI_2$  in Italy (Romanelli, with supposed Capsian affinities, considered by A. C. Blanc as precocious Mesolithic features). A local survival of the Grimaldian into the interstadial  $LGI_{2,3}$  is possible, though suggested only by the somewhat unsatisfactory evidence from the Versilia and the Pontine Marshes (p. 214, p. 219).

The problem of the local survival both of the Mousterian and of the Grimaldian is worthy of further investigation. A. C. Blanc (1938*b, c*) has developed a theory, according to which the replacement of the Mousterian by upper Palaeolithic was, in parts of Italy, spread over a much longer period than is here advocated, the last traces of the Mousterian disappearing only during the interstadial  $LGI_{2,3}$ .

<sup>1</sup> Blanc (1939*b*) described it from the Grotta del Fossellone not far from the Pontine Marshes. Its chronological position is not certain, however, except that it post-dates the Last Interglacial and a Mousterian stratum from which it is separated by a sterile layer.

Very naturally, the sequence of industries for the interstadial  $LGI_{2/3}$  and the phase  $LGI_3$  can be traced in the northern Mediterranean only, where distinguishable deposits have been found. Much remains to be investigated here. Fortunately, the sequence of the Riparo Mochi near Grimaldi, on which A. C. Blanc has published a preliminary report, promises to throw further light on this part of archaeological chronology. Here, the interstadial  $LGI_{2/3}$  contains a microlithic variant of the upper Palaeolithic, and  $LGI_3$  an industry reminiscent of Magdalenian or Capsian. Evidently, these industries require further and more detailed study.

The beginning of the Mesolithic which in temperate Europe can be dated as following the maximum of  $LGI_3$ , may have to be placed earlier in the south. This question remains entirely open, and any answer is rendered difficult by the practical impossibility of a sharp distinction between upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic. Indisputably Mesolithic cultures, however, are present in the Riviera and northern Spain following the third phase of the Last Glaciation. This is in agreement with temperate Europe. Farther south, the stratigraphical position of the Mesolithic is uncertain. In Palestine, where no evidence for  $LGI_3$  is available, a gap in the sequence of the Carmel caves exists between Wad C (late middle Aurignacian) and Wad B (Natufian, Mesolithic) (Garrod, 1937, p. 117). This gap is filled at el-Kebarah and elsewhere by the Kebaran. In Syria, however, a  $LGI_3$  phase is perhaps suggested at Ksar 'Akil, and possibly associated with Kebaran (Note 34, p. 421). Even so, the age of the Palestinian Mesolithic, the highly-developed Natufian, remains uncertain. But it should not be assumed that the Mesolithic must be Postglacial everywhere.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CLIMATIC PHASES, EARLY MAN AND HUMAN INDUSTRIES IN AFRICA, ASIA, AUSTRALIA AND AMERICA

The extension of the detailed relative chronology, and of the absolute chronology based on the astronomical theory, to parts of the world other than the northern temperate zone and the Mediterranean encounters many difficulties. The basic obstacle is, of course, the scarcity of well-studied sections, the second, the difficulty of interpreting Pleistocene deposits correctly in climatic terms, the third, that of the differences of the faunas, and the fourth, that of interpreting changes in solar radiation in terms of climates in zones where neither modern meteorology nor geological evidence are as yet able to guide us to any great extent.

The present chapter, therefore, is bound to be no more than a preliminary survey of the situation. Nevertheless, it may be

useful to point out promising localities; to review the successions of climatic phases which have been recognized, or suggested, for various parts of the earth; to relate those few discoveries which can be dated approximately; and to speculate on certain possibilities of extending the absolute chronology to other climatic zones.

In doing so, we shall first pass south through Africa, then proceed to Asia, to Australia and, finally, to America.

#### A. THE SAHARAN DRY BELT

The dry belt which lies to the south of the Mediterranean zone and comprises the Sahara, the Arabian desert and corresponding countries farther east, is still influenced by the weather of the Mediterranean zone. The few sections which are known from this belt and provide information about the succession of climatic phases and of human industries are of particular importance as stepping stones from the Mediterranean to the tropical zone. One of these localities is the Fayum, but its Pleistocene succession is at the present a matter of controversy (Thompson, Gardner and Huzayyin, 1937, with bibliography), so that, for Africa, we have to confine ourselves to Kharga Oasis.

*Kharga Oasis.* Kharga lies in the Egyptian Desert, on  $25\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  N. lat. The Oasis contains a number of springs which, during periods of abundant flow produced a calcareous tufa. The tufas (travertines) alternate with phases of fluvial erosion and aggradation. It is the merit of Miss Gardner (1932, 1935) and Miss Caton-Thompson (1932, also joint paper, 1932) to have established a sequence of climatic phases from these deposits, as follows, beginning with the earliest identifiable events:

- (1) Deposition of tufa on plateaus: some rain.
- (2) Great erosion: increased rainfall.
- (3) Long period of breccia formation: little or no rain.
- (4) Tufa, gravel and silt deposited on the breccia, more vegetation: some rain. Upper Acheulian.
- (5) Intense erosion: maximum of moist conditions of prehistoric times. Acheulio-Levalloisian.
- (6) Silt and gravel, followed by tufa: less rain.
- (7) Erosion: more rain, second maximum on the rainfall curve.
- (8) Silt and gravel, followed by tufa: less rain. Late middle Palaeolithic (pre-Sebilian).
- (9) Erosion on smaller scale, followed by formation of 7-metre terrace: slight humid oscillation followed by a drier phase, final conditions drier than in (8). Pre-Sebilian in the gravels, Aterian in the silt covering them.
- (10) Erosion on still smaller scale, followed by formation of 5-metre terrace: very slight humid oscillation followed by dry conditions leading up to the present day. Typologically correlated

(though not on direct evidence) with the late upper Palaeolithic or Mesolithic (Capso-Tardenoisian).

The sequence provides evidence for five more or less damp phases separated by drier phases, namely (2), (5), (7), (9), (10). Of these, the last four form a group, separated from the first by a long period of dryness, (3). The damp phases (5), (7), (9), (10), decrease in intensity in this order, (5) being regarded as the maximum of moist conditions, and (10) being described as a decidedly weak phase. One is inclined to regard the long, dry period (3) as the representative of the Last Interglacial, the preceding moist phase, (2), as the equivalent of one of the earlier glacial phases, and (5) to (10) as the equivalent of the Last Glaciation. There is no geological proof for this correlation,<sup>1</sup> which is however suggested (*a*) by the assumption that the Mediterranean pluvials will have made the climate of the Sahara damper than it is to-day, and (*b*) by the human industries which, taken as a whole, would in any part of the Mediterranean be taken as upper Pleistocene. (Note (38), p. 423.)

If this correlation can be substantiated, the Last Glaciation would, in this part of the Sahara (25° N.), be represented by four damp phases of decreasing intensity, instead of the three found in the Mediterranean. This curious feature finds some support in the radiation curve for 25° S., which shows four summer minima of decreasing intensity at 116,000, 94,000, 72,000 and 22,000 years B.P., that of 94,000 being one which is inconspicuous farther north.

It is highly desirable that further detailed work in this area be carried out in order to test this tentative correlation of the Kharga sequence with the radiation curve, since here a chance is afforded to date both Miss Caton-Thompson's pre-Sebilian and the Aterian. The pre-Sebilian would have developed from the Levalloisian shortly before LG<sub>1</sub>, i.e. at the time when in Europe the middle Palaeolithic was being replaced by upper Palaeolithic. It would have survived into LG<sub>1</sub> and thereafter been replaced by Aterian, another derivative of the Levalloisian, showing abundant signs of connexions with upper Palaeolithic industries.

On the other hand, it must not be overlooked that the phases

<sup>1</sup> For further detailed discussion, see Huzayyin (1941, p. 88 ff.). While the above summary was in the proof stage Miss G. Caton-Thompson kindly informed me that her forthcoming publication on Kharga Oasis embodies fresh evidence which increases the number of recognizable phases from (8) onwards. Furthermore, the industrial sequence is assuming a more complicated aspect which, in a much simplified form, may be summarized as follows:

Phase (8). Late Levalloisian, *not* pre-Sebilian.

Phase (9). Levalloiso-Khargan, *not* pre-Sebilian.

Phase (10). 'Khargan', i.e. former pre-Sebilian, probably overlapping with an intrusive and late form of the Aterian.

Post-Phase (10). An intermediate site, typologically difficult, leading to a microlithic industry which is *not* Capso-Tardenoisian.

I am grateful to Miss Caton-Thompson for her permission to insert this information which may amplify the climatic interpretations here suggested.

(9) and (10) may be regarded as very minor, Postglacial phases, phases (5) and (7) representing  $LGI_1$  and  $LGI_2$ . In this case the pre-Sebilian would not have appeared until after  $LGI_2$ , and the Aterian would be Postglacial. This alternative would neglect the radiation curve and emphasize the distant effects of the ice-sheets of  $LGI_1$  and  $LGI_2$ . Though it cannot be disproved, it appears to me the less likely.

*Yemen and Hadhramaut.* The expedition to Yemen (about  $15^\circ$  N. lat.) of the Egyptian University (Huzayyin, 1937; 1941, p. 125), detailed reports on which have not yet appeared, found evidence of two major pluvials of which the earlier one was more intense. The second pluvial can be subdivided into at least two subphases, possibly followed by a third weaker one. The first pluvial appears to be divisible also. Similar pluvials were found to have occurred in the Hadhramaut (Caton-Thompson and Gardner, 1938, 1939). Both these pluvials are contemporary with a Levalloisian variety of the Palaeolithic.

The climate of south-west Arabia, which lies on the southern edge of the dry belt, is influenced by the monsoon, and it is more likely that the pluvials observed under this latitude correspond to pluvials of the tropical zone. There is no evidence that the tropical pluvials were contemporary with those of the Mediterranean region, so that a correlation cannot even be attempted. But it is worth noting that the Saharan belt might have received more rain from the north (during the glacial phases) as well as from the south (during phases of a more northerly position of the monsoon belt, see p. 269).

In addition to these Pleistocene fluctuations, Huzayyin (1935), found evidence of a minor damp phase of late Postglacial age, contemporary with an obsidian industry including most types of implements found in the final Palaeolithic and Neolithic of East Africa. It is associated with ruins of Sabaito-Himyarite culture which possibly lasted into the beginning of the Christian era. This phase is reminiscent of a slightly damper phase which concluded the Mesolithic in the Mount Carmel caves according to Miss Bate (1940), but Caton-Thompson and Gardner, though they found the same cultural association in the Hadhramaut, did not obtain proof of a damper climate. This very late, minor damp phase is still obscure in its character, whether it is wholly due to natural factors or partly connected with man's interference at the beginning of agriculture, remains to be seen. More evidence has been brought forward by French workers like Arambourg and Vaufreyc from North Africa, and the covering stalagmites of some caves (Castillo, Grotta delle Capre) possibly belong to this category. Bate (1940) contains a summary of the observations made in Africa and Palestine in favour of such a late damp phase.



## B. EAST AFRICA

*Tropical Africa.* In tropical East Africa, conspicuous work has been done on Pleistocene climatic phases and on human industries by a number of authors among whom Nilsson, Leakey, and Wayland are prominent. It is claimed that the climatic sequence, which can be read off in the numerous lake terraces of the great rift valleys, and in river terraces, comprises three major pluvials which can be subdivided further.

*Kenya and Uganda.* This sequence, originally conceived by Wayland in Uganda and by Nilsson in Kenya, was developed by

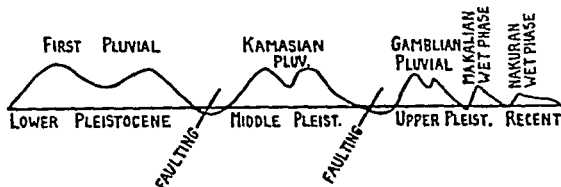


FIG. 74.—Fluctuations of rainfall intensity in Kenya, according to Leakey (1936).—From Zeuner (1945). The Kamasian is now subdivided into a Kamasian and a Kanjeran pluvial (Cole, 1954, p. 47).

Leakey (1931, 1936). It distinguishes three major pluvials. First, or Kageran (a name suggested by Wayland), the second or Kamasian, the third or Gamblian, which is followed by two weaker damp phases called Makalian and Nakuran (fig. 74). In Kenya, each of the three major pluvials is regarded by Leakey as composed of two phases. In Uganda, Wayland has subdivided the Kageran Pluvial (Pluvial I; 1932a, 1935, p. 70) on the evidence of terraces, and the Kamasian (Pluvial II) on the evidence of the M-horizon (see p. 256). For some time, Wayland (1939) regarded it as a matter of opinion whether the Gamblian was an independent pluvial or a subphase of the Kamasian, but on the whole, he (1934b, 1939) appears to be inclined to regard the sequences of major pluvials in Kenya and Uganda as the same, regardless of the question of subdivision. His publication on this subject and on the stone industries of Uganda, which is in preparation, will no doubt supply us with fresh evidence on this matter. Meanwhile, it appears that both in Kenya and Uganda, local workers distinguish three major pluvials.

This statement seems to be justified in spite of certain claims made by O'Brien (1939) that the succession of pluvial and dry phases in Uganda is of little significance. O'Brien co-operated with J. D. Solomon who holds that tectonic movements would explain the geological sequence of Uganda more satisfactorily than climatic oscillations. There is no doubt that tectonic movements played a prominent part in the Pleistocene history of East Africa, as shown particularly by the rift valleys which were formed in the course of the Pleistocene. But even so, O'Brien and Solomon admit repeatedly

	Pluvials	East African Industries					
	Nakuran Wet Phase	Gumban A	Gumban B	Njoroan	Tumbian	Wilton C	
	Dry						
	Makallan Wet Phase End of Upper Pleistocene	Elementalan	Wilton A	Wilton B ↑ Upper Magosian			
	Dry			Late Stillbay	Lower Magosian		
Upper Pleistocene	Gamblian Pluvial	Upper Aurignacian c Upper Aurignacian b Upper Aurignacian a  Lower Aurignacian		Lower Stillbay ↑ Proto-Stillbay			
			Developed Levallolian				
			End of Middle Pleistocene (marked by great earth movements)				
	Dry	Acheulian 0	Basal Aurignacian	Pseudo-Stillbay	Nanyukian	Levallolian	
	Dry	Acheulian 5 Acheulian 4 Acheulian 3 Acheulian 2 Acheulian 1	Proto-Aurignacian ↑	Sangoan ↑	Early Sangoan ↑	Early Levallolian ↑	
Middle Pleistocene	Kamasian Pluvial	Chellian 5 (or Transitional)		Early Sangoan			
		Chellian 4					
		Chellian 3					
		Chellian 2					
		Chellian 1 Oldovan or pre-Chellian			Traces of a flake culture		
	Dry ?	End of Lower Pleistocene					
Lower Pleistocene	Flint Pluvial	Developed Kafuan	Traces of a flake culture				
		Earliest Kafuan					

that climatic fluctuations did occur. The succession of pluvials with intrapluvials, and separated by interpluvials, however, appears at present to be somewhat uncertain. Zeuner (1948) is inclined to agree with Solomon and others as to the need for caution.

The prehistoric industries, of which there are many, have been fitted by Leakey into his sequence of pluvials and interpluvials in the following manner. (See page 250.)

This table reproduces Leakey's views of 1936, and it should be read in conjunction with his chapters III and IV, which provide an excellent summary of the East African Stone Age. Mr. Wayland has also very kindly supplied me with an advance summary of his work in Uganda, from which it is apparent that no major divergences exist in the cultural sequences of that country and Kenya.

Only a few remarks on the archaeological sequence have to be made here, since the exact correlation of the sequence with those of other regions is not yet possible. The Kafuan of Wayland and Leakey is a very simple pebble industry which, in their view, is older than the entire hand-axe series. It is reminiscent of the Darmsdenian of Suffolk which, though it cannot be dated exactly, was regarded by Moir as Great Interglacial (Moir, 1935), but it is probable that, wherever pebbles are used as raw material, considerable convergence in the artifacts is bound to occur. The Kafuan is followed by the Oldowan (pre-Chellian of Wayland) which Leakey considers as a derivative of the Kafuan. The Oldowan in turn merges into the East African Chellian, and this into the Acheulian. This hand-axe series is roughly contemporary with the Kamasian Pluvial. There is a flake culture, however, the Sangoan discovered by Wayland, which is roughly contemporary with the hand-axe series, but van Riet Lowe (1937, p. 122) considers this as part and parcel of the hand-axe industry. Towards the end of the hand-axe period, late in the Kamasian, Levalloisian is held to appear.

The most remarkable feature of the East African sequence is the appearance of 'Proto-Aurignacian' in the last stage of the Kamasian Pluvial. After the dry phase which separates the Kamasian from the Gamblian Pluvial, we find a 'lower Aurignacian' co-existing with a developed Levalloisian (Leakey, 1931, 1936). This author is inclined to think that the Aurignacian sprang from the contact of the late Acheulian with the Levalloisian (1936, p. 185), but Garrod (1938, p. 19) finds it difficult to accept this view. It appears to be established, however, that the first typically upper Palaeolithic implements known so far, like blunted-back blades, made their appearance side by side with the latest Acheulian in East Africa.

By late Gamblian times, the 'Upper Kenya Aurignacian' had developed into an industry which, as first pointed out by Vaufray, and corroborated by Garrod (1938), is almost typical Capsian. In

the meantime, the Levalloisian strain survived and developed into the Stillbay culture towards the end of the Gamblian.

It is impossible here to discuss the differences existing between Wayland and O'Brien with regard to the succession of industries in Uganda. It must suffice to say that they are in part differences in terminology and in part of a more serious nature, namely, stratigraphical. As an illustration, the position of the Kaiso Beds, the fauna of which was described by Hopwood (1926), may be mentioned. Wayland regarded them as interpluvial and later than the Kafuan industry, whilst Solomon and O'Brien classify them as preceding even the early Kafuan.

This very sketchy review of the sequence of climatic phases and of human industries in Kenya and Uganda shows that much work remains to be done. The enormous wealth of material which has been discovered indicates that the pioneer stage of research has been passed, and it will now be necessary to check the suggested sequences again and again with the aid of fresh sections. The possible lines of approach to a solution of the problem are illustrated in the following paragraphs by a number of instances.

*Palaeontological divisions of East African Pleistocene.* As in Europe, so in East Africa, the Pleistocene may be divided into three stages on faunal evidence. Much of the work on the mammalian fauna has been carried out by A. T. Hopwood (summary in Zeuner, 1945, p. 214). Yet it must be borne in mind that what are called the Lower, Middle and Upper Pleistocene of Africa need not be, and probably are not, exactly contemporaneous with those in Europe. If it is permissible to judge by the amount of evolutionary change which occurred in the East African and the European faunas since the respective Lower Pleistocene deposits were laid down, one is inclined to admit that the chronological difference cannot be very great. Some Lower Pleistocene of East Africa may be contemporaneous with middle Pleistocene of Europe, or *vice versa*, but it is unlikely that the discrepancy would be as great as between Lower and Upper Pleistocene. This, at least, provides a rough chronological guide.

*Kanam and Kanjera Beds, Kenya.* In the gorges of the Homa Mountain, on the east side of Lake Victoria, a most instructive series of deposits is exposed. In it, implements have been found, and also remains of early man (Leakey, 1935), but the exact horizons of the latter are, unfortunately, not certain. The sequence has quite recently been re-described by Kent (1942b); it consists of—

(D) Fluvatile loams, &c. Upper Pleistocene?

(C) Kanjera Beds, consisting of basal greenish tuffs and ash, middle group of clays with limestone and an upper transgressive bed of brown and greenish clays. The lower group has yielded a mammalian fauna of middle Pleistocene age, the middle group most

probably contained the remains of *Homo cf. sapiens*, and the upper group covers the middle unconformably. Kent therefore came to the conclusion that the geological age of the remains of *Homo* is not certain. 'Human artifacts of Chellian type have been found *in situ* and on the surface of the beds, and pebble tools were found at an exposure a little to the south' (Kent, 1942*b*, p. 126). These pebble tools might, according to Kent, suggest a survival of the pebble industry into the Chellian. It would be most desirable to obtain evidence for the precise age both of the skull fragments and of the implements, in view of the possible association of *Homo cf. sapiens* with a 'Chellian' industry, but neither Leakey, nor Kent, nor any of the many other workers who studied the area (Boswell, Wayland, &c.) has succeeded in doing so.

(B) Rawe Beds, brown and yellowish laminated clays with sandstone bands. Lake deposits, with evidence of repeated drying up, in the form of pseudomorphs of a soda mineral, gaylussite. Climate apparently semi-arid, lamination indicating seasonal variation. Rich fauna of lower Pleistocene type.

(A) Kanam Beds, beds of light brown clay and fine volcanic tuffs, often grey-green and laminated. Some gravel deposits suggesting beaches. Fauna, determined (as that of the other beds) by Hopwood, of Lower Pleistocene type. Implements of pebble type (Oldowan of Leakey). A small fragment of a human lower jaw, *Homo cf. sapiens*, is believed to have come from these beds, but its exact position could not be ascertained (Leakey, 1935, 1936*a*, *b*; Boswell, 1935; Kent, 1942*b*).

In this series, the Rawe Beds are regarded as evidence of a dry phase (interpluvial) intercalated between two more rainy phases of climate. On palaeontological evidence it can be correlated with the Kaiso Bone Beds of Uganda (early middle Pleistocene according to Wayland). For the time being, this important series tells us at least that the change from pebble culture to Chellian, or as van Riet Lowe (1937) prefers to call it, Stellenbosch I, was approximately simultaneous with the faunal change from Lower to Middle Pleistocene (African divisions).

*Terraces of Kagera River, Uganda.* Wayland (1935) distinguishes four terraces and a peneplain in the valley of the Kagera River, Uganda, which flows into Lake Victoria (fig. 75). This valley is important because here human industries occur abundantly in stratified deposits. Wayland interprets this sequence as follows. After a period of peneplanation in an arid climate, the 270- and 220-foot terraces were formed during two phases of the First Pluvial (which he suggests to call Kageran). A major period of erosion separates them from the 110-foot terrace of the Kamasian pluvial, and a 30-foot terrace which Wayland regards as a subphase of the Kamasian and which perhaps represents Leakey's Gamblian. This

sequence is reproduced here as a general guide. It will be seen that earth movements connected with the formation of the great rift valleys interfered with the climatic succession, and that Wayland regards every terrace aggradation as evidence for a wet phase of climate.

On the other hand, Solomon (in O'Brien, 1939, fig. 4) distinguishes the same levels, but is not satisfied with the evidence of pluvial conditions during the formation of these aggradations and comes to the conclusion 'that the Pluvial Hypothesis rests on very slender foundations' and he 'is inclined to discard it completely as a basis for the classification of the African Quaternary' (Solomon, in O'Brien, 1939, p. 41). The real difficulty appears to me to be that the conditions of formation of certain kinds of sediments, such as boulder beds, gravels and fine-grained river deposits in a tropical climate have not yet been studied. Boulder beds and coarse gravels are

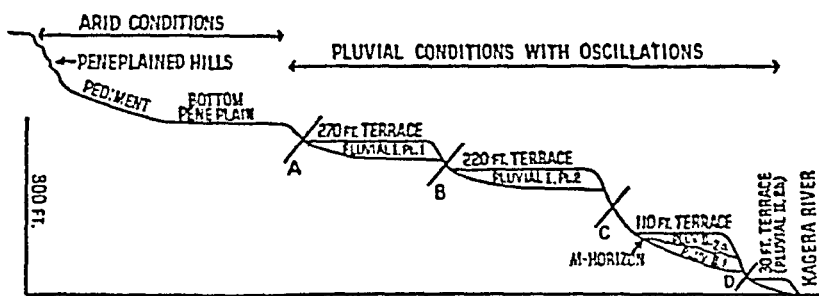


FIG. 75.—Diagrammatic section of the terraces of the Kagera River, Uganda.—After Wayland (1935, fig. 11). Modified, but with Wayland's interpretation. A. Beginning of pluvial conditions (widespread fluvial erosion rendered possible by the existence of the Western Rift Valley towards which the rejuvenated rivers flowed).—B. Earth-movement and minor climatic oscillation.—C. Interpluvial conditions and earth-movement.—D. Earth-movement.

usually taken as evidence of a wet climate though, in reality, they need not mean more than occasional torrential floods. Such floods, however, are known to occur in various types of climate, including the semi-arid one. The problem of the rhythm of aggradation and erosion in tropical climates cannot be discussed here; it needs thorough investigation on the spot, where, however, it will be necessary to discriminate between the rhythm caused by tectonic movements and that due to climatic oscillations. A further complication which must not be overlooked is the one we are familiar with from European rivers, that the upper courses might well obey a rhythm of aggradation and erosion which is the reverse of that found farther downstream near the base-level.

In spite of these difficulties, the terraces of the Kagera valley provide an important sequence of events, into which some of the

human industries can be fitted. While the 'Kageran' levels contain the Kafuan pebble industry in several stages, the Kamasian sequence of the 100-foot terrace covers the Oldowan, Acheulian and Levalloisian. The 30-foot terrace has yielded only derived material.

*Section of the Kagera 100-foot Terrace.* The difficulties of interpretation of the terraces cannot entirely obscure the fact that there is some evidence for climatic fluctuations, and though the intensity of the pluvials may perhaps be disputed, Solomon, Wayland and others agree that arid, or semi-arid, phases occurred. The best evidence is provided by the M-horizon of the 100-foot terrace of the Kagera valley.

A section from the junction of the Orichinga valley with the Kagera valley (100-foot terrace) is the following (from Solomon, in O'Brien, 1939, p. 32):

(9) Grey and white clays and silts, c. 6 feet. Swamp deposits.

(8) Impersistent thin sandy layer with rubble (O-horizon); sometimes apparently represented by a reddening in the clays. ?Land-surface. No definite tools.

(7) Grey and white clays and silts, c. 15 feet. Typical swamp deposit. Few scattered implements.

(6) Sandy bed with rubble, sometimes implementiferous (N-horizon), 1-2 feet. Not indurated. ?Dry period. Proto-Tumbian and Levalloisian implements.

(-) Erosional unconformity.

(5) Pale silts with sandy layers, c. 4 feet. Swamp deposit.

(4) False-bedded sands with implementiferous horizons (Levalloisian), c. 15 feet.

(3) Hard, indurated implementiferous rubble (M-horizon), c. 1 foot. Lower or middle Acheulian industry. Dry phase.<sup>1</sup>

(-) Erosional unconformity teste Wayland (1935).

(2) Sands and clays, c. 50 feet. Lacustrine or swamp deposits.

(1) Boulder Bed, c. 2 feet, possibly of a torrential phase.

To a reader who is not involved in the controversy between O'Brien and Solomon and Wayland, this sequence appears to record repeated oscillations of the level of Lake Victoria and with it, the filling with lake and swamp deposits, and erosion, of the lower course of the Kagera River. Thus, the boulder bed (1) and the fossil granite cascades found at the bottom of this series at the Hydro-electric Station near Kikagati (O'Brien, 1939, pl. III, fig. 1) suggest erosion down to a low lake-level,<sup>2</sup> followed by deposition of 'swamp deposits' (2), while the lake-level rose. Then the lake sank again (M-horizon), rose (5), sank (erosional unconformity and

<sup>1</sup> For rubble formation in a dry climate, see O'Brien (1939, p. 97). 'Rubble' is angular rock-waste.

<sup>2</sup> This was conceivably the phase of the steep, ungraded river following the subsidence of the lake-basin owing to tectonic movements.

N-horizon), rose (7), sank or was stable (O-horizon), rose (9), and finally sank to a level more than 60 feet down, where the formation of a later series was initiated. Four phases of high lake-level, each of which appears to have been higher than the preceding, are recognizable. Only one of the interphases, the M-horizon, has so far received close attention. Before we turn to the discussion of this interesting horizon, let us remember, that the evidence is, on the whole, accepted by all concerned as an indication of rise and fall of the lake-level. Wayland considers this oscillation as climatic, but Solomon and O'Brien think it is the result of tectonic tilting. The fourfold repetition of the process suggested by the Orichinga section is certainly more readily explained by a fluctuation of the rainfall which made the lake rise and fall, than by an oscillating tectonic movement which would have had to be reversed four times. The climatic case is especially strengthened by the arid character of the rubble phases.

*The M-horizon.* The M-horizon is by all investigators considered to have been formed in a dry climate. Wayland (1935) says that a fall in the lake-level resulted in 'exposure and denudation of some (but not all) sediments of immediately pre-M-horizon date, and thus provided new land surfaces upon which early man lived, . . . while weathering resulted in ferruginization, so that to-day we have a red or ochreous, and in some places a decidedly hard, stony band packed with tools, cores and flakes'. O'Brien (1939, pp. 296-307) differs from this view only in the suggestion that the reddening is a posthumous phenomenon, due to infiltration after the M-horizon had been buried, and he strengthens his case by quoting a locality where the reddening extends into the overlying deposit. O'Brien further subdivides the M-horizon into a basal, gravelly facies (A) and a later, rubble facies (B), only the latter being indicative of dry conditions when river activity had ceased or was reduced to a minimum.<sup>1</sup>

The implements of the M-horizon and of the subsequent phases of the Kamasian or 100-foot terrace are of the greatest interest, since they provide a stratigraphical succession for the cultures of the middle Pleistocene. The facies (A) of the M-horizon contains, according to O'Brien, upper Oldowan mixed with an early-middle Acheulian, and M-horizon (B) a developed middle Acheulian. Wayland (1935) considers the Oldowan elements as derived and calls the remaining assemblage Chellio-Acheulian, whilst Leakey (1936) and van Riet Lowe regard it as African Acheulian I. The latter author (1937, p. 122) goes further, comparing the tools with those from South Africa. He finds that the M-horizon implements are more advanced than Stellenbosch II, but less varied and refined than Stellenbosch III. Considering how difficult it is to classify

<sup>1</sup> Solomon (in O'Brien, 1939, p. 33) does not recognize these two levels.



Acheulian even in Europe, we are satisfied to gather that the M-horizon contains an early or middle Acheulian, but no late Acheulian.

In the river and swamp deposits laid down on the M-horizon when the lake rose again, Levalloisian is found. The incoming of this flake culture at this moment is a remarkable parallel to Europe, where the Levalloisian appeared when the Acheulian had reached the 'middle' stage.

The Kagera valley is bound to play a great part in the chronology of the East African Pleistocene. Irrespective of any suggested system of pluvials, we can say that the available evidence suggests repeated oscillations of the lake-level during the middle Pleistocene, which are more easily understood if taken as due to changes in the amount of rainfall. In the Kagera valley, four damp phases would be in evidence during the middle Pleistocene (100-foot terrace), separated by dry phases of which the first was the most conspicuous.

The evidence from Kanam and Kanjera, on the other side of Lake Victoria, appears to indicate that the sequence of the 100-foot terrace of the Kagera valley was preceded by another dry phase (Rawe Beds), possibly with a gap.

*Tanganyika. Olduvai.* The classic site of Tanganyika is Olduvai, or Oldoway, a gorge running into the (now dry) Balbal depression north of Lake Eyasi. It was made famous by a skeleton of *Homo sapiens* which Reck (1914) believed to come from a relatively early horizon (II), but which is now regarded as an interment dug into this layer. This sequence has been studied repeatedly (summary in Leakey, 1936, with references) and the fauna is being described in a series of monographs; see, for instance, Hopwood (1933). Most recently, Kent (1941, 1942a) has placed the Olduvai sequence into a larger frame by comparing it with other Pleistocene deposits of the Tanganyika rift valley. The sections may be summarized as follows:

(V) Terrestrial, often loess-like, deposits covered by steppe-lime, a soil of concretionary nature. 'Mousterian' and Aurignacian industries.

(—) Unconformity. Period of cutting of the gorge.

(IV) Volcanic tuff, deposited or re-deposited in water. Acheulian implements.

(III) About 15 metres of red, tough rock, containing lenses of pebbles. Deposited in water. Held by Wayland (1935, p. 73) to be the reddened upper portion of Bed II, and comparable with the M-horizon of Uganda. Implements of late Chellian and primitive Acheulian type. (Note (39), p. 423.)

(II) Volcanic material, similar to (IV). Implements of Chellian technique.

(I) Very thick terrestrial deposit, of numerous layers of volcanic tuff. Oldowan pebble industry.

The lake deposits (II) to (IV) are considered to have been laid down during a major pluvial. On faunal evidence, they are middle Pleistocene, and on this they are comparable with the Kamasian of Kenya and Uganda.

Now it is most noteworthy that Wayland thinks that (III) corresponds to the M-horizon and indicates a dry oscillation. This view is corroborated by evidence from Lake Manyara, some 50 miles east of Lake Eyasi (Kent, 1942*a*). Archaeologically, too, Olduvai Bed III agrees with the M-horizon. Its industry is Acheulian I according to Leakey, which van Riet Lowe considers as closely related to the South African Stellenbosch II/III.

Again, O'Brien puts forward a somewhat different interpretation, prompted chiefly by the typological argument that the industry of the M-horizon is middle Acheulian. He therefore correlates the M-horizon with Bed IV (1939, p. 302, etc.) and considers the reddening of Bed III as posthumous, as in the case of the M-horizon. But he does not object to assigning Bed III to a phase of lake-recession, presumably with a drier climate. Thus it appears that at least one dry oscillation interrupted the middle Pleistocene of Tanganyika also. (Note (40), p. 423).

*East Africa, summary.* Let us now try to sum up what appears to be well established in the East African climatic and archaeological chronology. Climatically, it is certain that the lakes stood at certain times much higher than they do at present, and at others relatively lower. Earth movements are bound to have played a part in determining these levels, but some of the evidence is difficult to understand without the assumption of climatic fluctuations. Whether the 'wet' phases connoted a general climate wetter than the present is not clear; there is no need to assume a catastrophic character of the 'pluvials' (Wayland, 1934, p. 348; Solomon and O'Brien, 1939). On the other hand, the dry phases need not have been more arid than the climate now prevailing locally in some parts of the rift valley (Kent, 1942*a*).

The succession of pluvials and interpluvials, which at one time looked impressive and well established, is no longer to be regarded as the last word. It is not certain whether there were three or more pluvial phases, and whether they were subdivided or not. All this has still to be established (or disproved) on conclusive evidence. The multiplicity of the oscillations of the climate, however, is highly probable.

The terms used for the pluvials have assumed a predominately stratigraphical significance, quite apart from the pluvial problem, the First Pluvial or Kageran being roughly the equivalent of the lower Pleistocene, the Kamasian of the middle, and the Gamblian of the upper. In this sense, they are likely to continue in use.

The succession of industries is in many respects similar to that

of South Africa, and in spite of many differences it resembles, in the chief trend, that of Europe also: After some primitive stages a hand-axe culture develops from an Abbevillian to an Acheulian stage, accompanied by flake industries, the Levalloisian technique appears during the Middle Acheulian, and the Upper Palaeolithic gains the ascendancy still later (though it seems to appear rather earlier than in Europe, p. 289). The Kamasian is the period of the hand-axe series, and the M-horizon, or its equivalent, is associated with the African Lower or Middle Acheulian.

### C. SOUTH AFRICA

*Rhodesia.* On our way from the tropical zone of East Africa to the southern dry belt of South Africa, we pass through Rhodesia, where valuable archaeological work has been done, notably by Neville Jones (1949). The Bambata Cave had suggested to Armstrong an alternate occupation by Mousterian and Upper Palaeolithic peoples, but more recent work by Jones has shown that a Proto-Stillbay was followed by a Stillbay culture with no alternations. The sequence is capped by a Wilton industry. Other important sites are Lochard (Bond, 1946; Jones, 1946) and Sawmills (Jones, 1944; Bond, 1946). The Pleistocene geology of Southern Rhodesia is being studied by G. Bond (1946) and a valuable summary of the prehistoric sequence was recently published by R. Summers (in Zeuner, 1948).

*Victoria Falls.* Here, river deposits containing human industries were first studied by Armstrong, Jones and Maufe (1936) and revised by Cooke and Clark (1939). J. Desmond Clark has since worked out the Stone Age succession of Northern Rhodesia (1950; summary in Zeuner, 1948). His results are tabulated in fig. 76.

*South Africa.* In South Africa, research both in Stone Age archaeology and Pleistocene climate is more advanced than in any other part of Africa (with the exception of Egypt). An additional advantage is that, here, we have left the tropical zone and have entered the southern dry belt, where the climate is less complex from a theoretical point of view. The area which has been studied most thoroughly is the Vaal River Basin (Söhnge, Visser and van Riet Lowe, 1937; Cooke, 1946; Breuil, van Riet Lowe and du Toit, 1948). Cooke's survey of the Quaternary in South Africa (1941) gives a general picture of the archaeological chronology. Valuable commentaries and bibliographies of the prehistory of southern Africa have been published by Goodwin (1946, 1948), and fossil man has been reviewed by Dart (1940).

*Vaal River.* The climatic rhythm of erosion and accumulation of the Vaal, a river far removed from the fluctuations of the sea-levels, was first described by Söhnge and Visser (1937). Starting from the present-day, semi-arid, conditions in which the river deposits during

the dry season and erodes during the wet (Söhnge and Visser, 1937, p. 49), one finds that,

(a) an increase of precipitation would lead to increased erosion (though in the Pleistocene the climate has never been sufficiently wet to be called humid);

(b) a subsequent decrease to the deposition of gravel;

(c) a further decrease to the deposition of sand;

(d) a yet greater decrease to the deposition of colian sands, and reddening and calcification of existing deposits.

Great falls in the Orange River, of which the Vaal is a tributary, have prevented low sea-level knickpoints from migrating upstream, so that the total effect of climatic erosion is small, and the terraces are low. Smaller rock barriers cross the river at a number of points and divide it into compartments each with its local base-level at the lip of the barrier below it. Consequently, the heights of the terraces of the different 'compartments' are not directly comparable. Tectonic movements also appear to have interfered, most probably between the periods of the Older Gravels and the Younger Gravels (du Toit, 1933). The climatic cycle described has been confirmed for the three Younger Gravels only. The Older Gravels are merely remnants of aggradations to which the cycle theory is applied in a tentative manner. The Youngest Gravels and the Schoolplaats Phase are the products of weaker climatic oscillations.

The succession is most complete in the area of Windsorton and Barkly West near Kimberley, where all levels down to the Youngest Gravels are recognizable (pl. XVIII, fig. B). Much additional evidence comes from Taungs, on the Harts River, 50 miles north of Windsorton, and from Fauresmith near the Riet River, 90 miles to the south. Other important localities lie near Vereeniging, 250 miles east of Windsorton, where the Klip River joins the Vaal (pl. XVIII, fig. A). According to the recent investigations by Breuil (1943), van Riet Lowe (1945, 1947) and du Toit (1947, also a joint paper by these three authors), and especially following a summary by van Riet Lowe (1948), the sequence of events and of human industries in the Vaal River Basin is as follows:

Four series of gravel are so far distinguished, the Basal Older, the Older, the Younger and the Youngest Gravels.

(1) The *Basal Older* Gravels are restricted to the lower reaches of the river. They are composed mainly of diabase and quartzite boulders set in a calcified sand. They underlie *Older Gravels* at heights from 50–350 feet above the river and have not yet produced any artifacts. Breuil, van Riet Lowe and du Toit (1948) consider these gravels as a phase earlier than the Older Gravels. Cooke (1946, p. 250), however, thinks that they are quasi-contemporaneous with the Older Gravels.

(2) The *Older Gravels* overlie the Basal Older Gravels in the lower

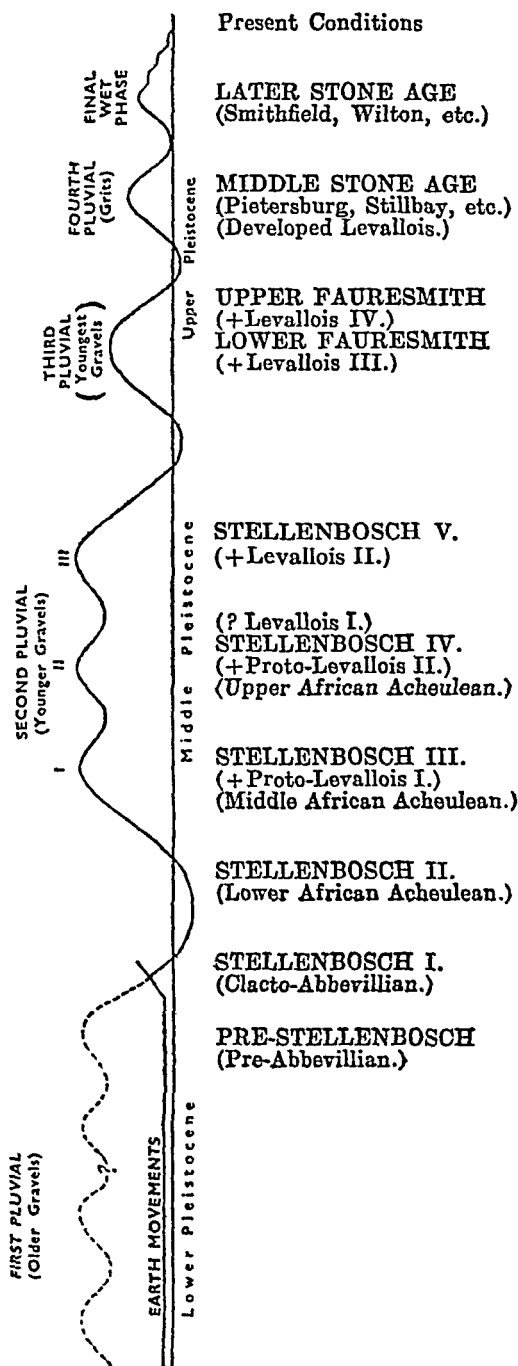


FIG. 77.—Climatogram for South Africa of climatic changes in the interior during the Quaternary, and human industries. Not drawn to scale, either for rainfall or duration of events. The straight line indicates present climatic conditions. Above line : conditions wetter.—Reproduced, with permission, from Breuil, van Riet Lowe and du Toit, 1948. See also van Riet Lowe, 1952.

reaches of the Vaal River and are composed mainly of potato-like pebbles of quartzite. They are shallow, not exceeding a few feet (pl. XVIII) and occur on terraces ranging from 300 feet down to 50 feet above the present river-level. The gravels are, however, frequently found in the form of residual hillwash. No fossils are known with certainty. At Vereeniging, two terraces can be distinguished at 100 and 50 feet respectively.

Artifacts have been found in both terraces at Vereeniging, and also in other localities. The 100-foot terrace has yielded a pebble-and-flake industry made from quartzite. The abundance of flakes in this locality is exceptional, since elsewhere the pebble tools predominate. These are very primitive, with zigzag cutting edges produced by intersecting negative flake-scars, and reminiscent of the Oldowan of Tanganyika and occasionally of the Kafuan of Uganda. The industry is designated as 'Pre-Chelles-Acheul'.

The 50-foot terrace at Vereeniging contains an industry of Clacto-Abbevillian type, being a combination of Abbevillian-like core tools with flakes of the Clactonian type. Van Riet Lowe compares it with the Rahmanian of Morocco (Neuville and Rühlmann, 1941). The South African industry has been known as Stellenbosch I: in the suggested new African terminology it goes by the name of 'Chelles-Acheul I'.

(3) Following the period of the Older Gravels, red eolian sands (Kalahari Sand) accumulated, probably in an arid climate. It appears that during this period the Chelles-Acheul II (Stellenbosch II) stage was reached by man, since its implements are found in a derived condition in the first gravel sheet of the *Younger Gravels* phase. Unlike the earlier ones, most of these implements are made of diabase. They recall early forms of Europe, and cleavers become more common.

(4) Fresh erosion is followed by the formation of three distinct river terraces, at 40 feet, 25 feet, and at river-bed level. These three are combined as *Younger Gravels* and are characterized by an abundance of large boulders of diabase set in a sandy-pebbly, calcified matrix (pl. XIX). As a rule they are not more than 10 feet thick, though locally they attain as much as 100 feet. Fossils are abundant in the *Younger Gravels*, among them advanced types of elephants, horses and pigs. Cooke, whose monograph on the fauna will shortly be published by the South African Geological Survey, suggests that it corresponds to a broadly Middle to Upper Pleistocene stage of evolution.

The industries of the *Younger Gravels* comprise, apart from Chelles-Acheul II which is rolled, Chelles-Acheul III and IV. Diabase has become the almost exclusive raw material. The hand-axes of Stage III remind one of the Middle Acheulian of Europe, but alongside with them flakes were used which were made from

prepared cores. This 'Proto-Levallois' (Victoria West I) constituent of the industry is most interesting; it shows that the prepared-platform technique developed as an integral part of the Chelles-Acheul in South Africa. In Chelles-Acheul IV (Stellenbosch IV) the hand-axes are finely executed and made from large, end-struck flakes. Flakes were made from cores called Victoria West or Proto-Levallois II type. As a new raw material, indurated shale is appearing. Stage IV is found in and on the aggradation of the second phase of the Younger Gravels.

On the deposits of the latest (third) phase of the Younger Gravels and in the overlying current-bedded sands and silts, stage V of the Chelles-Acheul (Stellenbosch) series is found. Beside very finely finished hand-axes and cleavers there are many flake tools like scrapers, piercers, and also a few large blades and gravers. Many of them have faceted striking platforms, and the technique is now definitely 'Levallois'. The chief raw material is indurated shale. Van Riet Lowe has pointed out the important part played by the raw material in the evolution of South African industries (van Riet Lowe, 1948, p. 21; also 1945):

In the final stages man learnt to detach blocks of indurated shale from natural outcrops and in doing so improved his technique still further and became independent of river gravels. In the preparation of his cores and striking platforms in this new material, we see the emergence of the prepared-platform or 'Levallois' technique taking place within, and therefore as an integral part of, the development of the hand-axe culture.

(5) The sands which cover the Younger Gravels III indicate, according to Söhngé and Visser (1937) and Cooke (1946) a pronounced reduction of river activity. The sands became calcified subsequently, which again suggests an arid climate.

As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, Chelles-Acheul V extends into these sands. It is typologically very advanced.

(6) A new cycle of erosion results in a moderate amount of down-cutting and, with a minor decrease in rainfall (Cooke, 1946) the *Youngest Gravels* were aggraded in the tributaries of the Vaal River. They are mostly subangular and contain rocks of little resistance to fluvial wear; in these respects they differ from all the older series of gravels. A less humid climate is thus indicated.

The industry of the *Youngest Gravels* is well-known as *Faure-Smith*. It employs the Levallois technique, the cores being prepared with care. Flake tools dominate in the assemblage, though hand-axes and cleavers continue to be made. Three stages can be distinguished.

(7) The *Youngest Gravels* are covered by sands and silts, and these in turn by wind-blown sands. This apparently dry phase is followed by

(8) the *Schoolplaats Phase*, when current-bedded sands with thin bands of small pebbles and grits were deposited. There appears to have been more water present than in (7). The artifacts belong to the South African Middle Stone Age (Stillbay, Pietersburg and other industries), a natural development through refinement from the earlier industries with Levallois technique. Hand-axes and cleavers have disappeared, and bifaced spear-or-lance, or even arrow-heads, are typical.

(9) Denudation and further accumulation of wind-borne sands. Climate dry.

(10) *A Final wet phase*, of a very minor character re-exposes by stream erosion the levels containing Middle Stone Age. During this phase, the Later Stone Age industries (Smithfield, Wilton, Kitchen-midden) appear.

(11) Transition to modern conditions.

*Climatic interpretation of South African sequence.* Both the Younger Gravels (4) and the Older Gravels (2) are evidence of river activity. They are separated by colian sands. For this reason these two groups have been interpreted as 'pluvials' (Söhnge, Visser and van Riet Lowe, 1937; Goodwin, 1946; Cooke, 1946), now called the *First* and *Second Pluvials* of South Africa. The phase of the Youngest Gravels (6) was recognized as weaker than the phase of the Younger Gravels; nevertheless it is counted as the *Third Pluvial*. Similarly, on still less evidence, the Schoolplaats phase (8) is called *Fourth Pluvial*. This leaves us with the Final Wet Phase, (10) of the preceding summary.

Broadly speaking, this interpretation is probably correct, not so much because there is evidence for great humidity in the 'pluvials', but because these are separated by periods of wind activity indicating aridity. The mode of formation of the Younger and Older Gravels still awaits detailed investigation.

Both Younger and Older Gravels are complex. The Younger Gravels have been divided into three stages, i.e. either three relatively wet phases separated by two dry intervals or, more likely, three phases of wetness declining towards semi-aridity (providing seasonal floods capable of transporting boulders) separated by humid phases with sufficient water to do the work of down-cutting. In any case, several phases are indicated.

The Older Gravels differ petrologically. Constituents which resist chemical weathering dominate (mainly quartzites), and the matrix appears to be derived from the decomposition of diabase, dolerite or other rocks present in the Basal Older Gravels. Two alternatives are possible, namely that the Older Gravels were deposited in a humid climate with chemical weathering, or that they are the weathering product of gravels resembling the Basal Older Gravels. The former view is favoured by du Toit (1948, p. 88), the



latter by Cooke (1946, p. 251). The former view entails a separation of the Basal Older Gravels as a distinct earlier phase, whilst the second makes them contemporary with the Older Gravels in general. Since the Older Gravels are divisible into two terraces at least (on their artifact contents), a minimum of two phases of gravel deposition are established, and if one follows du Toit, adding the Basal Older Gravels, at least three. It is probable, however, that the number of phases of the Older Gravels is rather greater. They cover a range of altitude of 50-300 feet above the river, compared with 0-40 feet of the Younger Gravels, and the sections published by van Riet Lowe (in Breuil, *et al.*, 1948, p. 23) suggest up to five separate stages of gravel deposition between 80 and 200 feet. One is justified, therefore, in holding that the Older Gravels are divisible into two, and probably more, subphases, and that the period of their deposition covers a much longer span of time than that of the Younger Gravels.

*Raised Beaches in South Africa.* The raised beaches of the coasts of South Africa have yielded but few implementiferous sites. Summaries of the evidence are by Cooke (1941), Zeuner (1945) and Breuil (1945, 1948). Mortelmans has made interesting observations in the Knysna District (1945), where he found indications of tectonic displacement of the beaches.

In concluding this all-too-brief survey of the chronology of South Africa, attention is drawn again to Goodwin's important survey and bibliography (1946) which will help the reader in finding any further information required.

#### D. THE PROSPECTS OF AN ASTRONOMICAL CHRONOLOGY OF THE AFRICAN PLEISTOCENE AND PALAEOLITHIC

*Fluctuations of radiation in the tropics.* Considering from the chronological point of view the climatic fluctuations which have been suggested in tropical Africa, one must admit that the evidence does not yet provide a relative chronology sufficiently detailed for the correlation with other areas. The attempts that have been made to correlate East African pluvials with glaciations in Europe were definitely premature, though in some instances the suggested correlation may not be far off the mark. But, in order to obtain a more secure basis for correlation, it is necessary to discuss briefly the implications for the tropical zone of the astronomical theory. For an introduction into this difficult matter, Zeuner (1945, Chapter VIII) may be consulted.

*Alternation of phases of great and small seasonal differences of radiation.* If one constructs the curve of summer radiation for a tropical latitude, say 5° N., from Milankovitch's tables, one notices that the number of major maxima and minima was much greater than in the higher latitudes and their distribution more regular, the oscillations following each other about every 21,000 years. This

is the expression of the dominating influence of the longitude of the perihelion in the tropics. From the chronological standpoint this would suggest that *if* the tropical pluvials depended on local fluctuations of summer and winter radiation in the same manner as do the glacial phases of the northern hemisphere we should have many more pluvial phases than have been recognized, in fact so many that dating of any particular deposit would be wellnigh impossible. Now, the tendency of workers in East Africa generally has been to distinguish a much smaller number of pluvials, three or four, though with subphases. If this conception can be substantiated, it is clear that only the subphases might correspond to fluctuations in the seasonal amount of radiation, but not the major pluvials as a whole, into which they are grouped. It would be futile to suggest any correlation between pluvial subphases and radiation cycles.<sup>1</sup> It may be pointed out, however, that the large number of upper Pleistocene fluctuations in the levels of East African lakes which Nilsson (1940) was able to recognize are perhaps the result of these short-period oscillations (Zeuner, 1945, p. 211, p. 217).

*Meteorological and caloric equators.* There is another aspect of the fluctuations of solar radiation which promises to supply an explanation of the *major* pluvials and, thus, a possibility of dating in years and of correlating the Pleistocene and its human industries in Africa with the glacial phases of Europe.

It is well known that the *meteorological equator*, which separates the weather-régime of the northern and southern hemispheres of the earth and is given by the narrow belt of rising air called the *equatorial calms*, lies in the average <sup>2</sup> over about 5° N. lat., and not over the *geographical equator*. This phenomenon is usually explained as the result of the more intense circulation of the atmosphere over the southern hemisphere, but Wundt (1934, 1937) and Spitaler (1934) agree that the fluctuations of the *caloric equator* are a contributory cause. The caloric equator is the degree of latitude at which the minimum annual fluctuation of radiation occurs. In the zone enclosed by the caloric and the geographical equators, the amount of radiation received during the summer is *smaller* than that received during the winter. In this respect, therefore, it agrees with the opposite hemisphere in the seasonal rhythm of which it partakes. Thus, the caloric equator is the line on which the inversion of the seasons, as based on radiation, takes place.

The position of the caloric equator at various times in the past has been calculated by Milankovitch (1938, p. 662); it is shown here in the form of a graph (fig. 78). At the present, it lies at 3° N., so that one might deduce that, of the five degrees of average displace-

<sup>1</sup> It is not even known whether a period with seasonal extremes of radiation, or a period of decreased seasonal differences, would produce a 'pluvial' phase.

<sup>2</sup> More on continents, less over the oceans.

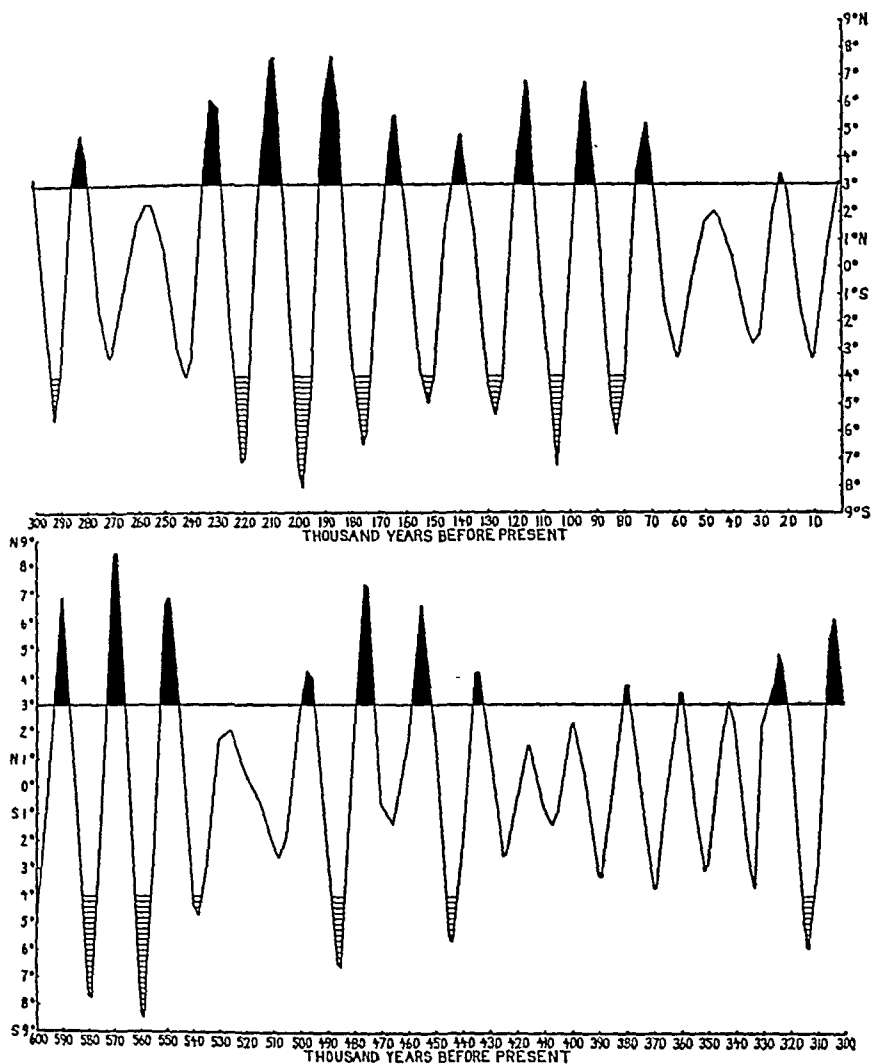


FIG. 78.—Positions of the caloric equator during the last 600,000 years. Deviations from the geographical equator of over 3 degrees to the north, black; of over 4 degrees to the south, hatched.—From Zeuner (1945).

ment of the meteorological equator, two degrees are to be attributed to the more intense circulation over the southern hemisphere, and three degrees to the position of the caloric equator.

When the caloric equator lies farther north, the circulation effect is likely to become rather less than two degrees, and certainly not more. On the other hand, when the caloric equator moves south, the circulation effect is likely to increase to more than two degrees, and this amount has to be deducted from the position of the caloric equator in order to obtain the position of the meteorological equator.

*Effect of the fluctuations of the caloric equator in the tropical zone.* The effect on the tropical zone of this periodic oscillation is difficult to assess. So much is evident, however, that there were long periods of time when the caloric equator varied its position only moderately (see fig. 78), and others during which it swung north and south repeatedly with an amplitude of as much as 10 to 16 degrees (i.e. 5 to 8 degrees N. and S. of the geographical equator). During these phases of violent fluctuation, the geographical belt which is now the zone of equatorial rainfall may well have come to lie sufficiently far north or south to receive only a fraction of the rainfall it enjoys at present. But such phases must have been of short duration and alternated with phases of heavier rainfall every 21,000 years. A period of violent fluctuations of the caloric equator therefore would, in the tropical zone, result in deposits indicating a repeated alternation of dampness and dryness.

Apart from earlier periods of this kind, there is one between 235,000 and 70,000 B.P., which stands out for its long duration. Recalling the evidence from Uganda (p. 253), one is inclined to consider this period as a causal factor of the Kamasian with its several oscillations between wet and dry.<sup>1</sup>

No more can be said at the present about the tropical zone, and what has been said must be regarded as very tentative (Note (41), p. 428). The movements of the caloric equator would hardly have been worth the space devoted to them here, had not South Africa provided suggestive evidence for their significance.

*Caloric equator and 'pluvials' of the Sahara.* The effect of the extreme oscillations of the caloric equator on the northern and southern dry belts is more easily understood than that on the belt of tropical rainfall. Taking the northern, Saharan, belt first, it is easy to see that a northward displacement of the caloric equator would simultaneously bring about a northward shift of the northern limit of the monsoon rains. In other words, it would incorporate a strip of the southern Sahara in the Sahelian or even Sudanese belt,

<sup>1</sup> This correlation would be reasonable also from the archaeological point of view, placing as it does the evolution of the middle-upper Acheulian and the Levalloisian into roughly the same period as in Europe.

which receive sufficient amounts of rainfall in summer to support a regular and general cover of steppe or scrub.

On the other hand, a southward displacement of the caloric equator would result in a withdrawal of the monsoon, and part of the Sahelian (i.e. the edge of the Sudan) would become desert. There is abundant evidence for the southward extension of Saharan conditions during some time in the Pleistocene, in the form of fossil dunes in what is now the Sahelian belt with summer rains and steppe. There is the *Goz* country of north-east Kordofan and northern Darfur in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (Maxwell-Darling, 1934, 1936). From the *Région du Tchad* Murat (1937, p. 52) describes fossil dunes. Around Lake Tchad, evidence is found for two dune phases separated by a lake phase and apparently followed by the modern lake (Krenkel, 1938, p. 1,386, the last two publications with bibliographies), in the French Sudan, Chudeau (1925, 1931) described fossil dunes, and from Mauritania, Aufrère (1930). Huzayyin (1941, p. 76) has summarized part of this evidence.

The extension of Saharan conditions into the zone which at the present is reached by the monsoon, is a phenomenon which cannot be explained on the theory of generally increased rainfall which has so often been adduced to explain the tropical and Saharan pluvials. But the movements of the caloric equator provide a very simple and satisfactory explanation, and one could almost regard these fossil dunes as evidence that the movements of the caloric equator played an important part in the development of the Pleistocene climate of Africa.

The northward displacements of the caloric equator would have varied between two and five degrees. During the period, 235,000 to 70,000 B.P., it amounted to four degrees about four times. The possible effect on vegetation is most interesting. If we take the approximate boundary of the Sahelian belt of grass-land and dry scrub against the desert belt as a guide-line—it lies about 18–19° N. in West Africa and about 15–17° N. in the eastern part of the continent—the Sahelian type of vegetation would have covered the southern half or third of the present desert during these phases of northward displacement.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, such displacement would have brought into the reach of the regular summer rains the highlands of Adrar, Air, Tibesti and Ennedi, and perhaps even Ahaggar. Wadis which run

<sup>1</sup> Archaeologically it is important that the Sahelian, in spite of its dry-steppe character, is cultivated (Maxwell-Darling, 1934, p. 68). The same land is cultivated for several years, and then deserted for a period. 'The result is that most of the land has been cultivated at one time or another.' During a pluvial, therefore, even the Sahelian type of country, spreading over parts of the Sahara, would be quite sufficient to support even an agricultural population. Furthermore, the frequent change of the land might contribute enormously to the spreading of tools and other cultural remains over the surface and in the superficial soil, which is so characteristic of the later Saharan Stone Age.

northwards, towards the Mediterranean, would have carried the cover of vegetation still farther north.

Now, it is necessary to remember that the Mediterranean type of pluvial coincides with the minima of summer radiation of the temperate north, and with the retarded maxima of the glacial phases. These periods occurred simultaneously with extreme northward displacements of the caloric equator. *Thus, while the Mediterranean pluvial watered the northern fringe of the Sahara, its southern fringe enjoyed increased monsoon rainfall.* Though for meteorological reasons the dry belt is unlikely to have been obliterated completely, the phenomena described may well have led to its reduction to such an extent that, especially along the wadis and the chains of hills which extend across the Sahara (southern Algeria), steppe and scrub lands formed a continuous bridge from the Sudan to the Mediterranean.

The suggested explanation of the Saharan pluvials as the result of a northern position of the caloric equator coupled with a Mediterranean pluvial whenever there was a glaciation in northern Europe removes several difficulties encountered by other theories.

(1) Many workers, for instance Gautier (1935), have shown that the Sahara never was 'wet', and that the greatest increase of precipitation that ever happened produced Sahelian bridges across the desert belt. This is the picture we arrived at in our deduction.

(2) Some of the Saharan pluvials appear to have lasted for some considerable time. If the Saharan pluvials were nothing more than secondary effects of the glacial phases, not even the interstadials could have been bridged by damp conditions. But the co-operation of the caloric equator with the Mediterranean pluvials creates conditions which would favour the coalescence of pluvial phases into major pluvials. If we take, for instance, the first of the series of extreme displacements of the caloric equator which occurred between 235,000 and 70 B.P., this was contemporary with the glacial phase PG<sub>1</sub>. Considering the retardation of the expansion of the ice-sheet (p. 142) and the consequent extension of the corresponding Mediterranean pluvial, it is conceivable that the interval between this and the following extreme northward displacement of the caloric equator was considerably shortened, so much so that the store of underground water accumulated in the pluvial phase helped the vegetation to last through the short, dry, interval.

*Theoretical sequence of African pluvials.* If this idea is right, one would expect to find, in the Sahara, evidence of three pluvials in the lower and middle Pleistocene (590,000–550,000, 500,000–430,000, 330,000–280,000 B.P.), with a long dry interval between the second and the third, and with the third being relatively insignificant. The fourth pluvial was the longest of all, from 235,000 to 70,000 B.P. All these pluvials would be subdivisible into several oscillations.

Although the subphases would not be contemporary in the Saharan, the tropical and the South African belts, the enumerated major pluvial periods would be roughly contemporary all over Africa.

The theory here proposed is, of course, subject to proof or disproof afforded by palaeoclimatic evidence. As shown by Huzayyin's work (1941), however, the sequence of climatic phases in the Sahara is still unknown, except for a few casual glimpses which cannot be combined into a consistent picture. Future work will no doubt show whether the displacements of the caloric equator had the effect on the climate of the Sahara which has been tentatively ascribed to them in this chapter.

*Caloric equator and 'pluvials' in South Africa.* The same theory applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to South Africa. As has just been said, the major pluvial periods there would have been the same as in the Sahara, though the subphases would not have been contemporary. But the general picture, of three early pluvials separated by comparatively long intervals, and a fourth of a very long duration, would be the same. Now, if we turn back to our summary of the climatic phases found in South Africa (p. 261) we find that the evidence is not inconsistent with the theory of displacements of the caloric equator. The three earlier pluvials suggested by the curve, would be represented by the Older Gravels, the long fourth pluvial by the Younger Gravels, with the two latest oscillations representing the last subphases of the pluvial or, more likely, two of the three smaller oscillations which followed it (60, 35, 10,000 B.P.).

This correlation is not suggested as implying a high probability, but merely as a possible, and most tentative, approach to using the astronomical theory in the dating of climatic phases and of human industries on the southern hemisphere. Only further palaeoclimatological work will be able to decide whether or not the theory of the displacements of the caloric equator is correct. The displacements as such are, of course, a fact; it is their climatic interpretation which is tentative. Since so many quantitative elements are involved in speculations of this kind that it is impossible to put forward a good case on a numerical basis, we shall have to wait and see whether new evidence confirms the postulates of the theory or not.

From the archaeological point of view, the dates for the South African Stone Age which might be deduced from the astronomical theory are reasonable. They are included, with a question mark, in the world correlation table, fig. 80.

#### E. ASIA, AUSTRALIA AND AMERICA

After the foregoing discussion of the evidence for the climatic chronology of the Pleistocene, and the absolute chronology derived from the astronomical theory, for Europe, the Mediterranean and

Africa, it may be as well to pause and to summarize which methods of approach appear to be the most promising for the extension of the absolute chronology over the entire earth.

In trying to establish a relative chronology which can be dated astronomically, the most reliable method is indubitably that of determining *with care* the exact mean sea-levels belonging to the various Pleistocene beach formations. It is naturally restricted in its application to coastal areas where suitable deposits occur, and from the archaeological point of view worth while only when the beaches contain implements. In areas where eustatic river terraces contain implements, these can be dated some distance up the river. In doing so, the mistake has been made of continuing beyond the limit of eustatic action, into that part of the river's course which is governed by a climatic cycle, and the opposite mistake of neglecting the eustatic phenomenon has been made also. This is not the place for the critical discussion of work on rivers in climates other than temperate, but it must be said that the conceptions of most authors are still far too primitive. In any case, the eustatic method will provide interglacial dates only.

The second method is the palaeontological one. Provided tolerably rich mammalian faunas are contained in the deposits, an estimate can be made as to its lower, middle, or upper Pleistocene age. The estimate is inevitably vague, and its uncertainty increases with the distance from Europe, especially in tropical climates. It yields even less detailed subdivisions than the first method, and yet it is important in countries where it is the only approach possible.

The third method is the investigation of the climatic rhythm of river aggradation and erosion, with the intention of establishing pluvial and interpluvial periods and phases. The difficulty here is that the local climate has to be duly considered and that no generalized scheme, or 'cycle', can be used as a clue. It will also be necessary to define the term 'pluvial' for the area studied, whether it implies increased annual total of precipitation, or increased seasonal floods, which are two very different climatic phenomena. I am confident that this approach will eventually provide the detailed chronology of the tropical countries and that this, in turn, can be matched with the movements of the caloric equator, or the local radiation curves, or both, as the case may be. The best chances for applying this method are afforded by countries lying on the dry edges of the zones of tropical rainfall.

Finally, in countries outside the tropical zone, to which the detailed chronology of Europe cannot yet be applied, it will be possible, after an application of the eustatic and palaeontological methods, to work out a climatic chronology in the same manner as was done in Europe, using buried soils, colian deposits, and the climatic cycles of the rivers.



In the following paragraphs, some attempts which have been made in Asia, Australia and America are briefly reviewed. They have been selected chiefly for their potential chronological importance, either because they supply certain details of the relative chronology, or because they are concerned with fossil remains and important cultures of early man.

*China. Pekin Man, Choukoutien.* Although the place of Pekin Man (*Homo erectus pekinensis* = *Sinanthropus*) in the chronology of the Pleistocene is as yet somewhat uncertain, he is of such outstanding phylogenetic importance that a short discussion is justified. The skeletal remains from Choukoutien, near Pekin (40° N. lat.), have been described by Black (1934) and Weidenreich (1936, 1937, 1941, 1943). A summary of the geological, anthropological and archaeological evidence up to 1933 was presented by the original team of workers, Davidson Black, Teilhard de Chardin, C. C. Young, and W. C. Pei (1933). The anthropological significance of the skeletal remains was discussed by Weidenreich (1939), and the bone and antler industry described by Breuil (1932*b*, 1939). The accompanying fauna has been treated by Pei and by Young in volumes of the *Palaeontologia Sinica* (references and additions in Pei, 1939*a*). There are numerous other papers on this locality, among which Pei's attempt of a correlation with Europe (1939*b*) is of special importance in the present context. De Terra (1941) has undertaken a correlation with India to which we shall have to return.

*Chronological position of Sinanthropus.* The stratigraphy of the deposits in and near the caves of Choukoutien does not afford a means of dating. The only passable way, therefore, is that of palaeontology. It has been used by Pei (1939*b*) in the wisest manner possible, namely by distinguishing faunal assemblages representing successive phylogenetic levels, much on the same lines as employed in the distinction of the lower, middle and upper Pleistocene of Europe (Zeuner, 1945, Chapter X). Working on these lines, Pei has shown that the Choukoutien fauna corresponds with the evolutionary level of the lower Pleistocene (chiefly ApIgl) of Europe. This, however, applies to the *Sinanthropus* locality only; other localities at Choukoutien have proved to be of later age.

The lower Pleistocene age of *Sinanthropus* as suggested by Pei, raises the question of the Plio-Pleistocene boundary. Pei, of course, arrives at a lower Pleistocene age since he adopts the prevalent European system. Teilhard de Chardin (1937) draws a slightly different line, assigning the whole of the Sanmenian (which is the stage preceding the Choukoutien stage) to the Pliocene, instead of its lower part only (Pei), but this appears to be due to nomenclatorial rather than factual differences, the Sanmenian I of Pei being the Sanmen or Nihowan stage of Teilhard. Both authors consider the Choukoutien *Sinanthropus* deposits plainly as of lower Pleistocene

age. De Terra (1941), however, regards the Nihowan or Sanmenian (Chinese equivalent of the Villafranchian of Europe) as the lower Pleistocene, with the result that *Sinanthropus* becomes middle Pleistocene. This is rather more than merely a matter of chronological nomenclature, since 'middle Pleistocene' conveys to the palaeontologist the impression of a much later phase in the evolution of the mammalian faunas than that represented by the *Sinanthropus* locality. It seems better to retain the boundary elaborated by Pilgrim (1944) which takes careful account of both eastern Asia and Europe.

The lithic industry of *Sinanthropus*, with quartz as main raw material, is lower Palaeolithic (Pei, 1939*b*, Marius, 1944, 1949). Breuil (1939) has shown that bones and antlers were utilized to a great extent, presumably because of the scarcity of suitable stone.

The absolute age of *Sinanthropus* and his industry is thus likely to be in the neighbourhood of 500,000 years; he stands comparatively close to Heidelberg Man in the chronological scale. But whilst the latter definitely dates from the end of the lower Pleistocene, a wide range within this subdivision is available for *Sinanthropus*.

*Upper Cave, Choukoutien, Homo sapiens and Upper Palaeolithic.* Attention should also be paid to a later deposit of the Choukoutien Hill, that of the 'Upper Cave', with its industry (Pei, 1939*c*, *d*), large numbers of bones of *Homo sapiens* (Weidenreich, 1939), and a rich mammalian fauna (to be described by Pei). The age of this deposit is claimed to be 'late Pleistocene' by Pei (1939*d*, p. 39) on faunal evidence. This point requires verification since the discovery of *H. sapiens* in supposedly Last Interglacial deposits in Australia suggests that modern man might date back to the middle Pleistocene in Asia. The industry is regarded as upper Palaeolithic; its lithic component is poor, but bone implements and ornamental objects are abundant. Weidenreich found that the three skulls typified three different racial elements, best to be classified as primitive Mongoloid, Melanesoid and Eskimoid.

*North-west India, glaciations and Palaeolithic.* The Pleistocene succession of north-west India is famous for its palaeontological contents. The lower series in particular, combined with fossiliferous Pliocene, is well known under the name of the *Sivaliks*, after the Sivalik Hills at the foot of the Himalayas near Dehra-Dun, at 30° N. lat. and 78° E. long. The enormous mammalian material described by Falconer (1868) was drawn mainly from this area. In recent times, G. E. Pilgrim (1932) has greatly contributed to the advance of Plio-Pleistocene mammalogy in India. The climatic succession of north-west India has been investigated by de Terra and Paterson (1939) who suggested linkages of river terraces with moraines of Himalayan glaciations. Most of their evidence comes

from Kashmir, and Potwar in the northern Punjab (near the Salt Range), at a latitude of 33 to 34° N. De Terra and Paterson also discovered Palaeolithic implements which could be classified into industries.

North-west India, a mountainous country at a latitude where the fluctuations of radiation resemble those of Europe, offers the unique opportunity of establishing a link between the temperate north and the tropical region. From de Terra and Paterson's studies it is evident that the connexion of moraines with aggradation terraces is much the same in north-west India as in the Alps. A section through the Indus terraces near the confluence with the Soan River is reproduced here (fig. 79). Apart from the Boulder Conglomerate forming the hill and containing glaci-fluvial deposits and moraine, five terraces can be recognized of which the second and

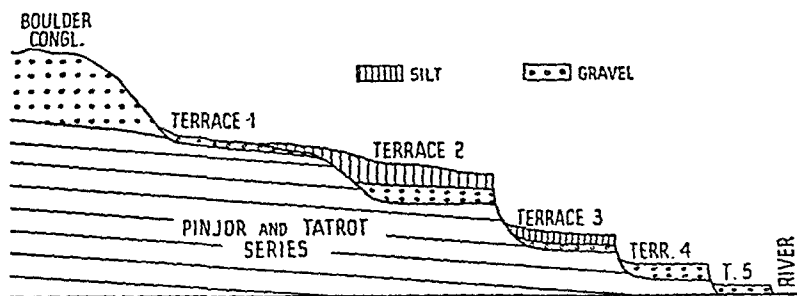


FIG. 79.—The sequence of terraces of the Indus River, near the confluence with the Soan.—After de Terra and Paterson (1939, fig. 181), modified.

fourth are glaci-fluvial. The others are regarded as interglacial stages. On this interpretation, and on the assumption that the glaciations of the Himalayas were contemporary with those of Europe, the fourth terrace would correspond to the Last Glaciation, the second to the Penultimate Glaciation, and the Boulder Conglomerate to the Antepenultimate Glaciation. (Note (41), p. 423.)

On the other hand, if one accepts the astronomical theory, considers the glacial phases of the western Himalayas as the products of the local fluctuations of solar radiation and the influence of the Mediterranean pluvials,<sup>1</sup> one would expect to find a sequence of *glacial phases* similar to those of the Alps, subdividing the major glaciations. The sequence of five terraces following the Boulder Conglomerate indeed suggests such a succession, provided one interprets the 'interglacial' terraces of de Terra and Paterson as representatives of less intense glacial phases. In this case, the first and

<sup>1</sup> Barometric depressions from the Mediterranean are known to reach north-west India occasionally even at the present time.

second terraces would correspond to  $PGI_1$  and  $PGI_2$ , and the third to fifth to three stages of the Last Glaciation.<sup>1</sup> This very tentative interpretation of the Indus terraces is supported by the great erosional gaps between the glaciations, and the much smaller gaps between the suggested glacial phases, namely,

Erosional gap	
Boulder Conglomerate—Terrace I	300 ft. = Penultimate Interglacial
Terrace I—Terrace II	70 ft.
Terrace II—Terrace III	230 ft. = Last Interglacial ?
Terrace III—Terrace IV	60 ft.
Terrace IV—Terrace V	50-60 ft.
Terrace V—Present River	30-40 ft.

I am fully aware of the insecure foundation of this comparison, since the thicknesses of the aggradations resting on the benches had to be neglected, but the resulting sequence is highly consistent, and the Boulder Conglomerate is, as in de Terra and Paterson's interpretation, assigned to the Antepenultimate Glaciation.

As regards the pre-Boulder Conglomerate succession, Pilgrim (1944) has corrected the conception that the Tatrot zone of the Upper Siwaliks corresponds to the Early Glaciation. Instead, he suggests that the Bain Boulder Bed from the north-west Frontier Province (Morris, 1938) which can be dated palaeontologically as Pinjor stage or slightly later (see table, p. 277) is the equivalent of the Early Glaciation. Pilgrim further draws the Plio-Pleistocene boundary above the Villafranchian, immediately below the Early Glaciation (as done by many physiographers), while de Terra includes the Villafranchian, and with it the Pinjor and Tatrot zones, in the Pleistocene. The correlation, however, of the Tatrot zone with a division of the Mediterranean Plio-Pleistocene is still problematic. The ensuing relative chronology of north-west India, which is very tentative, with the human industries as determined by Paterson, is as follows (summary of industries in de Terra and Paterson, 1939, pp. 294-5): (table on following page; also Note (22), p. 413).

It is remarkable that, in this tentative chronology, the relation of the early Acheulian and the appearance of the Levalloisian technique to the Penultimate Glaciation are about the same as in Europe; the Clactonian technique is observed in the rolled state in the early Soan B and C assemblages of Terraces I and II, but Paterson (in de Terra, p. 307) mentions the coming in of Levallois-like cores in the same assemblages, which he dates from the Penultimate Interglacial since he and de Terra regard Terrace I as an interglacial one. Also, the late Levalloisian would have persisted into the early part of the Last Glaciation and the late Palaeolithic appeared in the middle phase of this Glaciation, roughly at the same time as in Europe.

*Burma. Irrawaddi terraces and Palaeolithic.* Burma promises

<sup>1</sup> Whether these are  $LGI_1$ ,  $LGI_2$  and  $LGI_3$  of Europe is not quite certain since, in the lower latitudes, a summer minimum at 94,000 B.P. becomes prominent.

Last Glaciation	{ Terrace V Terrace IV Terrace III	? Late Palaeolithic Late Levallois (cf. late Soan), less rolled than derived earlier artifacts
Last Interglacial	Erosion	
Penultimate Glaciation	{ Lower beds of 'loess' Terrace II Terrace I	Late Soan (Levallois flakes dominating over pebbles) Early Soan (cf. Clactonian, but also Levalloisian technique appearing, with cores and flakes with prepared platforms) Rolled early Acheulian, flakes, and early Soan (pebble industry)
Penultimate Interglacial	Erosion	
Antepenultimate Glaciation	Narbada Beds + upper Boulder Conglomerate	Upper Boulder Congl. with large crude flakes
Antepenultimate Interglacial	Lower Boulder Conglomerate	
Early Glaciation	Bain Boulder Bed	
Villafranchian	Pinjor stage	
? Astian	Tatrot stage	
Pontian	Dhok Pathan stage	
Upper Miocene	Nagri Chinji stage	

to become a further link between the temperate zone with its detailed Pleistocene chronology and the tropical zone with its suggested pluvial phases. Following the discovery of Palaeolithic tools by Morris (1932, 1936), the Irrawaddi River has been studied by de Terra and Movius, and the mammalian faunas determined by Colbert (1943). The five terraces are regarded as aggradations during pluvial phases which can be correlated with glaciations. The climatic aspects of the Irrawaddi terraces (north of 20° N. lat.), in the zone of summer rains and dry season, certainly deserve a close palaeoclimatological study.

The implements found are classified by Movius under the name of Anyathian; many were made from fossil wood. Most of them are chopping tools, and flakes are few. There is some resemblance with the early Soan of north-west India, but the Anyathian is a local culture which runs through from Terrace I (considered of Narbada age, i.e. early middle Pleistocene or final lower Pleistocene in our system) to the Neolithic.

*Java. Pithecanthropus, Homo soloensis, &c.* Java occupies a prominent place in the history of early man on account of the large number of fossil hominids found there. Since Dubois discovered the first *Pithecanthropus* (1892), further human remains have come from several localities, so that at the present, three main types are represented, *Homo erectus* (*Pithecanthropus*), *H. soloensis*, and *H. sapiens*. The chronology of the Javanese Pleistocene, therefore, is a matter of great importance, but little systematic work has as yet been done (see, for instance, Duyfjes, 1936).

A very full report on Java has recently been written by de Terra (1948), to which the reader may resort for more detailed information than can be given here. Most of the recent discoveries were made by von Koenigswald (1936*b*, 1937*a, b*, 1938), while *H. soloensis* was found by Oppenoorth (1937; Haar, 1934). Von Koenigswald has paid attention to the Pleistocene succession and has worked out the mammalia of many localities (1934, 1937*a*, 1939), as well as the finds of Palaeolithic implements (1936*a*).

The geographical position of Java has tempted workers to correlate its Pleistocene deposits with those of India and Burma. In doing so, it must not be forgotten that the distance, both in miles and in terms of climatic zonation, is very great. Java lies at 7° S. lat., not less than 27 degrees of latitude south of Burma, and 41 degrees south of that part of north-west India which has been studied in some detail. Climatically, it occupies at the present a position just on and outside the southern border of the equatorial belt of rain at all seasons, where a dry season begins to make itself felt (comp. Zeuner, 1941). Java thus lies in the difficult zone in which the climate is likely to have fluctuated between rain at all seasons and a seasonally dry climate, in accordance with the oscillations of the caloric equator during the Pleistocene. How such changed would have acted on the rivers, is very difficult to make out without a detailed investigation. The problem is further complicated by the frequent over-supply of load to the rivers by the volcanoes, any by the neighbourhood of the sea. De Terra (1948) regards the influence of eustasy on the Javanese rivers as negligible, and he may well be right in connexion with certain sites, but generally speaking it is inconceivable that the rivers of a narrow island like Java should show no evidence of eustatic fluctuations. Knickpoints started by low sea-levels must have played a great part in the history of the upper courses of the rivers. Considering all these difficulties, none of which has as yet adequately been dealt with, and considering the separation of Java from the Indian mountain ranges by the equatorial zone, a correlation of river aggradations in Java with glaciations in north-west India, as undertaken by de Terra, is a venture which can only be called premature.

In order to obtain some rough dates for the important finds

made in Java, therefore, the palaeontological method has had to be resorted to. Here, again, considerable difficulties are met with. It is not easy to derive reliable conclusions from the comparison of faunas separated by some 30 to 40 degrees of latitude and by the equatorial belt. This difficulty has been fully realized by most palaeontologists in Java, but, *faute de mieux*, the Siwaliks still remain the standard of reference for Plio-Pleistocene faunas in south-east Asia. (Note (41), p. 423.)

A second difficulty is involved in the practice of some authors of calling the Villafranchian the lower Pleistocene and, what is lower Pleistocene according to the system here used, the middle. This has to be kept in mind when reading papers on Java.

The Javanese succession given in the following table is composite. Some of the sites are in eastern Java (Kendeng Hills), others in central Java (Solo River). At the present moment the succession may be computed in this manner (partly after de Terra, 1943*b*, p. 455, otherwise based on von Koenigswald's papers):

Stratigraphy	Correlated Indian fauna	Suggested division
Silt terraces (T <sub>2</sub> ) and high flood-plains SAMPOENG FAUNA—Proto-Australoid people Volcanism and uplift with tilting	(Recent)	Postglacial
Erosion: formation of terrace T <sub>2</sub> Volcanism and earth-movements WADJAK MAN (?) (fissure deposit)		
Stream aggradation, T <sub>1</sub> NGANDONG FAUNA— <i>Homo soloensis</i> <sup>1</sup> Volcanism	(Fauna of almost Recent type)	Upper
Erosion and uplift NGANDONG FAUNA Volcanic Lahar deposits		Pleistocene
—————Disconformity—————		
Erosion and strong uplift Aggradation of the synclines		
Kaboch Beds, fluvialite TRINIL FAUNA—Selenka's Trinil Fauna. Pithecanthropus. Flakes cf. Clactonian, some a primitive 'Levallois'	Narbada and Boulder Conglomerate	Final lower or early middle Pleistocene
Poetjang Beds, estuarine and fluvialite, with volcanic material DJETIS FAUNA—Dubois' Trinil Fauna. <i>Homo modjokertensis</i>	Somewhat later than Pinjor	Lower Pleistocene or late Villafranchian
KALI GLAGAH FAUNA	Pinjor	Villafranchian
TJI DJOLANG FAUNA	Tatrot	Astian

<sup>1</sup> With bone industry, including a 'barbed spearhead' (von Koenigswald, 1937).

Considering the great difficulty of separating, even in Europe, the Villafranchian from the lower Pleistocene, the Djetis Fauna, with the infant skull of *H. modjokertensis*, may be regarded either as late Villafranchian or lower Pleistocene, since it is more advanced than the Pinjor Fauna. The Trinil Fauna, with *Pithecanthropus*, is perhaps late lower Pleistocene, or early middle, depending on what position will finally be given to the Nerbada Beds. The Ngandong Fauna, with *H. soloensis*,<sup>1</sup> is regarded as upper Pleistocene because it differs but little from the Recent fauna. In view of the primitive features of *H. soloensis* this is remarkable and deserves closer attention.

*Australia, ancient beaches.* Since the climatic phases of the Pleistocene of Australia have not yet been worked out in detail and since the glacial phases distinguished in Tasmania and eastern Australia cannot yet be correlated with those of Europe (in spite of several attempts which have been made), the succession of coastal terraces is the only available means of correlation with other continents. Among the authors who have suggested eustatic correlations are Tindale (1933, 1947), Lewis (1934), Edwards (1941), Crocker and Cotton (1946), Fairbridge (1947) and Teichert (1950).

Of the Tasmanian terraces too little is known for a eustatic correlation with the northern hemisphere. Those of South Australia have received greater attention and are by some regarded as sufficiently stable for correlation with other parts of the world. Sprigg (1948, 1952) has shown that as many as fifteen separate beach complexes can be recognized in the south-eastern province of South Australia. He regards this sequence as evidence which supports the Astronomical Theory. But he also found that the area is unstable, and that during nearly the whole of the period of beach deposition, a slow down-warping to the north as going on. Gill (1956) establishes the presence of an ancient shore-line at 7.5 m. that has been dated by radiocarbon as 'older than 35,000 years'. He regards it as the equivalent of the Late Monastirian of the Old World and the Sangamon level of North America.

*Evidence for Pleistocene man in Australia.* A valuable summary of the fossil remains of man found in Australia has recently been published by Mahony. Only the Talgai Skull and the Tartanga skeletons need be mentioned (except, of course, the new find from Keilor). Although the Talgai Skull (from Queensland) was heavily mineralized, its geological position is uncertain. The Tartanga skeletons (from South Australia, Hale and Tindale, 1928) proved to be of 'some antiquity', and Tindale is inclined to think that they date from the phase of aggradation leading up to the lowest beach terrace which, presumably, is the equivalent of the Late Monastirian.

*Keilor skull.* At Keilor, near Melbourne, two fossil skulls and

<sup>1</sup> According to Weidenreich's latest view (1943) *H. soloensis* is more primitive than *H. neanderthalensis*.



parts of skeletons were found 18 feet below the surface, and 45 feet above the river, in a sandy, fluvatile terrace (Mahony, 1943a, b).

The first skull has been described by Wunderly (1943), and the teeth and the palate studied by Adam (1943). Wunderly comes to the conclusion that the skull combines Australoid and Tasmanoid characteristics in about equal proportions. But Wood Jones (1944) points out that this is by no means convincing and that a number of difficult implications would arise if it were true. There is no question, however, that the skull belongs to *Homo sapiens*.

A Pleistocene age of the skull was suggested to Mahony (1943b) by its position in a stratified deposit, 18 feet below the surface of the Keilor Terrace of the Maribyrnong River. The surface of this terrace is 103 feet above low-water mark at the locality, and 60 feet nearer the sea. This is almost exactly the level of the Main Monastirian Phase in other parts of the world (18 metres), so that Mahony's suggestion that the skull is Last Interglacial, seemingly receives confirmation.

The terrace sequence of the Maribyrnong has recently been re-studied by Keble and Macpherson (1946) who take into account a postglacial eustatic fall of sea-level of as much as 15-20 feet and thus arrive at a somewhat younger age for the Keilor deposits.

Apart from these alternatives, there is the third, viz. that the Keilor human remains represent a comparatively recent burial in the terrace deposits. This view has indeed been widely held. On the other hand, the presence of a layer of ash and calcined bones 18 feet below the surface is difficult to explain if this is the right interpretation.

The solution of the Keilor problem is largely due to E. D. Gill (1953, 1954, 1955). He showed that in the earlier attempts at dating, the terraces were regarded as a function of eustatic sea-levels, whereas they now prove to be normal river sediments. Nevertheless, the specimen is of some considerable antiquity. Radiocarbon determinations have shown that a fossil hearth 3 feet 6 inches above the skull has an age of 8500 years  $\pm$  250, and from this Gill estimates that Keilor man lived 9,000 to 10,000 years ago, i.e. at about the time of the Central Swedish Moraine.

There is other evidence for an even greater antiquity for the Australian aborigines, who go back to the time when extinct giant marsupials existed, together with the dingo, which was introduced by man. The radiocarbon dates obtained from shell gave, 13,725 years  $\pm$  350 (Gill, 1953).

*Appearance of man in North America.* Fossil man and human artifacts found in America have, up to the present, suggested a very late immigration of *H. sapiens* into that continent. The evidence for geological antiquity has been subjected to rigorous criticism, and those finds which may be regarded as reliable, date American man

back to some late phase of the Last Glaciation. Excellent summaries are found in the Symposium on *Early Man* (1937), in *Indians before Columbus* (1947) and in Flint's book (1947). The most interesting American finds of artifacts belong to the Folsom industry. Some evidence of its age has been given in Chapter II (p. 34 ff.). It may suffice, therefore, to refer again to Howard's monograph of the industry (1935), and the recent publication by Bryan and Ray (1940) on the Lindenmeier Site in Colorado. These authors studied terraces and moraines in the neighbourhood of the site and found that the Folsom culture is at least as old as the Cochrane Stage of the Wisconsin, but later than the St. Johnsbury stage. Relying on varve countings, they assign to the Folsom culture an age of from 10,000 to 25,000 years, considering the real figure to be rather nearer the higher value. Two pre-Folsom industries are known also, and the Cochise is partly contemporary with, partly later than, the Folsom. Radiocarbon dating, however, favours the later date (p. 344, Note (11), p. 406).

W. A. Johnston (in Jennes, 1933), and Antevs (1935) hold the view that very approximately 20,000 to 15,000 years ago a passage opened for man to migrate from Asia to the Great Plains. They argue that, during the maximum of the Wisconsin, the ice-sheets of the Keewatin and Cordilleran centres were connected and that at an early stage of the retreat the two became separated, so that man arriving from Siberia via the Bering Straits (the sea-level was low at that time) was able to penetrate to the open country of central and south-western America.

*Conclusion.* There is no need to add a summary to the sketchy survey of Asia, Australia and America. The Pleistocene chronology of most countries involved is in such an embryonic state that dating is hardly more than an act of reasonable guessing, mostly on a palaeontological basis. In view of the importance of some of the finds made, especially in Choukoutien, Java, and south-east Australia, even such tentative dates are not useless. In North America, Pleistocene chronology is, of course, highly developed, and being linked with the absolute chronology by the radiocarbon dating. This work remains to be done; but early man is so late in North America that the detailed chronology of the finds would add but little to the world-wide problem of the evolution of man.

## CHAPTER IX

## THE CHRONOLOGY OF EARLY MAN AND HIS CULTURES

Reviewing as a whole the archaeological chronology developed in the last three chapters, one might say that it has revealed little that is new. Nearly every one of the datings given has been suggested before and, as regards the correlation tables, many others have been published that contain much fuller information. Yet, to attempt a reasonably consistent picture of the knowledge available at a given time, with a view to being comprehensive, is one thing, and to concentrate on a presentation of the established evidence, checked by various methods, and to eliminate subjective interpretations, is another. Both tasks have to be carried out from time to time in every science. This book has, as should be obvious, the second object in view, and this renders it unavoidable that the general picture resulting from the evidence treated in it contains a number of blank patches.

Nevertheless it is advisable, after our hurried tour around the world, to summarize the evidence collected, in order to see how consistent a chronology it affords and what problems arise from it. This is done here with the aid of two tables, one showing the industrial stages (fig. 80), and another the skeletal remains of early man (fig. 81).

In both tables two degrees of reliability are distinguished, (a) the high one of 'age geologically established', i.e. of an industry or specimen having been found in a deposit which, in the author's opinion, has been dated unambiguously on *non-archaeological* grounds, and (b) the tentative one, which is less certain either because close, detailed dating is still impossible, or because the determination of the industry or specimen is open to criticism. *It is indicated by italics.* It will be seen that in the archaeological table the higher category is confined to Europe and the Mediterranean, while in the anthropological table many European specimens are tentatively placed, because geological evidence for their age is below the standard adopted in our chronology, so that they had to be dated by their associated industries. In view of the close succession of industrial phases of the upper Palaeolithic (to which most of the remains in question belong), however, the margin of error involved is likely to be small.

The logical order might seem to be to discuss Man first and then his tools, but, since the chronology of industries is supported by so much more evidence than that of their makers, it is preferable to discuss the industries first.

## A. ARCHAEOLOGICAL CHRONOLOGY

(Fig. 80.)

*Core, flake and blade cultures.* The distinction of core (or hand-axe), flake and blade cultures adopted in the table is clearly an over-simplification, but it accords with the classification still in vogue at present. The interrelations between the three groups constitute a typological problem which cannot be discussed, but from the chronological point of view it is interesting that in Europe the hand-axe cultures are finally absorbed by the Levalloisian and Mousterian at the end of the Last Interglacial. The flake cultures, in turn, last into the second phase of the Last Glaciation in some localities, and in the Pontine Marshes perhaps even longer, but in most areas of Europe they disappear with the first phase of the Last Glaciation. The appearance of blade cultures in the form of the Aurignacian is often considered as a clear-cut substitution which took place during the interstadial LGI<sub>1/2</sub>. This is so where middle or upper Aurignacian immediately follows Levalloisian or Mousterian, but in areas where the Mousterian is followed by lower Aurignacian (Chatelperronian) the transition from the 'middle' Palaeolithic 'flake' culture group to the upper Palaeolithic 'blade' group is less sharp. In Palestine, implements of the lower Aurignacian type appear in the Micoquian as early as during the Last Interglacial and are present in appreciable numbers in the lower Levalloiso-Mousterian at the end of this interglacial, though rare in the upper Levalloiso-Mousterian (pluvial corresponding to LGI<sub>1</sub>).

In South Africa, it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish core and flake cultures, as has been repeatedly emphasized by van Riet Lowe (1937, &c.), Goodwin (1935) and Cooke (1941), and the blade cultures appear only in the microlithic form, and combined with the Levalloisian flake technique.

*West and central Europe. Gap of Antepenultimate Glaciation.* The west and central European part of the table shows a curious gap, the Antepenultimate Glaciation itself having yielded no identifiable industry.<sup>1</sup> This gap was perhaps caused by the intensity of the second phase of the Antepenultimate Glaciation. It is quite conceivable that during this first very intense glaciation man was still ill-adapted to the climatic conditions of periglacial Europe and therefore on the whole avoided this zone.

*Hand-axe industries.* The European succession begins with the pre-Crag 'implements' of East Anglia, some of which are probably of pre-Early Glaciation age. Artifacts of a similar age have been described as 'Abbevillian' from Moroccan and Portuguese beaches of suggested Sicilian age. The exact relation of these implements

<sup>1</sup> One scraper-like quartzite flake has been described by Soergel (1920) from the second Preglacial Terrace (ApGI<sub>2</sub>) of Thuringia.

to the beach deposits needs close investigation, since they may well date from the post-Sicilian regression, and thus be more or less contemporary with the Early Glaciation (see also p. 179).

At the beginning of the Pleistocene we encounter the core and flake 'industries' of the East Anglian Crag (Ipswichian, Norvician, Cromerian) which, as believed by some authorities, developed up to an Abbevillian stage. If this is so, the Abbevillian would have evolved from industries of the Crag type in the course of Early Glaciation times. This appears easier to understand than the suggested existence of Abbevillian in pre-Early Glaciation times. In east and south Africa, the Abbevillian (early 'Chelles-Acheul') was preceded by pebble industries which very gradually evolve into the typical hand-axe industry.

In the Antepenultimate Interglacial the Abbevillian is the characteristic culture. Whether the flake industry named Clactonian I is entirely independent of the Abbevillian, is not known, but it is clear that the root of the typical Clactonian of the Penultimate Interglacial is to be found in the flake industry of the Antepenultimate Interglacial. The allocation of the Abbevillian to this interglacial, proposed by Commont long ago and upheld by Breuil, is confirmed by geological evidence from western Europe. The German view which assigned it to the Penultimate Interglacial must be abandoned.

In the Penultimate Interglacial we meet with the lower Acheulian. Though many lower Acheulian tools are very typical, there are plenty of reminiscences of the Abbevillian in this stage, so that its evolution from the Abbevillian cannot be doubted in spite of the gap caused by the Antepenultimate Glaciation. In view of the great difficulty of distinguishing middle from upper Acheulian (Bowler-Kelley, 1937, p. 7), and of separating the lower from the middle (Bowler-Kelley, 1937, p. 6, 'Cagny'), no definite stage of the developed Acheulian can be assigned to the Penultimate Interglacial. It is clear, however, that by the end of this interglacial the Acheulian had acquired all its characteristic attributes, like ovates and the S-twist. The Acheulian of the end of the Penultimate Interglacial is called middle by some, and late by others, but it is futile to argue over this; strictly speaking, only three stages of the Acheulian are typologically distinguishable, lower (Breuil's I-II, Commont's Chellian), middle (Breuil's III-V), and Micoquian.

In the Last Interglacial, the middle or upper Acheulian persists. There is some suggestion of its presence during the Penultimate Glaciation in northern France, but generally speaking it is absent from the 'cold' deposits of Europe. Later in the Last Interglacial it develops into the Micoquian which appears to have persisted until the climate changed to the cold conditions of LG<sub>1</sub>.

The interesting feature of this evolution of the hand-axe industries is the small amount of change observed, notwithstanding the

TIME SCALE	RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY	WEST AND CENTRAL EUROPE			NORTH. MEDITERRANEAN		
		C	F	B	C	F	B
				MESOLITHIC			MESOLITHIC
25000	LGI <sub>3</sub>			PRE-TARDIENS FRANCIACAL.			<sup>1</sup> Ch. Maudsloni
				MAGDALENIAN		<sup>1</sup> Mousterian	<del>MICEL- LITHIC</del>
72000	LGI <sub>2</sub>			SOLUTRIAN UPP. AURIGNACIAN MDAURIGNACIAN		MOUSTERIAN	<del>SCOUT GRAVETTIAN MDAURIGNACIAN</del>
			PINHOLE MOUST. FINAL LEVALL.			MOUSTERIAN	
115000	LGI <sub>1</sub>		MOUST.	LEVALL.		MOUSTERIAN	
	LIg <sub>1</sub>	MICOQUIAN  <i>Upper Acheulian</i> <i>Jayac.</i>	MOUST- ERIAN	<i>Levallois</i>  MIDDLE LEVALL.		ACHEULIAN	MOUSTERIAN
						"MOUSTERIOID"	
187000	PGI <sub>2</sub>	MIDDLE ACHEULIAN	MIDDLE LEVALLOIS				
		MIDDLE ACHEULIAN				"MOUSTERIOID"	
230000	PGI <sub>1</sub>		EARLY LEVALLOIS				
	PIg <sub>1</sub>	MIDDLE ACHEULIAN  LOWER ACHEULIAN	<sup>1</sup> Levallois technique appearing?  CLACTONIAN II			CLACTONIAN	
435000	ApGI <sub>2</sub>						
476000	ApGI <sub>1</sub>						
	ApIg <sub>1</sub>	ABBEVILLIAN	Clactonian I				
550000	EGI <sub>2</sub>	CROMERIAN					
		NORVICIAN					
590000	EGI <sub>1</sub>	IPSVICIAN					
VILLA FRANCHIAN		<sup>1</sup> Abbevillian on Fildian in Morocco	<sup>2</sup> pre-Red Crag flakes				

FIG. 80.—Chronology of the Palaeolithic in different regions of the world. terms have been suggested for use in South Africa :—'Chelles-Acheul' to replace

[illegible]

Tentative datings in *italics*. C: core; F: flake; B: blade industries. New 'Stellenbosch' and 'Pre-Chelles-Acheul' to replace 'Pre-Stellenbosch'.

huge time-span covered. Judged by the standards of, say, the upper Palaeolithic, the evolutionary rates of the Crag 'industries' and of the Abbevillian, covering about 60 thousand years each, are small; but smaller yet is that of the Acheulian which lasted through 300 thousand years of which something like 200 thousand years appear to have been occupied by the 'middle stage' (Ach. III to V). This conservatism of the Acheulian is one of the most striking phenomena in the chronology of the Palaeolithic.

*Flake industries.* Among the flake industries, the Clactonian is contemporary with the Abbevillian and the lower Acheulian, and in technique it is indeed not unrelated to the former. It would be interesting to know whether the Clactonian actually persisted through the Antepenultimate Glaciation in the periglacial zone. In the earlier part of the Penultimate Interglacial it is in the typical stage, Clactonian II. This is definitely prior to the appearance of any Levalloisian. Whether the so-called Clactonian III, or High Lodge industry, belongs to the late Penultimate Interglacial, or to the Last Interglacial, has not been decided. Geological evidence tends to support the earlier age, but the typological step from Clacton II to Clacton III is great indeed. This, however, may be explained by an absorption of Acheulian methods by the Clactonian tool-makers (Hawkes, 1940, p. 16).

The first appearance of the Levalloisian technique is to be considered as an event of some magnitude since it involves a greater amount of foresight in the making of tools. The (fractured or unfractured) raw material is not directly shaped into the tool, but a core specimen essentially different from the desired tool is made first, and then the tool from a flake struck from the core thus prepared. It is of greatest interest, therefore, to watch the first traces of Levalloisian technique coming in.

In western Europe the Levalloisian *as an industry* is present in the first cold phase of the Penultimate Glaciation. That the technique appeared earlier than this, is not unlikely. At Swanscombe (100-foot terrace) where the implements have been studied most carefully, Hawkes inclines to the view that no real Levalloisian is present (Swanscombe Report, p. 44), whilst Warren (*l.c.*, p. 47) attaches more importance to the few flakes with prepared striking platforms that have been found, considering the Levalloisian as a continuous development from the Clactonian, during the time of the Swanscombe aggradation (PIgl). In Germany, flake industries referable to this interglacial have sometimes a Levalloisian aspect. On the whole, therefore, the appearance of the Levalloisian technique in (probably the latter part of) the Penultimate Interglacial is to be presumed.

The Levalloisian is, generally, a conservative culture. The early Levalloisian (Breuil's I-II) and again the early upper Levalloisian



(Breuil's V) include large, coarse flakes. It is curious that both occur at the beginning of a glaciation (PGI<sub>1</sub> and LGI<sub>1</sub>, respectively), when the climate was turning cold. There may be an ecological reason for the adoption of large flakes under certain climatic conditions.

The Levalloisian lasted for some 180,000 years in Europe. It finally disappeared during LGI<sub>1</sub>. In South Africa, however, it has survived practically into modern times. (Note (44), p. 425.)

The term Tayacian has often been applied by some to Clactonian-like flake industries which precede the Mousterian or are later than Clactonian II, and it has been suggested that they might be the 'missing link' between the two, the Tayacian being the parent of a Mousterian which, originally, showed no Levalloisian admixture. But it has not yet been made clear what is understood by 'Tayacian' when so used, since Breuil, when proposing the name, defined it as an industry 'à éclats où la technique du plan de frappe préparé s'introduit et s'associe avec la taille clactonienne' (1932, p. 184). Surely, if this is the original definition, 'Tayacian' cannot be confined to industries with Clactonian flakes and without any Levalloisian influence. For the time being, therefore, Tayacian appears to be used by many typologists for any kind of rough, Clactonian-like industry which cannot be classified as Clactonian I, II or III, and which often is patently due to poor raw material. The appearance of 'Tayacian' in our table, therefore, should not induce the reader to speculate on its chronological relations to other industries. Quite probably, many 'mousterioid' industries mentioned in literature are of the same type.

Mousterian in the modern sense excludes, of course, the Levalloisian. It is the product of cultural fusion, a flake industry having adopted Acheulian methods of *retouche*, and to some extent even tool forms. At the moment the opinion is widely held that the 'true Mousterian' is free from Levalloisian influence, and due to a fusion of Tayacian and Acheulian elements. As pointed out in the preceding paragraph, the Tayacian itself sometimes used the Levalloisian technique. It is difficult to understand, therefore, how a 'pure' Mousterian could exist. Indeed the industries from the type site of Le Moustier reveal that even in the lower layers of 'pure Mousterian' typical Levalloisian flakes occur; and that the Levallois technique was thereafter in use throughout the deposit. In La Quina, however, Levallois flakes are apparently absent,<sup>1</sup> but this is not the type site of the Mousterian.

<sup>1</sup> Bowler-Kelley (1937, p. 15) suggests an interesting explanation for this difference: the raw material determined which technique, Levallois or Clacton, was used. At Le Moustier, where pebbles were used, the Levallois technique produced the largest possible flakes obtainable; at La Quina, however, the raw material, blocks of flint, did not enforce limitations in size of the cores, and the more wasteful, but simpler, Clacton technique was used.

The combination of Levalloisian, Acheulian and Tayacian or Clactonian elements which resulted in the Mousterian industry of Europe occurred during the Last Interglacial. No Mousterian site is known which dates from the first part of this interglacial. It begins at a time when the climate was mild, when the Acheulian blossomed out into the Micoquian, and when the middle Levalloisian was nearing its end, whilst 'Tayacian' preceded it in the earlier part of this interglacial. Conditions for the fusion of the three elements, therefore, were favourable. This fusion was hardly a unique event, and the great variability of the Mousterian suggests that local and temporary influences from outside played a great part in modifying it.

The fusion of several elements into a new industry is, as such, not in the least surprising. In the very favourable climatic conditions of the second half of the Last Interglacial the population of Europe was conceivably fairly dense (i.e. within the low density of population possible under a wild-food economy), and the co-existence of two or three cultural groups side by side must have encouraged cultural intercourse and exchange of ideas. It is remarkable, however, that the Levalloisians all the time maintained their cultural individuality, although they took over from the Acheulians the practice of making hand-axes, and so forth. They did not merge with the Mousterians until the Last Glaciation, the Levalloisian VI/VII now being generally regarded as Mousterian. The Acheulians disappeared when the Last Glaciation began, whilst the Mousterian proved to be adaptable to the cold climate. This raises again the interesting question why the hand-axe industries vanished from the scene when a periglacial zone developed (see p. 292).

In most parts of Europe, the Mousterian did not outlast the end of the first phase of the Last Glaciation. During the following interstadial, Aurignacian replaced it, except in some circumscribed areas where the Mousterian survived into LGI<sub>2</sub>. North of the Alps, an area of this kind is Derbyshire, but the 'Pin Hole Mousterian' plainly contains an admixture of upper Palaeolithic elements. Other sites are Achenheim and northern France.

Thus, we find that both Levalloisian and Mousterian varieties of the so-called middle Palaeolithic survived locally into the time of the spreading and establishment of the upper Palaeolithic. Measured in years, this survival was a considerable affair, some 30 to 40 thousand years.

In view of the association of Mousterian (and Levalloisian) with *Homo neanderthalensis*, and of the Upper Palaeolithic with *H. sapiens*, one is inclined to interpret this survival in terms of race. There is probably some truth in this, but both anthropological and typological evidence seem to indicate that absorption played a greater part in the process than did extinction (see p. 301).

*Appearance of Aurignacian.* In east and central Europe, middle and upper Aurignacian are present at the beginning of the second phase of the Last Glaciation. It is difficult to say for how long the middle Aurignacian lasted into this cold phase, since the evidence from Renancourt on the Somme (p. 173) is not unambiguous. In Palestine, it begins in the latter half of the interstadial and lasts to the climax of the pluvial phase corresponding to LGL<sub>2</sub>. Its presence during the interstadial is further suggested by the Castillo cave. But it appears that, on the whole, upper Aurignacian took the place of the middle in most parts of Europe when and where the climate changed to the periglacial type early during LGL<sub>2</sub>.

The Chatelperronian (see Note (42), p. 425) is not reliably datable, though it most probably belongs to the early part of the interstadial LGL<sub>1/2</sub>. In Europe, it is known from few sites only and, since it precedes later Aurignacian, may well date from the first interstadial. But it may be earlier than this, since there is no evidence with regard to its maximum age. The Szeletian or eastern Solutrian of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, however, appeared definitely in this interstadial (Prošek, 1954; Zeuner, 1956), to which it is on the whole restricted.

From the beginning of LGL<sub>2</sub> onwards, however, the archaeological succession is clearer. It may be summarized as follows. While the middle Aurignacian may have lasted into this time, upper Aurignacian or Gravettian dominates, both in the west ('western' Gravettian) and in the east (Předmost or 'eastern' Gravettian). When the loess phase of this glacial phase was at its climax, Solutrian appeared, north of the Alpine mountain chains, and in Spain. This was, in the major part of west Europe, a comparatively brief invasion since, when the climate was still periglacial, the Magdalenian followed the Solutrian in many areas, especially in the west of Europe. In other areas, such as east of the Elbe, the Gravettian developed into an industry which is comparable with the Magdalenian in many respects. In the south, the Gravettian is replaced by the Grimaldian at the same time. When the climate improved, the Magdalenian, both in its typical, western, and its eastern variety, and the Grimaldian, persisted.

*Cultural changes during LGL<sub>2</sub> and absolute chronology.* The changes in the industries which took place during the second phase of the Last Glaciation appear at first sight crowded compared with the stability of the following, long-extended period of the Magdalenian. This disproportion of the Aurignacian complex compared with the Magdalenian was originally considered as real, and 30,000 and 50,000 years were assigned to them respectively. Since then, evidence has been accumulating that the mild phase of the interstadial LGL<sub>2/3</sub> was short (Note (13a), p. 407). This means that the cold conditions of LGL<sub>2</sub> may have continued for some considerable time after the climax of this phase. Since the dating of the Gravettian in part

relies on climatic evidence it is conceivable, therefore, that the sequence, Middle Aurignacian-Solutrian-Gravettian-Early Magdalenian has to be spread over a much longer period of time than formerly suggested. What evidence for mild, interstadial conditions exists (Peterfels, p. 161), would suggest that the mild phase preceded Magdalenian IV and that it was of the order of 15,000 years. It is impossible to do more than to suggest in the most tentative manner that this mild phase coincided with the period of maximum summer radiation about 45,000 years B.P., perhaps with some retardation. The Aurignacian may thus have lasted some 50,000, and the Magdalenian, 30,000 years. (Note (43), p. 425.)

*Duration of some industries.* It may be useful to compare, in tabular form, the durations of some of the industries, as they can be deduced from the absolute chronology of the Pleistocene. For a variety of reasons these figures must not be regarded as final, but as a picture of the present state of our knowledge they are, I think, of some value. (Note (24), p. 415):

Industry	Approximate earliest and latest dates	Duration in years
Crag 'industries'	? -540,000 B.P.	60,000 ys. or more
Abbevillian	540-480,000 B.P.	60,000 ys.
Acheulian	430-130,000 B.P.	300,000 ys.
Middle-Upper Acheulian (excl. Micoquian)	mid PIGl-mid LIGl	200,000 ys. or less
Clactonian (excl. Tayacian)	540-240,000 B.P.	300,000 ys.
Levalloisian	250-70,000 B.P.	180,000 ys.
Mousterian	140-70,000 B.P.	70,000 ys.
Eastern Aurignacian	c. 100-50,000 B.P. (longer in south)	50,000 ys.
Solutrian	—	short (?)
Magdalenian	50-10,000 B.P.	40,000 ys.
Mesolithic	20-c. 5,000 B.P.	15,000 ys.

*Apparent dependence of certain cultures on climate.* The hand-axe culture is, on the whole, confined to the mild phases of the Pleistocene. The same applies, apparently, to the Clactonian. The Levalloisian and Mousterian occurred in both mild and cold phases, but owing to the absence of hand-axe industries from the cold phases, they dominate in the latter. I venture to suggest that the reason for these differences lies in the ecological specialization of the cultures, the true hand-axe being an excellent instrument for digging up roots, grubs, and other food from the ground, the Clactonian flakes with their strong cutting edges and many hollow scrapers being particularly suited for the working of wood, and the Levalloisian being essentially a hunter's culture, with a type of flake which would as a rule be admirably suitable for cutting and preparing carcasses. If one regards

the Abbevillio-Acheulians	as vegetable and grub gatherers
the Clactonians	as forest people
the Levalloisians	as hunters
the Mousterians	as hunters chiefly, who acquired some of the practices of the other groups

one is able to understand why the first two are essentially interglacial, and the last two both glacial and interglacial.

*Outstanding events in the Palaeolithic chronology of Europe.* The two most important events in the course of the European Palaeolithic are unquestionably (a) the introduction of the Levalloisian technique, and (b) the arrival of upper Palaeolithic man. It is, therefore, interesting to compare the chronological positions of these two events in Europe and in other parts of the world.

*Mediterranean.* The Mediterranean (see fig. 80, columns 'Northern Mediterranean' and 'Palestine') appears to provide the clue to several problems related to the spreading of the upper Palaeolithic. With regard to the lower and middle Palaeolithic it adds no chronological information to what is known from temperate Europe, except the suggestion that the Micoquian influence in the upper Acheulian appeared earlier in Palestine than in western Europe, namely at the end of the Penultimate Glaciation.

*Last Interglacial.* In Palestine, upper Palaeolithic tools appear as an admixture in the Acheulian and Levalloisian horizons during the Last Interglacial. Elsewhere in the Mediterranean area, and in temperate Europe, too, such upper Palaeolithic component is absent, though a few tool types which become prominent in the upper Palaeolithic are found in the Mousterian (burins, for instance). The evidence from Palestine suggests that during the Last Interglacial upper Palaeolithic man was perhaps living somewhere in Asia (as suggested by Garrod), and shows that the upper Palaeolithic peoples, who invaded Europe after the first phase of the Last Glaciation, may have been members of a much older culture group than would be inferred from the European evidence alone.

*LGI<sub>1</sub>.* During the first phase of the Last Glaciation, we find Levalloisian and Mousterian, and their varieties, everywhere. In this phase, the upper Palaeolithic component in the Palestine sequence had become rare.

*Interstadial LGI<sub>1/2</sub>.* During the interstadial LGI<sub>1/2</sub>, the middle Palaeolithic is much reduced, and by the end of this phase replaced by some form of upper Palaeolithic in most localities. Mousterian appears to survive in middle Italy (as does the Levalloisian in northern France). The Chatelperronian is placed here, though its chronological position has become uncertain and the possibility of a somewhat greater age cannot be excluded.

The Chatelperronian is not known from North Africa, nor has

it been found in Italy. So far as the latter country is concerned, there is reason to believe that this absence of the true Chatelperronian is connected with the development of a local upper Palaeolithic. The Grotta Romanelli in Italy suggests perhaps that the Grimaldian was developing its characteristics as early as this interstadial, possibly influenced by south Mediterranean industries. It would appear, therefore, that an Aurignacian stock, contemporary with the Chatelperronian, developed in Italy into the local Grimaldian variety of the Aurignacian, and that this process began during the first interstadial of the Last Glaciation. The faint indication of Capsian influence found by G. A. Blanc in the Terra Rossa of Romanelli might mean that the Capsian began as a similar, North African, development from an Aurignacian stock which had spread over the Mediterranean during the early part of the interstadial under discussion, though more typological evidence is required. The Szeletian developed under the impact of this Aurignacian.

Thus, for the early part of this interstadial, one gains the impression of local developments of a primitive Aurignacian stock, while in some areas the Mousterian or Levalloisian was still surviving. The evidence from this phase is on the whole scantier than from the later ones, so that one might suspect that the density of population was much lower than during the later phases.

Later in the same interstadial, we witness the beginning of a remarkable period of migrations of upper Palaeolithic man. The first invasion of Europe was that by the middle Aurignacian, which occurred, presumably late, in the interstadial and possibly reached some places only at the beginning of LGI<sub>2</sub>. Garrod (1938, p. 20) has shown that this invasion started from the east, perhaps the Iranian Plateau. In Palestine, the middle Aurignacian had a strong foothold and lasted definitely into LGI<sub>1</sub>. Miss Garrod's admirable chart (1938, fig. 6) shows plainly that from Palestine and Anatolia, the middle Aurignacian localities extend across the Black Sea and north-westwards into central Europe, and thence westwards into France and Spain. This looks much like a geographically limited invasion by a people who worked north-westwards from the lands of the Black Sea, as did in later times the Danubians and other Neolithic tribes.

It is very interesting to note that no middle Aurignacian is known from southern Italy. Instead, there is an abundance of Grimaldian, especially in Sicily. It was discussed and re-described by Vaufray (1928) but is, unfortunately, not closely dated. It suggests that, while the middle Aurignacian invaders settled in Europe along the route outlined in the preceding paragraph, the Grimaldian continued to evolve from its ancestral stock in Italy.

In the whole of Italy there is only one locality with middle Aurignacian, at the Monte Circeo (Blanc, 1939*b*), but the section

does not yet render accurate geological dating possible (see p. 244). This appears to be the southernmost point occupied by the middle Aurignacians, possibly an isolated one reached from southern France.

*LGI<sub>2</sub>*. The second phase of the Last Glaciation witnessed so many changes that it is conveniently divided, though somewhat arbitrarily, into Period I (beginning of climatic deterioration, pseudo-pluvial), Period II (intensification of periglacial climate, passage to cold pluvial), Period III (climax of glacial phase, loess in temperate Europe, and cold-continental pluvial in Mediterranean), and Period IV (slight relaxation of the rigorous climate, immediately after III, initiating the conditions of the following interstadial).

*LGI<sub>2</sub>: P. I.*—No marked change in the industries has taken place, the middle Aurignacian appears to persist where it had established itself, while the Grimaldian continues in Italy and Mousterian in parts of western Europe.

*LGI<sub>2</sub>: P. II.*—Whilst in Palestine the middle Aurignacian continues, the Gravettian now replaces the middle Aurignacian in the whole of Europe except Italy. The eastern Gravettian, characterized by its shouldered points and female statuettes (Garrod, 1938, p. 23; A. C. Blanc, 1938*d*) is intrusive, but unlike the middle Aurignacian, this migration entered Europe from the Russian plains, passing north to the Carpathians, and pushing through central Europe to France, with branches extending into the Grimaldian province (statuettes of Grimaldi and Savignano). The western Gravettian, whose separate character is emphasized by Hawkes (1940, p. 31), is contemporary with the eastern.<sup>1</sup> There is, so far, no suggestion of its origin, except that it cannot have come from Africa through Spain (Garrod, 1938).

*LGI<sub>2</sub>: P. III.*—During the maximum of *LGI<sub>2</sub>*, the western Solutrian intrudes into the Aurignacian sequence. It has been supposed that the Solutrian spread west from Hungary, a view which could be supported by the chronological evidence for the Szeletian. But the great thickness of the strata containing Solutrian at Parpalló in Spain (Pericot, 1942) may compel one to modify the traditional view. If this means long duration, and not merely a fast rate of sedimentation, the Solutrian would appear to have occupied a somewhat longer period of time than is suggested by evidence from France.

In the south of Italy, a Capsian influence in the Grimaldian becomes more noticeable.

*LGI<sub>2</sub>: P. IV.*—After the climax of *LGI<sub>2</sub>*, when the climate was still periglacial in temperate Europe, the Magdalenian culture superseded the Solutrian in western Europe. As shown by Breuil in his classic work on the upper Palaeolithic (1912, 1937), it represents another wave of immigrants. The extreme adaptation to tundra

<sup>1</sup> Where 'eastern' influence is noticeable in the western Gravettian, it is in the upper, 'Font Robert', level only.

and taiga exhibited by the Magdalenian suggests that it evolved in an area where these environments existed, though the absence from Europe of industries which might be ancestral to the Magdalenian indicates that this evolution took place elsewhere.

But typical Magdalenian did not appear everywhere in the periglacial zone. Scanty evidence from central Europe shows that upper Gravettian traditions survived and that industries of this type eventually changed, by convergence due to similar environmental conditions, into industries of Magdalenian facies.

In Italy, the Grimaldian continued. Locally, even a final Mousterian may have persisted. In Palestine, the middle Aurignacian was, by this time, replaced by the Atlitian which appears to have grown from the local middle Aurignacian by a process of hybridization with other upper Palaeolithic industries. No Gravettian or Grimaldian stage has been found in Palestine.

*Interstadial LGl<sub>2/3</sub>.* During the interstadial LGl<sub>2/3</sub>, we find an intensification of local evolution everywhere. The time of definite migration has apparently come to an end.

While the Magdalenian and its substitutes continued in periglacial Europe and in Spain until after the maximum of LGl<sub>3</sub>, the Grimaldian persisted in Italy. On the Riviera, temporary Magdalenian influence is recognizable, and the Capsian also appears to have contributed to increase the variety of industries, partly by introducing a microlithic element.

*European and Mediterranean upper Palaeolithic. Conclusion.* Surveying the upper Palaeolithic of Europe and the Mediterranean as a whole, we must admit that many problems, especially those of the sources of the Capsian, Chatelperronian and First Interstadial Grimaldian, remain unsolved. Apart from this, however, a fascinating picture of a Palaeolithic 'Age of Migrations' begins to reveal itself, when in comparatively close succession the middle Aurignacians, Gravettians, Solutrians and Magdalenians invaded Europe from the east.

*North-west India.* Since the correlation of the north-west Indian Pleistocene with that of Europe, based on the detailed chronology, is highly tentative, it must suffice here to point out that, provided the suggested correlation is correct, the Early Acheulian would have appeared at the same time as in Europe (PIgl). The first traces of the Levalloisian technique would fall at the Penultimate Glaciation, presumably its first phase, and the Late Levalloisian would have been contemporary with the end of the Last Interglacial, again as in Europe. There is no obvious discrepancy in the Palaeolithic of north-west India and Europe. In particular, attention is drawn to the fact that the Levalloisian appeared at about the same time as in Europe. (For Gujarat, see Zeuner, 1950.)

*South Africa.* The correlation of South Africa with the northern



hemisphere is even more tentative than that of north-west India with Europe. Taking it for what little it is worth, it would show that on the whole the cultures were somewhat retarded in South Africa. The pre-Stellenbosch stages would be contemporary with the Abbevillian of Europe. The Stellenbosch, however, would have caught up with Europe during the middle Pleistocene and thus have been largely contemporary with the Acheulian. The Levalloisian technique would, once more, have appeared in late middle Pleistocene times. The upper Palaeolithic would have had little influence in South Africa, even the latest Pleistocene industries being basically of Micoquian and Levalloisian tradition.

#### B. CHRONOLOGY OF EARLY MAN

(Fig. 81.)

*Pithecanthropus-group.* In the *Pithecanthropus-group* of the table, the Javanese finds have been combined with those of *Sinanthropus* from China. There is little doubt, after Weidenreich's studies (1943, &c.), that the two are so closely related that they can be regarded as geographical races of a single species<sup>1</sup> (Weidenreich, 1940, p. 377). This species should, according to the International Rules of Zoological Nomenclature, be called *Homo erectus* (Dubois), with the subspecies *H. e. erectus* (Dubois) and *H. e. pekinensis* (Black). *H. modjokertensis*, discovered by von Koenigswald (1936b), is a juvenile specimen of *Pithecanthropus* or *H. e. erectus* (Weidenreich, 1940, p. 376; 1943, p. 229). All these specimens are of lower Pleistocene age, though *Pithecanthropus* may just have lasted into the middle Pleistocene. The finds made up to the present, therefore, suggest that the *Pithecanthropus-group* of *Homo* is of great antiquity and that, to give a very rough date, it existed prior to 400,000 B.P.

A somewhat uncertain position is occupied by *Homo soloensis* Oppenoorth, which the author regards as belonging to the Neanderthal stage, though he emphasizes at the same time that in the structure of the *sinus frontalis* it resembles *Pithecanthropus* sufficiently to make one think of a direct line of descent. Weidenreich (1943, p. 276) has developed this idea still further and regards *H. soloensis* as a link between *Pithecanthropus* and the modern Australoids. On palaeontological evidence *H. soloensis* has been allocated to the upper Pleistocene.

Another find of a primitive skull was made at Rabat in Morocco

<sup>1</sup> Unless one regards all fossil and recent men as forms of one species, as suggested by Weidenreich (1943, p. 276, no. 10). It is more convenient, however, to distinguish three, *H. erectus*, *H. neanderthalensis*, and *H. sapiens*, but biologically they are hardly more than 'good subspecies'.

(Marçais, 1934). The left portion of the maxilla and the mandible are preserved. Though described as Neanderthaloid by Vallois (1945), this specimen exhibits so many primitive characters that it is advisable not to assign it to the Neanderthal-group *sensu stricto*. Its geological age was first determined by Neuville and Rühlmann (1944), who came to the conclusion that Rabat Man lived during the period between the retreat of the Tyrrhenian sea and the Monastirian transgression to 12–15 metres. This, if true, would mean that the fossil dates approximately from the Penultimate Glaciation. Choubert and Marçais (1947), however, hold that the specimen is older, belonging to the pre-Tyrrhenian regression.

Atlantthropus, found at Ternifine (Palikao) in Algeria (Arambourg, 1955), is the most important recent discovery belonging to the pithecanthropine group. Three jaws are known (Arambourg, 1956). The fauna includes *Machairodus* and other early species, and the accompanying industry is a primitive Acheulian with cleavers. This discovery associates the Acheulian with a pithecanthropine type of man, though it remains to be established whether such association applies everywhere. The virtual non-existence of Acheulian human finds makes this site very important.

*Neanderthal-group*. Little need be said about the Neanderthal-group of man. The age within the detailed chronology of most of the finds has been discussed by Zeuner (1940). All fall within the Last Interglacial and the first phase of the Last Glaciation, with the exception of the Steinheim Skull, the geological position of which is now certain to be Penultimate Interglacial (Adam, 1957). The Rhodesian Skull (*H. rhodesiensis*), an undated Neanderthaloid, has been placed in the upper Pleistocene by Desmond Clark and others (1950).

No Neanderthal remains have yet been found which confirm his assumed association with the surviving Levalloisian and Moustierian *after* LGl<sub>1</sub>.

The suggestion that the Neanderthal group originated in the lower Pleistocene may be based on the Heidelberg jaw, from the interstandial ApGl<sub>1/2</sub>. Weidenreich (1936, p. 120; 1957) regarded it as a member of the Neanderthal group, and if this is correct Neanderthal man could well be descended from the Pithecanthropus group. The Steinheim skull of the Great Interglacial is a pre-Neanderthaler and continues this line. Swanscombe man, dating unquestionably from the same interglacial may well be a pre-Neanderthaler also, although its *sapiens* features have been greatly stressed.

*Homo cf. sapiens-group*. The view that *H. sapiens* is a late figure on the human stage is still held by some authors. The chronological evidence, however, though scanty for the early phases, does not support it (Zeuner, 1957).

TIME SCALE	PHASES	PITHECANTHROPUS GROUP	NEANDERTHALOIDS	HOMO CF. SAPIENS
		Pg1		DERIVATIVES AND HYBRIDS OF UPPER PALAEOLITHIC STOCKS
25000	UPPER PLEISTOCENE	LGI <sub>3</sub>		
				<i>Chancelade; Laugerie Base (C.M.)</i>
72000		LGI <sub>2</sub>		<i>Crô-Magnon Skull</i> <i>Grimaldi (C.M. TYPE)</i>
				GRIMALDI NEGROIDS
				<i>Combe Capelle</i>
115000	UPPER	LGI <sub>1</sub>	GIBRALTAR, JERSEY, LA NAULETTE, SPY, <i>La Quina, La Chapelle (1)</i>	EARLY: MT. CARMEL (SKHUL)
		LIG1	LATE: <i>Monte Circeo</i> TAUBACH, EHRINGSDORF MT. CARMEL (TABUN), <i>Salilee</i> , KRAPINA, SACCOPASTORE	<i>Fonté-Chévade</i>
	MIDDLE PLEISTOCENE		<i>Homo soloensis (NEANDERTH)</i>	
187000		PGI <sub>2</sub>		
230000		PGI <sub>1</sub>		
	MIDDLE PLEISTOCENE	PIg1	H. STEINHEIMENSIS	SWANSCOMBE
		<i>?Atlantropus</i> <i>?Pithecanthropus</i>		
435000	LOWER PLEISTOCENE	ApGI <sub>2</sub>	<i>Rabat</i> HOMO HEIDELBERGENSIS	
476000		ApGI <sub>1</sub>		
		ApIG1	SINANTHROPUS	
			H. MODJOKERTENSIS PITHECANTHROPUS	
550000	LOWER PLEISTOCENE	EGI <sub>2</sub>		
590000		EGI <sub>1</sub>		
VILLAFRANCHIAN				

FIG. 81.—Chronology of Fossil Man. Tentative datings in *italics*. (1) Other Neanderthaloids tentatively referable to LGI<sub>1</sub> are La Ferrassie, Pech de l'Azé, Monte Circeo (second alternative).

Some human fossils with *sapiens* characters come, or have been described as coming, from the lower Pleistocene. One is Piltdown Man ('*Eoanthropus dawsoni* (Smith Woodward)'), which, however, has been proved to be a forgery (Oakley, 1950; Weiner *et al.*, 1955; Note (45), p. 425). Apart from the fluorine content, the anatomical study of the teeth by Le Gros Clark, that of the 'implements' by Oakley and the chemistry of the bones, their radioactivity and the geological position of the site have made this evident. The jaw had previously been under suspicion (Weidenreich, 1936; Marston, 1950). This specimen, therefore, has to be struck from the list.

In East Africa, Leakey (1936) holds that both the Kanam jaw and the Kanjera skull fragments are of lower Pleistocene age, but others regard their age as uncertain. There is a fair chance, however, that fresh evidence will come forward from this important area.

In the middle Pleistocene we are on safer ground. Swanscombe Man, dating unquestionably from the Great Interglacial, resembles in its preserved characters *Homo sapiens* (Swanscombe report, 1938). Coon (1939) erroneously associated with it Galley Hill Man (Keith, 1929, p. 250), a skeleton found in the vicinity which has proved to be a Postglacial burial. (Note (45), p. 425.) There are other discoveries of skeletal remains of modern type from apparently middle Pleistocene deposits, such as Ipswich Man (Keith, 1929, p. 292), whose stratigraphical position is regarded as doubtful by most workers. These fossils cannot be resuscitated again, but Swanscombe Man, if he indeed is a pre-Neanderthaloril ancestor of *Homo cf. sapiens*, would provide a link. He existed during the Penultimate Interglacial, about 250,000 or more years ago. This makes him older than the entire true Neanderthal-group.

In the Last Interglacial, the presence of *Homo cf. sapiens* has been confirmed by the discovery of two cranial fragments at Fontéchevade (Charente, France). They were found by Mlle. Henri-Martin (1947; Movius, 1948) and the remains described by Vallois (1947). The associated industry is Tayacian (Breuil, 1946). This is indeed an important find; though the age of the stratum has not yet been established on strictly geological evidence, it is certainly interglacial, and most probably Last Interglacial (Note (46), p. 426).

Another representative of *Homo sapiens* regarded as of the Last Interglacial, is the Keilor Skull from southern Australia. This recent discovery has since proved to be of postglacial age. (See p. 280.)

Prehistoric evidence also suggests that *H. sapiens* was well established before he entered, or perhaps re-entered, the European scene at the beginning of the upper Palaeolithic.

In the light of this evidence, Mount Carmel Man is likely to be of the hybrid type. Keith and McCown consider him a form intermediate between *H. neanderthalensis* and *H. sapiens*, and discard the hybrid theory for lack of conclusive proof (see, for instance,

McCown, 1936, p. 137). Since the time of their work, however, Swanscombe and Fontéchevade Man have weakened their argument that there is no 'certain evidence of the presence of Neanthropic Man in periods anterior to the end of the Pleistocene'. Coon (1939, p. 25, p. 38) regards the population of the Skhul cave of Mount Carmel as hybrids between the two types of man which existed at the time. This theory finds support in archaeological evidence.

Much of Europe, however, and Palestine in part, appear to have been populated by more or less pure Neanderthal men, from the middle of the Last Interglacial to the end of the first phase of the Last Glaciation. Then, in the interstadial LG1<sub>1/2</sub>, *H. sapiens* began to replace *H. neanderthalensis* in the whole of Europe, most evidently as the result of large-scale immigration. That *H. neanderthalensis* was not completely exterminated, but at least partially absorbed by the immigrants, has been suggested by Coon on anthropological evidence (1939, p. 37), though this author thinks 'that the main accretion of the Neanderthal element took place farther east'.

It is very interesting to follow these waves of *H. sapiens* in the upper Pleistocene of Europe.

*Upper Pleistocene Homo sapiens in Europe. Combe Capelle.* The earliest remains of *H. sapiens* (apart from Swanscombe Man) are those associated with the Aurignacian industries. Coon (1939, p. 33) lists three specimens of the lower Aurignacian, (a) Combe Capelle, and (b, c) the two negroids from Grimaldi. The last two, however, are not earlier than middle Aurignacian, so that only Combe-Capelle Man remains, a scanty basis indeed on which to build conceptions of racial history. This specimen differs in many respects from the middle and upper Aurignacian specimens and is more akin to Recent man than is this intervening fossil group.

*Grimaldi negroids.* The negroid skeletons from the Grotte des Enfants, too, deviate from the majority of upper Palaeolithic men, but also from Combe Capelle. They show nothing of the robusticity and exuberance of bodily growth of Crô-Magnon Man, whose contemporaries they were.

These skeletons came from foyer I of the Grotte des Enfants. Originally, they were regarded as associated with lower Aurignacian, which view has been adopted by Burkitt (1925, p. 185) and Coon (1939, p. 33). But Vaufreyc (1928, pp. 108-9) states that the foyer K, beneath these skeletons, contains Aurignac bone points (à base fendue), burins busqués and lames à étranglement which are middle Aurignacian types. In the layers above, upper Aurignacian stone tools become abundant, and the bone tools rarer and atypical. For this Italian facies of the upper Palaeolithic, Vaufreyc adopted Rellini's term, *Grimaldian*. It looks, therefore, 's'il y avait substitution au facies aurignacien occidental (Aurignacien *sensu stricto*) du facies italien de cette même industrie' (1928, p. 109).

This suggests that the negroids are not lower Aurignacian, but middle or upper. The fact that a skeleton of Crô-Magnon type was found in foyer H, where the upper Aurignacian tool types become frequent, might indicate that the negroids here represent the middle Aurignacian, but this most certainly need not imply that all middle Aurignacians were 'negroids'. This question needs investigation after a careful typological allocation of the Aurignacian skulls which have so far been considered in bulk only by most anthropologists.

The precise age of the negroids appears to be late in the interstadial LGI<sub>1/2</sub>, since Merck's Rhinoceros is found only in the deeper, Mousterian level (L), according to Obermaier, while the reindeer does not appear until foyer F, which is in the Grimaldian complex. Crô-Magnon Man occurs immediately above the negroids, i.e. late in the interstadial or at the beginning of LGI<sub>2</sub>.

The Grimaldi 'negroids' stand curiously apart from other men of Aurignacian age. Though their affinity to the negro stock is by no means certain, they indicate the presence of a race different from both Combe Capelle and Crô-Magnon, and unknown elsewhere in the Palaeolithic of Europe.

*Châtelperron*. Another skull of *H. sapiens* appears to come from the type site of the *Châtelperronian* (Lacaille, 1947), but it is not dated geologically.

*Crô-Magnon*. Middle and Upper Aurignacian Man<sup>1</sup> is well attested by about 85 skulls which all belong to the Crô-Magnon type. In this group, Coon has found evidence for the admixture of Neanderthal blood which he makes responsible for several of the properties of this race, such as its tallness, for instance. Whether the Crô-Magnon race appeared as early as in the mild interstadial LGI<sub>1/2</sub>, or not until the climate turned cold at the beginning of LGI<sub>2</sub>, is uncertain. Certain it is, however, that they were present by this time, not only in large numbers, but also in two different racial types, a dolichocephalic eastern or Pŕedmost type, and a more broad-headed western type (Crô-Magnon proper). This early racial differentiation finds a parallel in cultural differences.

*Magdalenian and later man*. The Crô-Magnon type survived into the Magdalenian. But another type has been found associated with the Magdalenian, that of Chancelade, supposed to have eskimoid affinities. Since the Magdalenian was especially adapted to life in a cold climate, it has been suggested that Magdalenian and Eskimo are related, both racially and culturally (for instance, Morant, 1926, pp. 257-76). While the cultural resemblance, so far as it exists, is

<sup>1</sup> Coon considers this group in bulk, together with Solutrian man, because the material was originally monographed by Morant (1930-1) in this form. Coon's conclusions are based on a re-consideration of Morant's extensive study of this group.

believed by several authors to be the result of convergence, the racial affinity is still *sub judice*. Although there are several skulls from various localities which exhibit the eskimoid features (eversion of gonial angles, prominence of malars, flattening of part of facial plane), quite a number of true Crô-Magnon specimens have been found associated with Magdalenian (Laugerie Basse, for instance). Coon (1939, p. 49) therefore concludes that during the Magdalenian, 'the internal diversity of Upper Palaeolithic European man became more noticeable than before. Some of the examples which are left to us represent a continuation of pre-existing Aurignacian forms. Others show a modification found among living peoples of the Arctic, while still others anticipate the size reduction of the Mesolithic.'

*Conclusion.* The chronological distribution of early man does not conform with some of the current theories on the evolution of man. Since in selecting our evidence high standards of reliability have been applied, it may be said that, though the chronological arrangement cannot be regarded as infallible, it will require fresh evidence, and not merely arguments, views or inclinations, to dislodge substantially the more important examples used.

One point is apparent from the table, that the evolution of *Homo* is not entirely confined to the Pleistocene. We find the definitely human *Pithecanthropus*-group in the lower Pleistocene. Considering that it is preceded phylogenetically by the *Australopithecus* group of South Africa, the *Homo*-stock as a whole must date from well within the Pliocene.

#### C. CHRONOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF HUMAN REMAINS WITH INDUSTRIES

For the sake of clarity, the tools and the skeletal remains of early man have been treated separately in the preceding parts of this chapter. It now remains to point out very briefly those instances in which a definite association of an industry or culture with a certain race is indicated by the evidence available up to the present. In doing so it will be necessary to bear in mind that the picture is liable to change as fresh evidence comes forth, and that, in this matter, we are very apt to favour, consciously or not, certain pet theories. The following account, therefore, does not enter into the discussion of theories; it is intended to present the evidence with which theories have to conform.

*Pithecanthropus-group.* The tools found with the fossils of the *Pithecanthropus*-group do not afford definite information on the cultural level. Only the implements from Choukoutien are plentiful enough to constitute an industry. Both lithic and bone components are atypical (Pei, 1939*b*) but the tool types comprise both flake and core implements. Hand-axes are completely absent

(Movius, 1944), but choppers and chopping-tools exist. Levalloisian technique appears to be absent, and it could hardly be expected because of the poor raw material (quartz).

The Patjitanian of Java is believed by Movius (1944) to be contemporary with *Pithecanthropus erectus*. This is a massive and crude industry with chopper and chopping-tools. Nevertheless, it does contain bifacial implements developed from pointed chopping-tools, which may be regarded as primitive hand-axes. It is conceivable, therefore, that we are here confronted with a transition from a chopper-chopping-tool stage to a real hand-axe industry.

At Ternifine in North Africa another pithecanthropine type of man proved to be associated with a primitive Acheulian industry. It is thus found that this group of *Homo* manufactured both chopper-chopping-tool industries as well as hand-axe industries. How significant the finds so far made are remains to be seen.

*Neanderthaloids and flake industries.* Nothing whatever is known about the kind of man who made the Clactonian. Also, nothing is known about the lithic industry of *Homo heidelbergensis*. It is possible, however, that he used bone (see p. 157).

The Levalloisian group of industries is associated with *H. neanderthalensis* in Jersey (teeth only; middle-upper Levalloisian), and in the Mount Carmel Caves (Tabun, lower Levalloiso-Mousterian). This is scanty evidence indeed for the widely-held view that the Levalloisian was made by Neanderthal man.

The Mousterian, however, is undoubtedly, and apparently without exception, an industry of *H. neanderthalensis*. All the many specimens, both from the Last Interglacial and from the first phase of the Last Glaciation, which have been found together with implements, proved to be Mousterian, with the exception of the two mentioned above.

The final stages of the Mousterian and the Levalloisian which locally survived the first phase of the Last Glaciation, have not been found associated with human remains.

On this background of facts relies the theory that *H. neanderthalensis* was the man who produced the flake industries. It is considerably weakened by the recent discovery of apparent *H. sapiens* in association with a Tayacian industry at Fontéchevade.

*Homo sapiens and hand-axe culture.* This theory is complementary to that which attributes the hand-axe industries to the *H. sapiens* group. There is only one locality which suggests this association, namely, Swanscombe. The belief that the hand-axe industries are the work of *H. sapiens* has originated, so far as I know, in some arguments of Leakey (1936, p. 164, for instance), put forward in a cautious manner, that (a) *H. sapiens* must have been fully evolved by middle Pleistocene times, since otherwise there would have been no time for the evolution of the several races



with which we are confronted in the upper Pleistocene, and (b) since the Levalloisian-Mousterian group was *H. neanderthalensis*, the hand-axe group should, *per exclusionem*, have been this early *H. sapiens*. It will be noticed that this argument does not rely on either Leakey's disputed fossils from Africa, or on any find positively proving the association (Swanscombe was not known yet at the time Leakey expressed this opinion). As a possibility, this theory should be regarded seriously, but it cannot be denied that Swanscombe does not yet justify sweeping generalizations. This is so especially since Swanscombe Man is by many workers regarded as a pre-Neanderthaler and since at Ternifine Acheulian is associated with *Anthropus*, a member of the *Pithecanthropus* group.

*H. sapiens and blade cultures.* There is abundant fossil evidence that the upper Palaeolithic blade industries were made by *H. sapiens*. This need not be illustrated by examples, but among the many which exist some provide more detailed information concerning the appearance of races of *H. sapiens* in definite association with certain industries.

Beginning with the earliest instance of this kind, the Mount Carmel Caves must be mentioned again. Professor Garrod (1937) observed that, during the Last Interglacial, the Acheulian as well as the overlying Levalloiso-Mousterian layers contain a conspicuous upper Palaeolithic component. In the lower Levalloiso-Mousterian of the Tabun Cave, *H. neanderthalensis* was found, but in the Skhul Cave, the numerous individuals cover the range from *H. neanderthalensis* to *H. sapiens*, though associated with the same industry. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the *H. sapiens*-component of this population has something to do with the upper Palaeolithic element present in the predominately Levalloisian industry.

In the Aurignacian succession which has been discussed repeatedly in this book, we find the following associations of races and industries, beginning with the earliest:

- (1) Combe-Capelle Man with lower Aurignacian.
- (2) Grimaldi negroids with middle or upper Aurignacian.
- (3) Crô-Magnon Man with middle and upper Aurignacian, Solutrian and Magdalenian. Two races distinguishable.
- (4) Chancelade Man with Magdalenian.

Group (3) is of particular interest since its physical characters have been ascribed to the admixture of some Neanderthal blood. Culturally, of course, there is no trace of a corresponding middle Palaeolithic component left, but the suggested survival of Levalloisian and Mousterian into the time of Crô-Magnon Man renders more probable such racial admixture at a slightly earlier date.

Within the Crô-Magnon race, an eastern dolichocephalic and a western brachycephalic group have been distinguished. There is a corresponding cultural difference between the 'eastern' and

'western' Gravettian, and Hawkes (1940) favours the idea that the eastern group of man was the bearer of the eastern Gravettian.

Considering that, in a comparatively short period of time, we meet with several types of *H. sapiens*, two of which appear to possess some Neanderthal blood, one has to admit that the evolution of *H. sapiens* must have taken place much earlier than during the early phases of the Last Glaciation. Physically, Swanscombe Man confirms this, but culturally it raises the interesting question of the origin of the upper Palaeolithic. The two alternatives are:—

(a) The upper Palaeolithic evolved from the Mousterian, under the modifying influence of *H. sapiens*. This is to some extent supported by the existence of transitional cultures, such as that of Abri Audi, and also by Szeleta. The intriguing factor, however, is Combe-Capelle Man, who is more *H. sapiens* than his successor, Crô-Magnin Man (Coon, 1939). One would rather expect a racial transition, due to interbreeding, at the beginning of the upper Palaeolithic, if this theory were true.

(b) The upper Palaeolithic has a long history and is closely and so far exclusively associated with *H. sapiens*. Conclusive evidence for this is lacking, but some circumstantial evidence can be adduced. The most primitive upper Palaeolithic assemblages of artifacts known (Palestine, ?Kenya) can be derived topologically from the Acheulian by assuming a certain amount of borrowing from the contemporary Levalloisian.

New discoveries are necessary to decide which of these alternatives, or any new and unexpected ones, are right. It is not the purpose of a book on chronology to discuss problems of this kind, interesting though they may be.

## PART IV

### DATING THE HISTORY OF THE EARTH AND OF LIFE BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF MAN

(Back to about 3,500 million years ago)

#### CHAPTER X

### THE MEASUREMENT OF GEOLOGICAL TIME PREVIOUS TO THE PLEISTOCENE ICE AGE

*Introduction.* The preceding chapters have been devoted to the period of man's established presence on earth. This includes, geologically speaking, the Postglacial or Holocene, and the Ice Age or Pleistocene, both together constituting what is often called the Quaternary Period. The method of dating based on the cycles of solar radiation has suggested an age of about one million years for the beginning of the Quaternary (much more if the whole of the Villafranchian is included), whilst the stratigraphically well-established record starts about 600,000 years ago.

The Quaternary, however, is nothing but the terminal phase in the earth's history, and geologists have usually agreed that the duration of the known geological history of the earth must have been many times longer than the duration of the Quaternary. In order to set a wider chronological frame to man's existence on earth, we shall now proceed to consider the age estimates and determinations for the pre-Quaternary history of the earth and of life.

*Stratigraphical succession.* For this purpose it is essential to be acquainted with the main divisions of the earth's history. These are primarily based on the strata accumulated (and subsequently often dislocated, folded and broken up) in the course of time, either in ancient seas, or lakes, rivers, deserts or glaciated areas. The branch of geology dealing with these is called stratigraphy. The basic idea of stratigraphical work is the law of superposition, meaning that, unless displacements occurred after deposition, a layer (*b*) covering a layer (*a*) must be younger than (*a*). Thus, it has been found possible to establish a succession of strata from the earliest known to the latest (figs. 82, 83).

#### A. PALAEOONTOLOGICAL AND GEOLOGICAL 'TIME-KEEPERS'

It was further discovered that the fossilized remains of ancient animals and plants contained in the strata indicate changes of fauna and flora in the course of time. Many forms of life existed for comparatively short periods only and therefore afford valuable

guidance for the correlation of strata in distant places. On the whole, fauna and flora became increasingly similar to modern ones as time passed. Some problems connected with this phenomenon will be discussed in the final chapter; here it is sufficient to note that the main divisions of stratigraphy are defined by the dominant forms of life contained. Thus, the eras are termed as follows: Azoic (lifeless) era, Archaeozoic (primaeval life) era, Proterozoic (very early life) era, Palaeozoic (ancient life) era, Mesozoic (middle life) era, and Cainozoic (modern life) era. Those who are not familiar with the stratigraphical succession may gather further details from the accompanying tables (figs. 82, 83).

'Clocks' or 'Time-keepers'. For the purpose of dating the geological past previous to the Ice Age, the 'clocks' or time-keepers used in the Quaternary are of little or no help. Of the cycles used in the Quaternary, tree-rings are obviously of no use. Varves have been counted in earlier periods, as described in chapter II (p. 36), but although they may give the duration of certain limited phases of the earth's history, they do not supply dates linked with the present day. Similarly the astronomical cycles which have been so successfully applied to the dating of the Pleistocene, no longer hold good for earlier times since, again, the continuity with modern times is lacking. They have, however, been used occasionally for estimates of duration, as in the case of the Cretaceous (Gilbert, 1895). Clearly, other clocks are required, preferably such as register very long time-units.

Some authors have considered organic evolution as a clock of this kind, others regarded the rate of accumulation of sediments as a trustworthy time-keeper, some relied on the gradual increase in the salinity of the oceans, others on the supposed gradual cooling of the earth. It was not until the radioactivity of minerals and rocks was discovered that a new and reliable way was opened for dating the stratigraphical succession and for estimating the minimum age of the earth. It is worth while to consider briefly the early attempts at dating, before describing the modern methods based on radioactivity. Those who are especially interested in the subject are recommended to read A. Holmes's excellent and easily accessible book on the Age of the Earth (1937). Other important publications treating of the geological aspects of the problem are by Walcott (1893), Barrell (1917), Lotze (1922), Holmes (1931), Knopf (1931), and Schuchert (1931).

The '*palaeontological clock*'. From the beginning of the Pleistocene to the present day, organic evolution was on a small scale only. Man himself did not change a great deal, considering his differences from the apes, and most of the modern mammals were present at the beginning of the Ice Age and have since undergone no more than minor changes. In such lineages of evolution as can

be studied, the result of 600,000 to 1,000,000 years of evolution is usually at most the forming of a new species (see p. 382).

The fact that during the Tertiary and earlier periods much greater changes in fauna and flora took place has suggested to geologists and palaeontologists that the duration of the earlier periods must have been infinitely longer than that of the Pleistocene.

ERAS	MILLION YEARS	SUBDIVISIONS
CAINOZOIC ERA	60	} SUBDIVISIONS SEE SEPARATE TABLE
MESOZOIC ERA		
PALAEOZOIC ERA		
PROTEROZOIC, PRECAMBRIAN, or ALGONKIAN ERA	180	
	500	PENOKEAN
	560	KEWEENAWAN = JOTNIAN
	825	HURONIAN
		ALGOMAN = GOTHOKARELIAN
		SUDBURIAN or TEMISKAMING
	1300	LAURENTIAN = SVECOFENNIAN
ARCHAEOZOIC ERA	1550	KEEWATIN (GREAT BEAR LAKE) = NORWEGOSAMIAN
	1750	LOWER BLACK HILLS CYCLE = MAREALBIAN
		MANITOBA CYCLE
AZOIC ERA		?
ERA BEFORE FORM- ATION OF CRUST		
ORIGIN OF EARTH		

FIG. 82.—Table of eras. Those preceding the Palaeozoic are often collectively called 'pre-Cambrian'. The Algonman and Huronian subdivisions are possibly contemporary.

Several workers have attempted to arrive at figures on this basis, assuming that the rate of evolution was, on the whole, constant throughout time.

*Lyell's estimate.* Lyell (1867), one of the founders of modern geology, studied the changes in the shell-fauna during the Tertiary and compared them with the change that has taken place since the beginning of the Ice Age. He found that the Pleistocene covers not

more than one twentieth of the evolution which has taken place since the lower Miocene. The time from the lower Miocene up to modern times he regarded as one complete 'cycle of evolution', in the course of which all species existing at the beginning were replaced by new ones. He accepted Croll's figure of one million years for the Pleistocene. Accordingly, the lower Miocene is 20 million years old. Four cycles are said to have elapsed since the beginning of the Tertiary, corresponding to 80 million years. Adopting a similar way of finding the age of the Palaeozoic, Lyell considered 12 cycles as sufficient to cover the time from the beginning of the Palaeozoic up to the present day. This corresponds to 240 million years. Modern palaeontologists would assign more than 12 cycles to this space of time.

Allowing for the vagueness of Lyell's procedure, these estimates are surprisingly good, as is shown by the results of the methods based on radioactivity (lower Miocene about 30, early Tertiary about 70, early Cambrian about 450 million years).

*Matthew's estimate based on the evolution of the horse.* Matthew (1914) used the well-known lineage of the evolution of the horses as a measure for the duration of the Tertiary. Taking as a unit the changes in the anatomy of the horse from the first glaciation up to the present day, he found that about 85 times that measure must have elapsed since the early Tertiary (lower Eocene), or about 100 times that amount since the very beginning of the Tertiary. In order to transform this factor into years, Matthew relied on three quite unsatisfactory estimates by Wright, Walcott and Penck respectively. Had he known the figure of 600,000 years for the 'first glacial advance', he would have obtained the very good estimate of 60 million years.

*Discussion of the palaeontological method.* The instances of Lyell and Matthew may suffice to illustrate the 'palaeontological clock'. Their figures show that the working of this clock has not been so unsatisfactory as is generally believed. Strictly speaking, however, it is a relative time-keeper only, since the duration of the phases is given in multiples of a selected unit, usually the duration of either the Tertiary or the Pleistocene. The absolute figures arrived at are all based on the estimates or calculations of the duration of the Pleistocene.

Compared with the earlier formations, the Pleistocene was exceedingly short, and the practice of multiplying such small unit a hundred times or more is somewhat hazardous. Any initial inaccuracy is multiplied accordingly.

Moreover, the question may be raised as to how far the method of expressing in figures the steps of phylogenetic evolution is permissible and whether phylogenetic evolution has proceeded at an approximately equal rate all the time. Matthew's example may

serve to explain this problem. In estimating the evolutionary steps of the lineage of the horses<sup>1</sup> from the Eocene up to the Pleistocene, he expressed in figures the amount of anatomical change distinguishing each stage from that which preceded it. He accepted as a unit the difference between *Equus scotti* (beginning of Pleistocene) and *E. caballus* (Recent). The morphological difference between *Hipparion* (Pliocene) and *E. scotti* is regarded as ten times as great as that between *E. scotti* and *E. caballus*. In this manner, he arrived at the following figures:

Recent :	<i>Equus caballus</i>	Later authors:	
Early Pleistocene :	<i>Equus scotti</i>	1	
Pliocene :	<i>Hipparion</i>	10	7
Upper Miocene :	<i>Merychippus</i>	10	11
Lower Miocene :	<i>Parahippus</i>	15	18
Upper Oligocene :	<i>Miohippus</i>	5	5
Lower Oligocene :	<i>Mesohippus</i>	5	5
Upper Eocene :	<i>Ephippus</i>	15	16
Middle Eocene :	<i>Orohippus</i>	10	9
Lower Eocene :	<i>Eohippus</i>	10	9

These figures express the amounts of morphological alteration which occurred in unknown spaces of time. If one assumes that the rate of change in the morphology of organisms is practically constant, then these figures may serve as time coefficients and, knowing the duration in years of one of the steps, the duration of any other phase or of the entire period involved can be calculated. Matthew himself was quite positive, at least concerning his case: 'I have been impressed with the fact that they seem to have a fairly constant maximum rate of evolution. The rate of alteration in structures that are being changed adaptively to some changing environment or habit is fairly uniform, comparing one phylum with another.' But is one really entitled to generalize and say that the assumption made is correct?

There is abundant evidence that the rate of evolution is not constant. There were phases when certain groups of animals or plants changed very rapidly (so-called explosive evolution), and others during which the morphological characters remained almost constant for a very long time. This is bound to impair seriously the use of organisms in the determination of geological time. Only if (as was done by Lyell) a large number of widely different groups are considered simultaneously, such as entire faunas of formations, the differences in the various lineages might merge into an average rate. This is probably why estimates of geological time based on the evolution of organisms frequently do yield figures agreeing with those obtained by other methods.

<sup>1</sup> It cannot be discussed here whether the species of horses quoted by Matthew represent a genuine ancestral lineage or not. See Ch. XII, Simpson (1944).

As a matter of principle, however, the time-scale should be obtained by some non-biological method and then be applied to the evolution of organisms, in order to find out what the actual rate of evolution is and how it varies.

*The 'stratigraphical clock'.* A great many more age estimates have been based on purely geological observations. Some of them rely on the occurrence of rhythmic alternations in sediments, whilst others are based on the cumulative effect of certain geological processes. The first group comprises all methods using deposits of the varve type; they help to determine the duration of horizons, formations or periods, but except in the case of the Postglacial varves of Sweden, they do not link up with the present time, nor are they applicable to pre-Palaeozoic periods.

The second group of methods has not the drawbacks mentioned of the first, but, relying on cumulative effects which have to be measured under present-day conditions and then applied to the past, they suffer from the same difficulties as do the palaeontological methods just described. The most outstanding examples are those of the increase of the salt contents of the ocean, and of the total thickness of sediments deposited since the beginning of geological history. (For sedimentation rates, see p. 355.)

*Methods and results based on rhythmic deposits.* Not infrequently, geological deposits exhibit an exceedingly regular, rhythmic alternation of two kinds of rock, such as sand and clay, or limestone and chert. Provided the thickness of the packets (called couplets) is sufficiently constant throughout the sequence, one is inclined to suspect that the alternation was caused by some regularly working, rhythmic force which favoured for some time the deposition of one kind of sediment, and then for some time of the other. If one can find the time-unit implied, the duration of the period of deposition may be obtained by counting the couplets.

*Varved clay and other annual deposits.* The most widely known example is the glacial varved clay with its periodicity of one year. This has been discussed in detail in the second chapter (p. 20), and it will be remembered that glacial varves enabled de Geer and others to establish a time-scale for the last ten or twenty thousand years before the present time.

Several other deposits of the rhythmic kind have been mentioned in the same chapter and a few may be recalled here.

*Korn's investigation of annual varves of Palaeozoic age.* A very striking example is provided by the Devonian and Carboniferous 'varves' of Thuringia, studied by Korn (1938). They were interpreted to be annual, and supposed to be due to seasonal fluctuations of rainfall. Korn counted the layers and studied in detail the major cycles corresponding to the sun-spot cycle (11.4 years) and others. He found—on the assumptions made—that the lower Carboniferous



from the top of the Devonian to the middle Viséan horizon lasted about 800,000 years, this being  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the entire lower Carboniferous of Thuringia.<sup>1</sup>

*Marr's estimate of the Ordovician and Silurian.* A similar count was carried out by Marr (1928) in the Bannisdale Slates of the Lake District in England. These are shales of Lower Ludlow (Silurian) age consisting of alternating layers of fine mudstone and sand, several per centimetre. Marr counted about 700,000 in the series, and assumed that the couplets were annual. By extrapolation he estimated the duration of the entire Silurian at  $5\frac{1}{2}$  million years and that of the Ordovician at 4 million years. Both estimates are undoubtedly far too low.

*Bradley's study of the Eocene of Colorado.* Another noteworthy succession of annual varves is that of the Eocene Green River Lake of Colorado, studied by Bradley (1929). Here, the varves are more reasonably taken to be annual and the oscillations within the varves seasonal. From the number and average thickness of the varves Bradley argued that the Green River epoch lasted about 6,500,000 years or, with due allowance for error, between 5 and 8 million years.

He then proceeded to estimate the duration of the entire Eocene, assuming a mean rate of deposition of one foot in 3,000 years and assuming that there are no important breaks in the succession in the region concerned. He arrived at a mean of 23 million years. This figure compares very well with the estimate based on radioactive minerals (Barrell's estimate,  $23 \pm 3$  million years).

*Gilbert's estimate of part of the Cretaceous.* A cycle much longer than the annual one is supposed to have found expression in the Benton, Niobrara and Pierre beds of the Cretaceous of Colorado. They are composed of shales containing a varying amount of lime. There is, in particular, a regular recurrence of beds averaging about 18 inches in thickness, with a more calcareous and a more argillaceous portion. Gilbert (1895) used this succession to estimate the time required for its formation. He claimed that a rhythmic phenomenon of an astronomical character must have been responsible, and selected that of the precession of the equinoxes (21,000 years, see p. 136) as the most probable. In this way he found that the mentioned groups of the Cretaceous required about 20 million years to be deposited.

*Methods and results based on the rates of denudation and sedimentation.* The four examples of the labours of de Geer, Korn, Bradley and Gilbert are representative of methods depending on a definite time-unit, such as the year or the precession cycle, having found its expression in the deposit. In the examples which follow

<sup>1</sup> This extraordinarily low figure shows that considerable gaps must exist in the succession; otherwise it cannot be reconciled with the estimates based on radioactivity.

this time-unit is replaced by an annual average rate at which some process is going on. This average rate is, of course, deduced from present-day observations, and it is tacitly assumed to be applicable to the remote past. This may, or may not, be justified.

*Various calculations.* As early as 1876, Dana calculated the total thickness of the sediments laid down during the Cainozoic, Mesozoic and Palaeozoic respectively and, assuming that the average rate of deposition was approximately constant through the ages, he obtained the ratio of 1:3:12 for Tertiary: Mesozoic: Palaeozoic. In transforming this ratio into years, however, Dana had to use Lord Kelvin's antiquated physical estimate and arrived at only 36 million years for the Palaeozoic.

In 1879, Reede arrived at 600 million years for the time from the Cambrian to the Present, but he reduced it subsequently considerably. Walcott (1893) studied the sediments of the Cordilleran Sea which occupied western North America during the Palaeozoic. Using an average rate of deposition of one foot in 200 years (which is much too high), and the ratio of 12:5:2 for Palaeozoic: Mesozoic: Tertiary, he obtained 27.5 million years since the beginning of the Cambrian. Had he based his estimate on 60 million years for the Tertiary, he would have obtained 570 million years, a figure in good agreement with estimates using radioactivity. This shows that his ratio for the relative duration of the eras was remarkably accurate. Goodchild (1897) assumed a slow rate of deposition and arrived at the result that 704 million years had elapsed since the beginning of the Cambrian. In more recent years Sollas (1909) undertook to uphold the chronological method based on sedimentation. He again used a fast sedimentation rate and came to 80 million years for the several eras, including the Proterozoic.<sup>1</sup>

*Barrell's criticism of the methods based on sedimentation.* Unfortunately, Sollas was influenced by the results of Joly's sodium method (see p. 316), and it is evident that he tried to adapt his figures to those obtained from the salt contents of the ocean. Barrell (1917) reviewed critically Sollas's and other attempts at dating the past with the aid of sediments and showed how futile they are in view of the many unknown factors which might have modified the result.

To begin with, there is the assumption that denudation and erosion proceeded in the past at the same rate as they do to-day. The present relief of the earth appears to be more varied and rougher than it was during the major part of the geological past, and the rate of denudation should, in the average, have been smaller than at present. This tends to increase the results obtained.

Furthermore, most geological deposits were laid down in limited, often trough-like areas in which the ground had a tendency to sub-

<sup>1</sup> For further work on these lines, see *The Age of the Earth*, 1931. For average rates of denudation and sedimentation, see this book, pp. 352 and 355.

side more or less rapidly ('geosynclines', fig. 84). Whilst denudation of the surfaces above sea-level is practically general, deposition is restricted to certain zones, and the relation of the area of denudation to the area of the geosyncline in which it is laid down determines the rate of accumulation. This must vary from case to case, and it is dangerous therefore to generalize from one individual case, such as the Gulf of Mexico which was used by Sollas, or the Cordilleran Sea of Walcott.

Moreover, a fraction only of the material produced by denudation is deposited in the geosyncline on which the estimates rely. Much remains suspended or dissolved and is carried away and thus lost to observation.

These and other criticisms are discussed in detail in Barrell's paper, which also reviews all the important attempts made at calculating or estimating geological time. Perusal of this paper

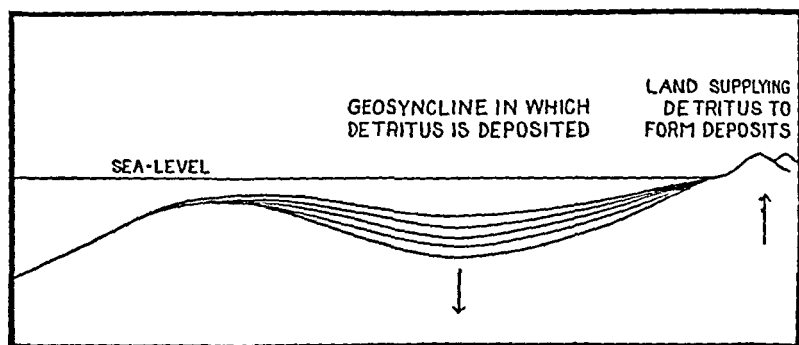


FIG. 84.—Schematic cross-section of a 'geosyncline', a zone of intense marine deposition with a sinking tendency of the sea-bottom (indicated by downward arrow). On the right, rising land is shown which supplies the material which gradually fills the geosyncline. Many geosynclines have land on both sides. Most of the present high mountains (Alps, Himalayas, Andes) are made up of sediments formed in geosynclines and later raised to great altitudes.

is highly recommended to all who are interested in the problem of dating the past by purely geological means.

Notwithstanding all the drawbacks and difficulties of these methods, the results for the duration of geological time since the beginning of the Palaeozoic are not entirely inconsistent, mostly varying around several hundred million years, an amount which has since been confirmed by the radioactivity methods.

More recently, Schuchert (1931) has again studied the methods based on sedimentation, in order to find out whether they can be brought into line with the figures obtained from radioactive minerals and rocks. He admits that he himself was surprised at finding that there are 'easily enough marine strata since the beginning of Palaeozoic time to call for 500 million years'. For the whole of the

Proterozoic he is inclined to allow 720 million years. Finally a new and remarkable attempt was made by Holmes to combine the evidence for the relative duration of periods provided by the sedimentation method with some values based on radioactivity. It is discussed on p. 334.

*The salt of the ocean used for dating.* A subtle though unsatisfactory method was conceived by the Royal Astronomer Halley (1656-1742), first applied by Joly (1900) and later elaborated by Sollas (1905, 1909). It is founded on the idea that all the salts contained in the water of the ocean are derived from the land, the water at the time of the condensation on the cooling surface of the earth having been, so to speak, distilled. Since then, weathering has released from the rocks a large amount of soluble matter and rivers have carried it into the ocean. The early estimates based on the salt of the oceans were all low and Sollas (1909) eventually accepted 80 million years as probable.

Knopf (1931) and Holmes (1937) reconsidered Joly's method and came to the conclusion that it cannot provide more than a minimum age. Of the many objections to it, it may suffice to mention the principal one that, in order to supply the amounts of sodium alleged to be carried annually to the oceans, the rocks would have to lose more sodium than they had ever contained. Holmes concludes, therefore, that the amount of sodium added annually to the oceans is still imperfectly known.

More recently, Spencer and Murata (1938) have once more studied the sodium method and, taking into account all the complications, arrived at the figure of 500 to 700 million years. This is still low compared with the results of the radioactivity method, though certainly in keeping with them. A more acceptable value was obtained by Conway (1943), *viz.* 700-800 million (min.) to 2350 million years (max.).

*Alleged cooling of the earth.* The attempts at dating described so far have all aimed at establishing the age of eras and periods. Proterozoic, Palaeozoic, Mesozoic and Cainozoic together cover the history of life on earth and, since life depends on water of a temperature definitely below boiling point, the age of the ocean as such must be greater than that of the Proterozoic. The estimates for the age of the ocean come in at this point.

In addition, another calculation, apparently incontestable, suggested a probable age of less than 100 million years for the ocean since its condensation. This was the calculation of the age of the earth on the assumption that it had cooled down. Though the earth must have cooled down in the early phases of its history, there is no evidence of any further general cooling since life became abundant. Still, the theory of gradual cooling was once universally accepted and it was Lord Kelvin (1883) who undertook to calculate,

from the then available physical data, the time that has elapsed since the earth was in a molten state. He found 400 million years as the possible maximum and 20 million as the minimum, but regarded the minimum as the most likely (1899).<sup>1</sup> These figures were considered as too small by most geologists.

#### B. RADIOACTIVITY METHODS PROVIDING A GEOLOGICAL TIME-SCALE

*Discovery of X-rays.* At last, the physical estimate was upset by a series of discoveries which were connected with the now well-known element called radium and which revealed a source of heat compensating the cooling down. In 1895, Röntgen found that high-tension electricity in a vacuum-tube produces under certain conditions a kind of rays which, though allied to the light-rays, are capable of penetrating opaque matter to a varying degree. They influence, for instance, photographic plates through lightproof wrappings. These rays which have since become important in therapy, industry and mineral analysis, are called X-rays, or Röntgen-rays.

One may wonder how this discovery can have any bearing on the problem of *geological time*. The story is, indeed, one of a series of discoveries closely linked up with one another, and it provides a good example of the manifold interrelations of the various branches of science.

*Radioactivity, discovery of radium.* The X-rays appeared in a new light when, only a year later (1896), Becquerel observed that compounds of a heavy metal called uranium had the same chemical effect on a covered photographic plate as have the X-rays. Minerals containing uranium were studied in detail and, in 1898, Mme. Curie succeeded in isolating from pitchblende, a uranium mineral, a new element which possesses the quality of sending out rays in an immensely concentrated form. This element was named radium, and the phenomenon of the spontaneous emission of rays is called radioactivity.

*Types of rays.* It was Lord Rutherford who, in 1902, found that the radiation of radium and other radioactive elements consists of three kinds, called  $\alpha$ -,  $\beta$ -, and  $\gamma$ -rays. If a small quantity of

<sup>1</sup>Lord Kelvin's final estimate (1899) was as small as 20-40 million years. In 1883 (pp. 473 and 474), however, he still purposely allowed very wide limits: 'If we suppose the temperature of melting rock to be about 10,000° Fahr. (an extremely high estimate), the consolidation may have taken place 200,000,000 years ago. Or, if we suppose the temperature of melting rock to be 7,000° Fahr. (which is more nearly what it is generally assumed to be), we may suppose the consolidation to have taken place 98,000,000 years ago. We must, therefore, allow very wide limits in such an estimate as I have attempted to make; but I think we may with much probability say that the consolidation cannot have taken place less than 20,000,000 years ago, or we should have more underground heat than we actually have, nor more than 400,000,000 years ago, or we should not have so much as the least observed underground increment of temperature.'

radium is embedded in a case of lead (which is one of the few substances not penetrated by the rays), with an opening permitting the rays to escape in one direction only, and is subjected to the influence of a strong magnet, the  $\alpha$ - and  $\beta$ -rays are deflected as shown in fig. 85, whilst the  $\gamma$ -rays continue in a straight direction. The  $\gamma$ -rays were soon proved to be identical with the X- or Röntgen-rays, but the  $\alpha$ - and  $\beta$ -rays are of a very different kind.

*$\alpha$ -rays and production of helium.* The  $\alpha$ -rays have the smallest power of penetration, in air not more than a few centimetres. They

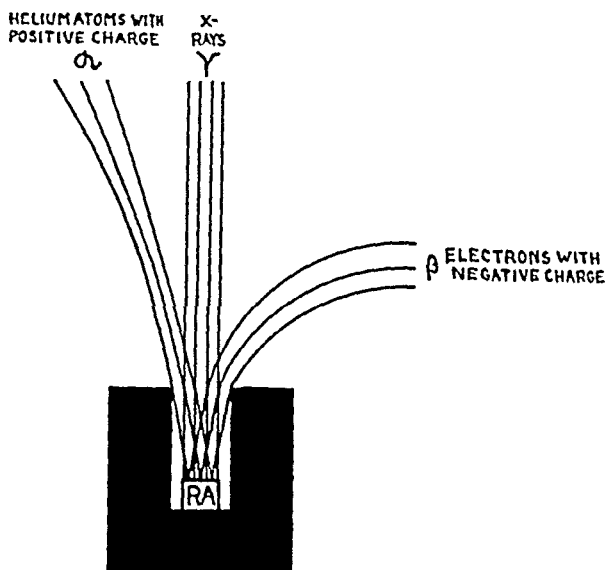


FIG. 85.—Radiation of radium under the influence of a magnet whose north pole is supposed to be in front of, and the south pole behind, the paper. The radium is encased in a block of lead which absorbs lateral radiation. The magnet diverts  $\alpha$ -rays to the left, and the  $\beta$ -rays to the right. The  $\gamma$ -rays are not affected. —Modified, after Lotze (1922).

consist of small particles ejected at a very high speed and charged with positive electricity. They are stopped by collisions with atoms of the surrounding matter from which they eventually pick up two negatively charged electrons each, which neutralize their positive electric charge. The result is that an ordinary atom of a gas called helium is produced. Thus, the startling discovery was made that atoms of one chemical element are formed by the decomposition of those of another.

As recorded by Holmes (1937), Lane has suggested a simple way of observing the radioactive formation of helium: 'Take your wrist-watch or a compass that shines in the dark. After your eyes are made sensitive by sitting in a dim light for ten minutes, and

then in darkness for a minute more, look at it with a good pocket lens. You will find it quivering with light. After a while, if your lens magnifies ten diameters or so, you will see that it is made up of countless sparks, like those from a bursting rocket. Each one of these represents the explosion of an atom, and the helium particle sent off, striking the sensitive zinc sulphide, makes it glow.'

*Nature of the  $\beta$ -rays.* Before following up this most important line, the  $\beta$ -rays have to be explained. They consist of electrons, minute negatively charged particles which, inside an atom, circulate around a comparatively heavy, positively charged core or nucleus, as planets do around the sun. The electrons constituting the  $\beta$ -rays travel much faster than  $\alpha$ -particles, and their range is much greater.

*Products of radioactive decomposition.* It is evident that an atom of radium or some other radioactive element, emitting an atom of helium, cannot itself remain the same but must be transformed into something else. In fact, as radium decays, a gas called radium-emanation is formed which, in turn, emits another atom of helium and thereupon changes into a solid substance, called radium A. This process of emitting particles continues, however, and a succession of radioactive substances is formed until, finally, an inactive end-product is reached. This is lead. The succession of substances formed in the course of this process is depicted in fig. 86.

Moreover, the usual association of radium with uranium found an interesting explanation. Radium itself is produced from uranium as the parent-element via a number of intermediate stages. Thus, a long series of steps leads from uranium through radium to lead. The complete succession may be gathered from the diagram, fig. 87.

In this figure, the atomic weights are included, and it will be noticed that the atomic weight is reduced by 4 every time an  $\alpha$ -, or helium-, particle is expelled. The atomic weight of helium is 4, and that of uranium 238. During the complete process of radioactive disintegration, 8 atoms of helium are emitted, after which the stable lead remains. This uranium-lead, therefore, has the atomic weight of  $238 - 8 \times 4 = 206$ .

*The 'families' of radioactive elements.* The disintegration series starting from uranium and leading, via radium, to uranium-lead with an atomic weight of 206, is called the uranium-family.

There are two other important families of radioactive elements, the actinium-family, and the thorium-family.

The actinium-family begins with actino-uranium, a variety of the ordinary uranium.<sup>1</sup> In the course of its disintegration, actinium is produced, which in turn decays until finally, after the emission

<sup>1</sup> Such varieties of elements which are distinguished by their atomic weights, but not by chemical qualities, are called isotopes. Another set of isotopes are the different kinds of lead, among them uranium-lead or radium G, actinium-lead, and thorium-lead. See also p. 328.

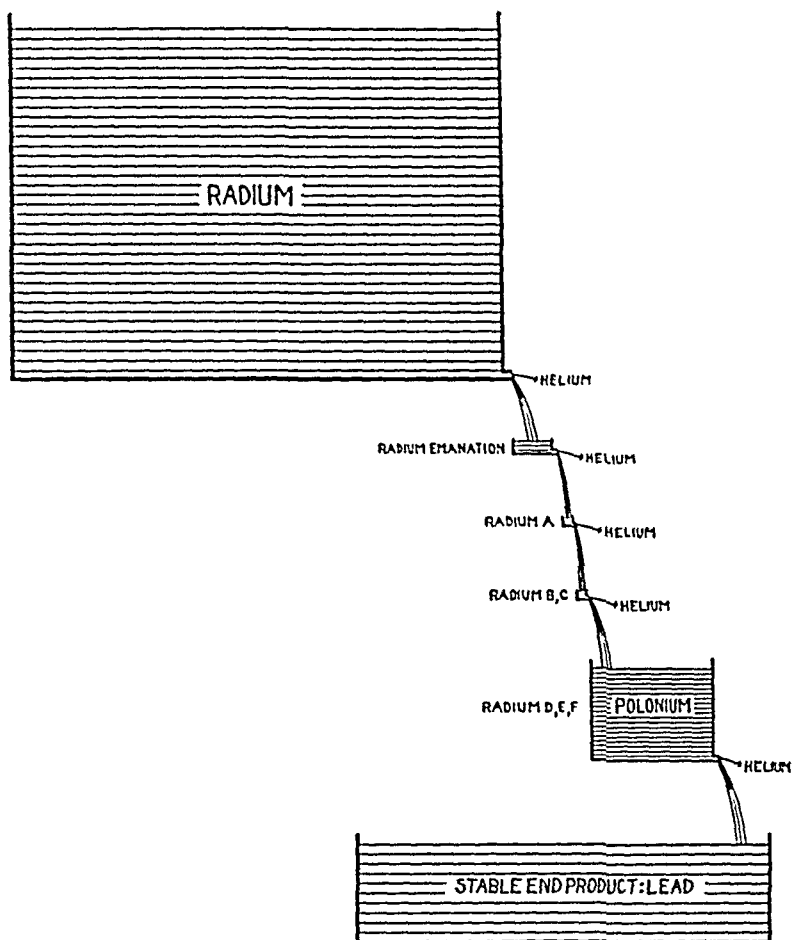


FIG. 86.—The disintegration of radium illustrated by means of a set of vessels (each representing a radioactive element), from which water is supposed to be running out (representing the atoms in the state of disintegration) and drops (representing helium) splashing off.—Modified, after Lotze (1922).

of 7 atoms of helium, the inactive end-product is reached, which in this case is actinium-lead with the atomic weight of 207.

The thorium-family begins with the element thorium (atomic weight 232). In the course of its disintegration, 6 atoms of helium are given off, and thorium-lead remains, with the atomic weight of 208.

The ordinary commercial lead has been found to be a mixture



ATOMIC WEIGHT

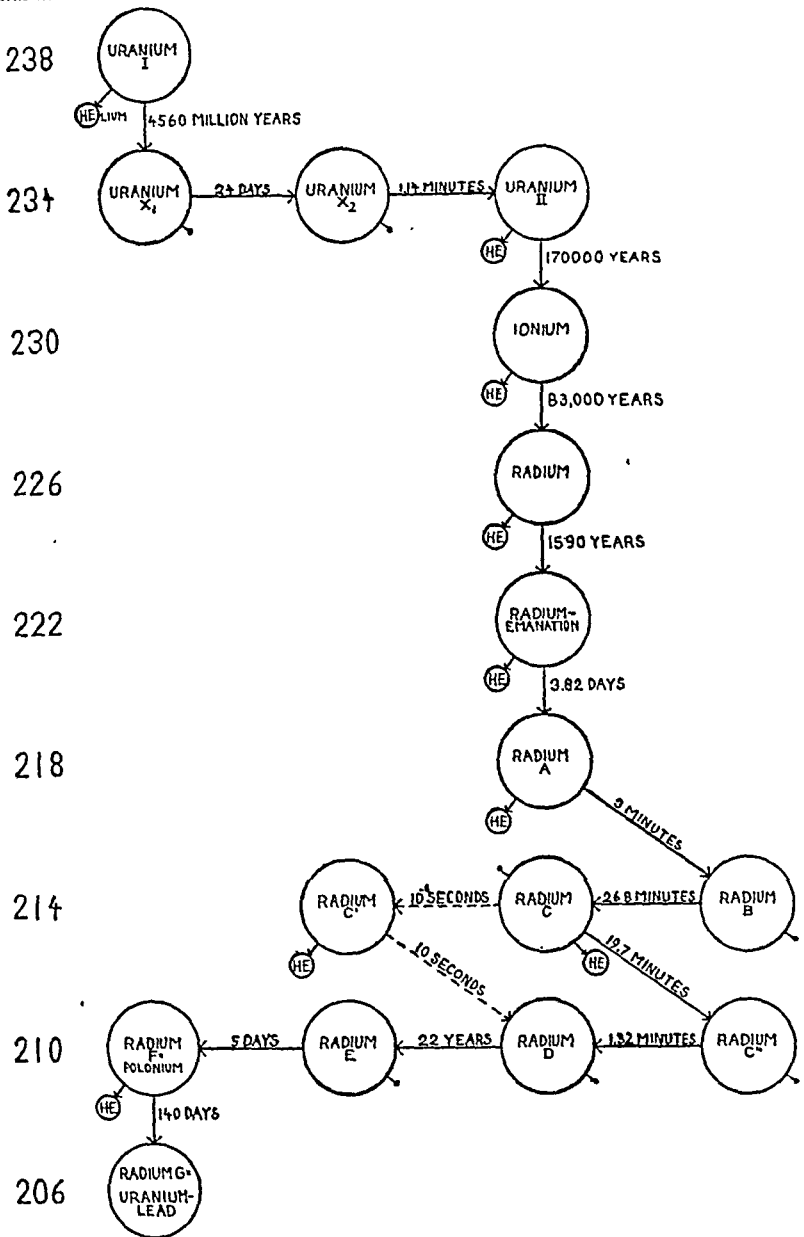


FIG. 87.—The disintegration of uranium. Each stage represented by a circle. Small circles show helium splitting off, small black dots electrons splitting off. The approximate half-life periods are given beside the arrows connecting the stages. Each time a helium atom is given off, the atomic weight drops by four.

of the three varieties of lead mentioned (plus small quantities of  $\text{Pb}^{201}$ ), and its average atomic weight is 207.21.

*Half-life, or half-value, period.* The time-rate at which the disintegration of a radioactive mineral proceeds is constant and determinable. This fact has opened new and most unexpected ways for the measurement of geological time. The time-rate varies enormously with the kind of element concerned, between a fraction of a second and several thousand million years.

One might expect that the time for the deterioration of an atom would depend upon its individual age. Taking a given quantity of radium, for instance, its atoms are known to have been formed out of ionium atoms by the loss of one atom of helium each (see fig. 87). Some atoms of radium are bound to be older than others, the process of transformation having continued for a long time. It is natural, therefore, to expect that those atoms of radium which were formed first would be, in turn, the first to decay again and to be transformed into radium-emanation. This is not the case, however, and it has been found that the disintegration of the atoms depends entirely on chance and not on their individual ages.

Accordingly, disintegration proceeds in such a way that, of the total number of atoms contained in a quantity of radioactive matter, a certain percentage is destroyed in every minute. After some time, only 50 per cent. of the original number of atoms will have survived, the others having been transformed into the next stage of the series of disintegration.

Thus, of 1 gram of radium, only  $\frac{1}{2}$  gram will be left over after 1590 years, the other  $\frac{1}{2}$  gram by then having changed into radium-emanation. After another 1590 years,  $\frac{1}{4}$  gram of radium will have survived, after a further 1590 years  $\frac{1}{8}$  gram, and so forth. The period of time required to reduce to one-half a given quantity of a radioactive element is, therefore, called its half-life period, or half-value period.

The half-life periods of the members of the uranium-radium family are included in fig. 87.

*Accumulation of helium and lead.* It is evident that, under such conditions, helium and lead will be produced by any radioactive parent-element from the moment it came into existence. At first, the quantities were minute, but in the course of long periods of time, considerable quantities have been accumulated. Clearly, since helium and lead are produced (in uranium minerals) at the expense of uranium, the ratio of helium : uranium on the one hand,<sup>1</sup> and of uranium-lead : uranium on the other, must bear a fixed relation to the age of the mineral investigated. The half-life periods of all members of a series being known, it is possible to calculate the time

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that helium is liable to escape from the specimen, see p. 329.

that has elapsed since the accumulation of lead began in the material under investigation. One million grams of uranium produce  $\frac{1}{7,600}$  gram of uranium-lead per year.

*Measuring time by the helium and lead ratios.* For a good many reasons, which are too technical to be explained here, it is certain that accumulation of lead began with the moment of crystallization of the mineral. It is easy to understand, therefore, that not every radioactive material is suitable for age determination. In particular, sedimentary rocks laid down by water, ice or wind are, as a rule, unsuitable. The grains composing them are derived from earlier rocks (except in chemical sediments), have been affected by weathering and mechanical wear and, if there are any radioactive particles in them, these must of necessity be older than the deposit itself.

Suitable materials are therefore chiefly confined to the igneous group of rocks, i.e. those of magmatic origin. They are mostly crystalline, being composed of large or small crystals of a variety of minerals, all closely interlocked and formed when the liquid magma had cooled down sufficiently to solidify. Particles of radioactive minerals enclosed in such rocks started their work of time-keeping at the moment of crystallization.

*Igneous rocks, volcanic group.* It is now necessary to recall the fact that there are three main kinds of igneous rocks. Group (a), being the most spectacular, is the best known to the non-geologist. These are the extrusive, or volcanic, rocks, or lavas, which were (and still are) produced from volcanoes and open fissures. They spread over the ground in the neighbourhood of the eruption pipes or fissures and cover sedimentary and other deposits previously laid down. They might, in turn, be covered by sediments at a later time.

Since the stratigraphical subdivisions of the earth's history are almost entirely based on the succession of sediments and their contained fossils, a flow of lava intercalated between two horizons of known relative age might afford a means of dating in years the stratigraphical phase to which the beds belong, if suitable radioactive material is present in the rock.

One of the best-known volcanic rocks of this kind is basalt.

*Plutonic rocks.* Group (b) are the plutonic, intrusive, rocks. These have crystallized from bodies of magma injected into the upper zones of the crust. They did not reach the surface and, therefore, cooled much more slowly than did the spreads of lava on the surface. This caused structural differences, especially a greater size of the mineral grains, but on the whole the same type of magmatic material is known both as intrusive and as volcanic rock. Intrusive bodies of magma profoundly influenced the invaded rocks by heat, pressure and addition of substance (this process is called contact metamorphism). Regarding age determination, it is important to

note that rocks influenced in this manner must be older than the intrusion (fig. 88).

On the other hand, bodies of intrusive rocks are often laid bare in the course of time by weathering and denudation, and younger, sedimentary beds might have been laid down on the exposed surface.

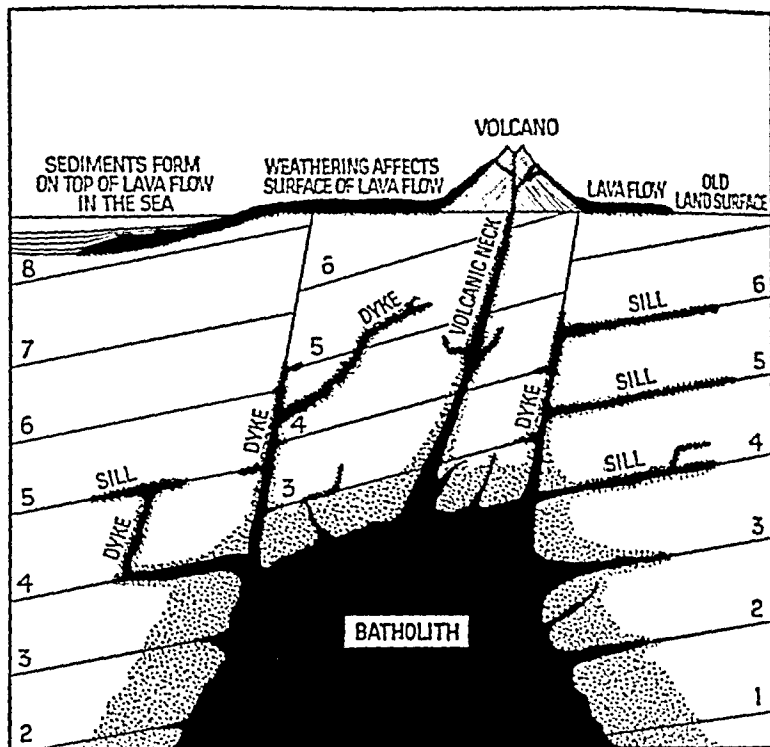


FIG. 88.—A purely hypothetical section to illustrate the chief modes of occurrence of igneous rocks, showing a body of magma of the shape called batholith, with dykes and sills emanating from it, and with a volcano on the surface. Contact metamorphism is indicated by dots. Sills have metamorphosed seams above and underneath, whilst superficial lava-flows metamorphosed the substratum only. Where lava flows are covered by later deposits, the latter will show no effects of metamorphism. This provides a means of distinguishing flows and sills in geological sections. The intruded sediments are numbered from the earliest upwards. The middle portion is shown uplifted between two faults.

Such deposits will of course show no traces of contact metamorphism, and this affords a means of establishing their age relative to the intrusive body.

If radioactive minerals are present in the intrusive rock, its age might be determined and valuable light thrown on the ages of the

surrounding and covering beds of sediments. In practice, suitable radioactive material is far more common in the plutonic intrusive rocks than in rocks of groups (a) and (c).

The most widely known kind of intrusive rock is granite. Granites of the Canadian Shield have supplied some of the early dates for the pre-Cambrian eras, ranging from 750 to 1750 million years.

*Sills, dykes, and mineral veins.* Group (c) comprises the minor injections in the form of dykes and sills (fig. 88). Magma which has penetrated into the bedding-planes of the surrounding rock, will form comparatively thin sheets of intrusive material there, and such structures are called 'sills'. If, however, the magma penetrated into a crack or fissure of the surrounding rock, cutting across bedding-planes, it is called a 'dyke' (pl. XX, fig. B).

The geological relationship of dykes and sills to the older and younger rocks associated with them reveals their stratigraphical age. Consequently, if radioactive minerals contained in a dyke supply a date for it, valuable information is gained regarding the age of the strata formed before and after the intrusion.

Mineral veins are often associated with granites and other plutonic bodies, but quite often they appear to be independent, and their origin is unknown. They are important from the present point of view, since certain radioactive minerals are found in them. Pitchblende (oxide of uranium) may be quoted as an example. From specimens of pitchblende, found at Joachimsthal in Bohemia, Mme. Curie succeeded in isolating radium in 1898.

The preceding excursion into geology is intended to show how radioactivity can help in the dating of sedimentary rocks which, themselves, do not contain radioactive minerals. But it is now apparent that, for the purpose of geological dating it is essential to know the exact position within the stratigraphical succession of the radioactive mineral to be analysed. This condition considerably restricts the amount of material available for the absolute dating of geological formations.

*Lead-ratio used for dating.* Let us now assume that we have obtained a radioactive material whose stratigraphical age is known, such as, for instance, a specimen of pitchblende from the lower Permian of Joachimsthal, Bohemia. There are two ways open for determining its age (at least in theory), one with the aid of the accumulated lead, the other with the aid of the accumulated helium.

Considering first the lead method, we know that one million grams of uranium produce about  $\frac{1}{7,600}$  gram of lead per year. If the amount of lead present in the specimen is  $Pb^U$ , and that of uranium, U, then the time that was required for producing the

amount of uranium-lead present, in other words the age of the mineral, is

$$\text{age} = \frac{\text{Pb}^{\text{U}}}{\text{U}} \times 7,600 \text{ million years.}$$

$\text{Pb}^{\text{U}}/\text{U}$  is a 'lead-ratio'; for our sample of pitchblende it amounts to 0.03, corresponding to an age of 225 million years.

*Correction for thorium and thorium-lead.* Fortunately, our sample contains practically no thorium which, as we have seen (p. 319), is another important radioactive parent-element. Were we investigating a sample of material containing thorium beside uranium, then the lead determined would be uranium-lead plus thorium-lead, and an allowance would have to be made for the thorium associated with the uranium (see, for instance, Keevil, 1938).

Now, one gram of thorium-lead ( $\text{Pb}^{\text{Th}}$ ) is produced by one gram of thorium in 21,100 million years. A pure thorium mineral, therefore, complies with the formula,

$$\text{age} = \frac{\text{Pb}^{\text{Th}}}{\text{Th}} \times 21,100 \text{ million years.}$$

For a reason which will at once become apparent, let us substitute for 21,100 the fraction,  $\frac{7,600}{0.36}$ . The age, based on thorium and thorium-lead, will then be

$$\text{age}^{\text{Th}} = \frac{\text{Pb}^{\text{Th}}}{\text{Th}} \times \frac{7,600}{0.36} \text{ million years.}$$

For a material containing both uranium and thorium, the age is, of course, the same, whether based (a) on uranium and uranium-lead alone, or (b) on thorium and thorium-lead alone, or (c) on uranium + thorium and the total of both kinds of lead. The age, therefore,

$$\begin{aligned} &= \frac{\text{Pb}^{\text{U}}}{\text{U}} \times 7,600 \text{ million years} \\ &= \frac{\text{Pb}^{\text{Th}}}{\text{Th}} \times \frac{7,600}{0.36} \text{ million years} \\ &= \frac{\text{Pb}^{\text{U}} + \text{Pb}^{\text{Th}}}{\text{U} + 0.36\text{Th}} \times 7,600 \text{ million years.} \end{aligned}$$

*Lead-ratio.* In practice, the analyst measures the total amount of lead present, and the expression  $\frac{\text{Pb}^{\text{total}}}{\text{U} + 0.36\text{Th}}$ , accounting for the presence of both uranium and thorium, is the one which has to be determined in every case. It is called the 'lead-ratio'.

*Allowance for wearing-out of parent-elements.* In the preceding consideration several simplifications are implied which have to be allowed for.

Firstly, the fact has not been allowed for that the initial quantity

of uranium and thorium was greater than that found by analysis to-day, since some of it has been destroyed by radioactive disintegration. Correction for this leads to a logarithmic formula which is too complicated to be explained here. In practice, the corrected values may be plotted against the ordinary values of the lead-ratio and graphs designed in which the corresponding lead-ratio (and age) can be read off directly.

*Correction for actino-uranium.* Secondly, the possible presence of the third parent-element, actino-uranium (p. 319), has so far been neglected entirely. This is an isotope of the ordinary uranium, the parent-element of the uranium-radium family. To distinguish ordinary uranium from its isotopes, it is called uranium I, and we shall henceforth use this term. In chemical analyses, the total of all isotopes of uranium is obtained, i.e. of uranium I as well as of actino-uranium.

Holmes (1937, pp. 150-5) has paid special attention to the problem of accounting for the presence of actino-uranium. It is known to disintegrate more quickly than uranium I. Fortunately, the quantities of actino-uranium and its descendants encountered are not large, and its influence on age-determination becomes appreciable in old material only.

*Presence of initial lead.* We have assumed that all the lead contained in a sample is lead produced by the disintegration of radioactive elements. This is not always the case, and volcanic rocks especially often contain much more lead than can ever have been generated from the radioactive substances present in them. As an example, Holmes (1936) quotes the famous basalt of the Giant's Causeway of Antrim which poured over the surface of that area in early Tertiary times. Even if the material had existed for as much as 1,600 million years, he says, the accumulated radiogenic lead could not have amounted to more than one-eighth of the quantity of lead present and, considering the real age of this rock, this quantity is 300 to 400 times as much as can have been generated within the lava since it cooled down and became a basaltic rock.

It is obvious that, in cases like this one, the magma had been supplied with a varying amount of initial lead from other sources. The analytical practice of determining the lead-total will, in samples from such materials, inevitably catch the initial lead as well as the radiogenic lead. It is not impossible to get over this difficulty. The determination of the atomic weights of the kinds of lead present, helps in calculating the amount of initial lead present.

On the whole, however, materials containing initial lead in appreciable quantities are awkward to interpret and often unreliable. Fortunately, the presence of initial lead is no obstacle to the application of the helium method for which volcanic rocks are often particularly suitable, for reasons to be explained later.

If, on the other hand, the amount of radioactive minerals contained in a sample of rock considerably exceeds the amount of lead, the chances are that the quantity of initial lead is comparatively small, and corrections based on mineralogical analysis and determination of atomic weights can be applied more easily. The rich uranium- and thorium-ores, which have supplied a great number of important age estimates, are in this category.

*Escape of radon.* Each of the three families contains a member which is a gas. If some of this gas is lost from the mineral by diffusion, the corresponding isotope of lead will be present in an amount too small for its actual age (Wickman, 1942). The half-life periods of actinium-emanation and thorium-emanation are only 3.5 and 54.5 seconds respectively, but that of Radium Emanation or radon is 3.825 days. The risk of leakage, therefore, is negligible for the first two, but quite considerable for radon, and the possibility has to be reckoned with that there is too little radium G ( $\text{Pb}^{208}$ ) in the sample.

There are other difficulties involved in the lead method which cannot be discussed in this much simplified summary.

*Importance of isotope analysis.* It should, however, be clear that many of the difficulties can be overcome if, instead of the total lead present, the amounts of the various isotopes are determined. Nier (1938) has developed a method of separating these isotopes by means of a mass-spectrograph and to determine their relative proportions. Values are thus obtained for  $\text{Pb}^{206}$  (radium G or uranium lead),  $\text{Pb}^{207}$  (actino-uranium lead) and  $\text{Pb}^{208}$  (thorium lead) and, in addition, for  $\text{Pb}^{204}$ , a lead which is not generated by a known radioactive process and which is an important indicator for the presence in the sample of non-radiogenic lead. Since the quantities of the parent elements, uranium I, actino-uranium, and thorium, are known, three independent age estimates can be carried out for each sample (Keevil, 1939). A fourth is provided by the proportion of actinium lead/uranium lead, since actino-uranium disintegrates more rapidly than uranium I. The 'ages' corresponding to the various values of actinium lead/uranium lead have been calculated by Wickman (1939).

If we suppose that the mineral sample investigated had not changed in the course of time, that no losses or additions had occurred, then the age estimates obtained by these four methods should agree. This is but rarely the case, however, and the calculated values are therefore called 'apparent ages' (Holmes, 1948). They are used in assessing the most probable age.

*Lead Method, summary.* Since isotopic analysis is a new field of work, the number of age estimates based on this new method is still small. The following table (from Holmes, 1947c) is a sample list of reliable 'probable ages'.



Mineral	Locality	Geolog. Age	Probable Age (Millions of yrs.)
Pitchblende	Colorado	Beginning of Tertiary	58
Pitchblende	Bohemia	Late Carboniferous	215
Samarskite	Connecticut	End of Devonian	255
Cyrtoelite	New York	End of Ordovician	350
Kolm	Sweden	Upper Cambrian	440
Pitchblende	Katanga, Belgian Congo	Pre-Cambrian	580
Uraninite	Morogoro, Tanganyika	Pre-Cambrian	590
Uraninite	Besner, Ontario	Pre-Cambrian	760
Bröggerite	Moss, S. Norway	Pre-Cambrian	860
Uraninite	Wilberforce, Ontario	Pre-Cambrian	1,035
Cleveite	Aust Agder, S. Norway	Pre-Cambrian	1,075
Pitchblende	Great Bear Lake, Canada	Pre-Cambrian	1,330
Uraninite	N.E. Karelia, U.S.S.R.	Pre-Cambrian	1,765
Uraninite	Huron Claim, Manitoba	Pre-Cambrian	1,985

*Helium method.* Apart from lead, helium is generated by radioactive disintegration. Helium is a gas. Before its presence on the earth was established, it had been discovered in the spectrum of the sun, hence its name.

Were there not certain difficulties connected with the gaseous nature of helium, age estimates could be carried out with the helium generated by radioactive substances just as well as with the lead. The amount of helium present is determined and compared with the amount of uranium (and thorium) contained in the mineral, in other words, the helium-ratio is determined. Its formula (compare lead-ratio, p. 325) is

$$\text{age} = \frac{\text{He}}{\text{U} + 0.27\text{Th}} \times 8.8 \text{ million years.}$$

For convenience, the amount of helium is usually expressed not in grams but in cubic centimetres at normal temperature and pressure.

The principles of both the helium and lead methods being the same, we can confine ourselves here to pointing out certain practical difficulties of the helium method.

*Loss of helium in the rock.* It is obvious that lead, being a solid substance, is less likely to escape from a rock than helium-gas. The helium generated by a radioactive mineral will accumulate close around it in the rock, but in the course of the millions of years involved, some of it is bound to escape through cracks or along the boundaries of crystals. This loss will be comparatively small in a dense rock, but it will be large—

(a) if the structure of the rock is coarse enough to allow of diffusion of the gas ;

(b) if the amount of generating uranium is large and, therefore, the quantity of helium so considerable that it is enclosed in the rock under great internal pressure ;

(c) if the rock has been subjected to metamorphosis by heat or pressure which would both help to eject gases contained in it, and

(d) if the rock has been affected by atmospheric weathering, which would release the gas by loosening the texture of the rock.

To these has to be added the technical point that in pulverizing and otherwise treating the sample for analysis, more helium is inevitably lost.

Regarding (a), it is possible to select rocks which are fairly dense, but an allowance has to be made in any case. A mineral, which is considered to have a particularly high helium-retentivity, is magnetite.

Regarding (b), it is evident that materials with large amounts of radioactive minerals will contain large quantities of helium. These will be under considerable gaseous pressure and, therefore, a greater quantity of helium is likely to escape. For this reason, it is advisable to select rocks with a small percentage of radioactive matter.

Regarding (c), it goes without saying that any material suspected of having been altered by metamorphosis should be discarded.

Regarding (d), this difficulty can be overcome by carefully selecting fresh specimens which, under the microscope, show no signs of alteration of minerals by weathering.

*Minimum ages by helium method.* In short, even if one selects samples with the utmost care, one can be almost certain that some of the helium is lost, and the age estimate obtained will be lower than the actual age of the material. On the other hand, Keevil (1941) reports that occasionally an excess of helium is found the source of which has not yet been discovered. (Note (47), p. 426.)

*Results of the helium method.* The early results of the helium method were, therefore, less satisfactory, and the discrepancy from those of the lead method was formidable. In more recent years, technical improvement of the helium method appeared to lead to age-determinations which approached those of the lead method closely but, unfortunately, it was found in 1937 that the helium-ratio had been based on a faulty radium standard (Evans, Goodman, Keevil, Lane and Urry, 1939; Urry and Holmes, 1941, p. 45).

This discovery has resulted in a critical study of the earlier helium determinations and in the development of new and better methods both of analysis and calculation. More than 850 determinations have been studied by Keevil (1941). Although this author found that the ratio of measured age to expected age varied between one-hundredth and 25, he was able to show that the helium retentivity can perhaps be expressed eventually as a function of the various factors which cause the loss (a to d, above), in such a form that the

method might be rendered more reliable. Keevil provides some interesting graphs showing the dependence on the kind of rock (granitic and basic rocks, porphyries and lavas), and on the stratigraphical age. The chances of the helium method are not at the present considered as good by Keevil, but other authors who of course agree with Keevil as regards the difficulties, are less pessimistic. Urry and Holmes (1941), for instance, emphasize that the sequence of the new helium ages is still found to correspond to the stratigraphical ages of the samples, although the figures in years are lower than those based on the lead method.

Furthermore, Goodman (1942 ; also Hurley and Goodman, 1941) considers that certain minerals, such as magnetite, provide a much more reliable material than do rocks composed of several minerals. He states that a series of magnetites ranging stratigraphically from pre-Cambrian to mid-Tertiary, showed with few exceptions the proper age-sequence. The following list is in part extracted from his diagram (1942, fig. 5) and in part taken from Hurley and Goodman (1941). It shows that his magnetite values do not compare badly with the lead time-scale (see p. 332).

It is obvious that the last word has not yet been said concerning the helium method. For the time being, the lead method will provide the more reliable age-estimates. But if the difficulties of the helium method could be conquered, it would afford certain advantages over the former, since it would make available for chronological studies many rocks which, on account of the presence of much common lead, are more or less unsuitable to be treated by the lead method.

*Pleochroic Halos.* Crystals of mica often contain minute specks of radioactive minerals, such as zircon or allanite. These minerals emit  $\alpha$ -rays which may be regarded

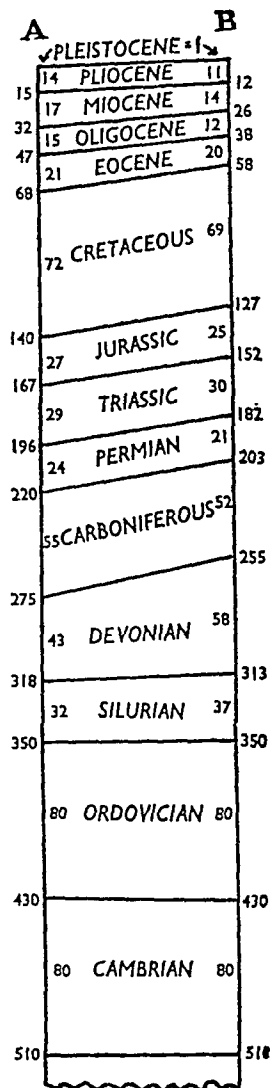


FIG. 89.—Time-scale for 500 million years of the earth's history. Important dates determined by the lead method, relative scales based on maximum thicknesses of deposits, with two possible alternatives (A and B), of which Holmes considers B the more likely.—From Holmes, 1947, by permission of the Geological Society of Glasgow.

Magnetite from	Relative age	' Helium age ' about
Chesapeake Mine, Utah, U.S.A.	Miocene	20 million years
Black Magnetic Mine, Utah, U.S.A.	Miocene	37 (30) " "
Stoddard Mine, Colorado, U.S.A.	Early Tertiary	50 " "
Fierro, New Mexico, U.S.A.	Early Tertiary	59 " "
Prince of Wales Is., Alaska	Cretaceous	81 (60) " "
Lynn Valley, British Columbia	Early Cretaceous	88 (100) " "
Texada Is., British Columbia	Jurassic	103 (120) " "
Cornwall, Pennsylvania	Triassic	126 " "
Gerrish Mt., N.S., U.S.A.	Jurassic-Triassic	128 (135) " "
Goose Ck., Virginia, U.S.A.	Jurassic-Triassic	137 " "
Boyerton, Pennsylvania	Jurassic-Triassic	133 (150) " "
Lakeville, N.S., U.S.A.	Jurassic-Triassic	135 (160) " "
Trun, Spain	? Carboniferous	230 " "
Magnitnaya, Urals	Carboniferous	300 (260) " "
Ducktown, Tennessee, U.S.A.	Devonian	260 " "
Vysokaya, Urals	Devonian	316 " "
Blagodot, Urals	Devonian (?)	366 (400) " "
Keweenawan sulfides	Late pre-Cambrian	570 " "

(Helium ages of pre-Cambrian magnetites vary from 830 to 1,050 million. For most recent values, see Hurley and Goodman, 1943.)

as helium-bullets. They bombard the atoms composing the mica, in particular its iron. It has been found that they are most effective at the end of their flight, which extends something like 0.03 to 0.04 mm. into the mica. Here, therefore, a ring of discoloration tends to be produced. Since different radioactive elements give off particles of different penetrating power, several concentric rings are observed surrounding the crystal in the mica and forming the 'pleochroic halo'. Penetrating power depends on the rate of disintegration of the parent element, so that the distant rings are formed by more rapidly disintegrating parent elements than are the inner ones. This fact has been used by Henderson (1934, also with co-workers 1934, 1937) to estimate the age of the mineral. Uranium as found in minerals contains the isotope, actino-uranium, which decays more quickly than uranium I. In young minerals therefore the ring resulting from the disintegration of actino-uranium is

stronger than that of uranium I, but in old minerals the reverse is the case. It is necessary, therefore, to estimate the relative intensity of rings in a halo. This is by no means easy. It is difficult to find mica in which the rings are distinct and to obtain a section through the centre of the pleochroic sphere, since only such sections show the rings clearly. The rings themselves are very small. In spite of these and other technical difficulties Henderson succeeded in measuring relative intensities by using a specially constructed halo photometer, and he calculated from them the following age estimates:

- (1) Rock of probably Devonian age—less than 400 million years.
- (2) Rock of pre-Cambrian age—750 million years.
- (3) Rock of pre-Cambrian age—800 million years.

These values are consistent with those obtained by other radioactivity methods, but because of the scarcity of good material it is unlikely that pleochroic halos can be used extensively for dating purposes.

*Rubidium-Strontium method.* Among the methods which rely on radioactive minerals not belonging to the heavy metals of the uranium group, one using rubidium appears at the moment to be the most promising. Rubidium is a metal allied to sodium and potassium. It is of widespread occurrence but always present in very small quantities only, and consists of two isotopes,  $\text{Rb}^{87}$  and  $\text{Rb}^{85}$ . The former is the radioactive isotope, and the proportion of  $\text{Rb}^{87}$  to  $\text{Rb}^{85}$  in any rubidium is 27 : 73. The amount of radioactive rubidium in an analysis therefore is  $0.27 \times \text{total Rb}$ .

Radioactive rubidium changes into strontium of the same atomic weight ( $\text{Sr}^{87}$ ) by the emission of a  $\beta$ -particle. The rate of decay is extremely slow, the half-life period being about 60,000 million years. This has the advantage that the loss of the parent element is so small that it can be neglected in the calculation. On the other hand it creates the difficulty that the quantity of radiogenic strontium is extremely small and difficult to determine. Ahrens (1948) has described a spectrographical method of estimating the ratio  $\text{Sr}/\text{Rb}$  in a single operation. Radiogenic strontium is determined by means of the mass spectrograph, or by other methods. Mattauch (1947) has succeeded in determining the strontium isotopes accurately in quantities as small as 0.3 mg.

The use of the radioactive decomposition of rubidium for age estimates was first suggested by the Norwegian petrologist, Victor Goldschmidt (1938). A summary of the method by Ahrens has appeared in the Report of the Committee on the Measurement of Geologic Time (1948a). Two more detailed papers have been published by the same author (1948b, c) but valuable work has also been done by Quensel and Nicolaysen *et al.* (1954) (see *Rep.*

*Comm. Measur. Geol. Time*, 1943-6, 1946-7, 1952-3). The following list gives some examples of age estimates obtained :

Locality	Probable Geologic age	Apparent absolute age based on Sr/Rb
Pala, California, U.S.A.	Late Jurassic or Cretaceous	170 million years
Norway, Maine, U.S.A.	Devonian ?	300 " "
Karibib, S.W. Africa	Pre-Cambrian	900 " "
Omaruru, S.W. Africa	Pre-Cambrian	1,250 " "
Kubuta, Swaziland	Pre-Cambrian	2,100 " "
Lunya, Uganda	Pre-Cambrian	2,340 " "
Letaba, Transvaal	Pre-Cambrian	3,850 " "

These figures compare well with those obtained by the lead and helium methods, but very high results are frequent (Note (49), p. 426).

Minerals suitable for the rubidium/strontium method must be rich in Rb and free from non-radiogenic Sr. The most suitable are micas from pegmatites, especially lepidolites which contain about 1.5 per cent of Rb. Other minerals like hydrothermal microclines, pollucite and rubidium-rich varieties of muscovite, may in due course become important. Ahrens considers it worth while to study some types of granite rocks which contain determinable quantities of Rb and Sr.

*Summary.* Thus, the phenomena of radioactivity of minerals have supplied methods for the measurement of geologic time back to the remotest phases in the history of the earth. Earlier estimates based on the rates of deposition or denudation, on the salinity of the oceans, or on the rate of evolution of life, have been superseded by accurate physico-chemical methods. At the moment, the most important is still the lead method. But since estimates based on helium from magnetites show good agreement with results of the lead method, the helium method may well contribute substantially to the completion of the geologic time-scale. Of the other methods, the rubidium-strontium method is the most promising for long-range time-scales. (For Magnetism of rocks, see Note (48), p. 426.)

In order to avoid using values which may be liable to considerable corrections, Holmes (1947) has constructed two alternative time-scales which are based on not more than five age estimates obtained by the lead method combined with a relative time-scale of the geological periods derived from the relative maximum thickness of the strata. He selected five groups of lead minerals for which the proportions of lead isotopes had been established according to the method developed by Nier and described on p. 328. They offer the advantage of reliable age estimates based on the latest and most accurate method available. Three out of the five chosen suffer from some ambiguity as to their relative ages. The absolute ages obtained, and the stratigraphical alternatives, are as follows :

Material	Million Years	Stratigraphical Alternative	
		A	B
Pitchblende, Colorado	58	End of Paleocene	End of Cretaceous
Pitchblende, Joachimsthal, Bohemia	214	Early Permian	Late Carboniferous
Samarските, Connecticut	255	End of Lower Carboniferous	End of Devonian
Cyrtolite, New York State	350	End of Ordovician	
Kolm, Sweden	440	Upper Cambrian	

These estimates were plotted by Holmes in their positions within a scale of relative thickness based on the maximum thickness of deposits laid down in successive geological periods. Of this scale, two alternatives exist, viz. one using the thickness of strata observed in North America, the other using world values (Holmes, 1947, p. 121). As is to be expected, the values of maximum thickness are greater if the whole World is taken into account, but the relative thicknesses of the North American and the World scales are as consistent as can be expected. The World values may be regarded as the more reliable; they are as follows:

Pleistocene	4,000 feet	Triassic	25,000 feet
Pliocene	18,000 "	Permian	18,000 "
Miocene	21,000 "	Carboniferous	40,000 "
Oligocene	15,000 "	Devonian	37,000 "
Eocene	23,000 "	Silurian	20,000 "
Cretaceous	64,000 "	Ordovician	40,000 "
Jurassic	22,200 "	Cambrian	40,000 "

The combination of this relative scale with the five age estimates listed above gave Holmes the time-scale reproduced in fig. 89. It comprises the two alternatives marked A and B, resulting from the uncertain stratigraphical positions of the three younger minerals. Holmes regards the B-scale as the more probable. As fresh isotope determinations become available, this scale may have to be adjusted in minor respects.

From the point of view of mammalian evolution, the lower boundary of the Eocene is of particular interest. On the B-scale, it falls at 60 million years ago, whilst the A-scale grants it 70 million. Both figures have been widely used. The pitchblendes on which the relevant age estimate is based come from ore-deposits of the Laramide orogenic phase, generally assigned to the end of the Cretaceous. But it has been emphasized that they need not all be of the same age and that some may be as late as the end of the Palaeocene. It remains to be seen, therefore, which of the alternatives for the duration of the Tertiary is correct. Holmes's time-scale,

fig. 89, covers the periods from the Cambrian to the Pleistocene. For the pre-Cambrian periods, a scale is included in fig. 91, p. 358. It gives the estimates, based on the lead method, for the ages of orogenic phases which, in the absence of a stratigraphy supported by fossils, provide the major divisions in the remote part of the history of our planet. The oldest rock so far dated is the Rice Lake pegmatite from south-eastern Manitoba; it is about 2100 million years old.

Since Holmes made the attempt just described, Knopf has made known his most recent views. Following repeated requests, J. Putnam Marble, who is chairman of the Committee on the Measurement of Geologic Time, has presented a table (1950) which is based on his interpretation of the work of Holmes and Knopf and which may be regarded as the most up-to-date information available. It is given here though, as Marble aptly puts it, all the figures are, like railway time-tables, subject to change without notice.

APPROXIMATE GEOLOGICAL TIME-SCALE ACCORDING TO J. PUTNAM MARBLE  
(November 1950)

Period	Approximate number of million years ago	Approximate length in millions of years
Pleistocene	0-1	1
Pliocene	1-12	11
Miocene	12-28	16
Oligocene	28-40	12
Eocene	40-60	20
Cretaceous	60-130	70
Jurassic	130-155	25
Triassic	155-185	30
Permian	185-210	25
Carboniferous	210-265	55
Devonian	265-320	55
Silurian	320-360	40
Ordovician	360-440	80
Cambrian	440-520	80
pre-Cambrian	550-2100	1500

For the age of the crust of the earth the data are at present uncertain but the order of magnitude is about 3250 million years.

#### C. RADIOACTIVITY METHODS APPLICABLE TO THE QUATERNARY

*Method based on radioactivity of deep-sea sediments.*—Deep-sea sediments, in particular red clay, often contain in their superficial layers a surprisingly large amount of radium. Joly (1908) was the first to draw attention to this. Moreover, the sea-water is deficient in radium. According to Hernegger and Karlik's (1935) determinations of the uranium content of sea-water, it appears that about five times the quantity of uranium is present as is required to maintain its content of radium. These two observations are readily combined, and it was suggested by Piggot and Urry (1941) and others that radium is selectively precipitated from the sea-water and incorporated in the bottom-sediment.



This radium, therefore, is not present because it is being produced *in situ* by uranium *via* its immediate parent-element, ionium, but because it was precipitated presumably chemically. As it is not 'supported' by uranium, it is called *unsupported radium*. It decays and eventually disappears in accordance with the half-life period of 1,690 years. Assuming that all rates of sedimentation involved in the formation of a deep-sea sediment remain constant, the radium content becomes an indicator of age, since the top layer will contain the maximum amount, and the other layers increasingly less the deeper they lie.<sup>1</sup> This somewhat simplified case is illustrated by the manganese nodules which occur on the ocean floor. They were investigated by Pettersson (1943). The nodules (the largest studied was 11 cm. long) show concentric layers in their outer parts and grew around foreign bodies such as sharks' teeth or pieces of pumice. The radium content decreases from the surface towards the centre of the nodule, and this decrease supplies values for the approximate ages of the various layers. Minimum ages of manganese nodules obtained are of the order of 10,600, 5,900, 8,500 years.

This example conveys the principle on which the method is based. Actually, the cores of deep-sea bottom sediments which have so far been analysed (Piggot, and Urry, 1941-1949), show that more complicated conditions are obtaining in these. For one core (P-259), of red clay, Piggot and Urry indeed show a maximum of radium right at the surface and a decline which might be due to the decay of unsupported radium. But the other cores studied all exhibit a rise from an initial value at the surface to a maximum some distance (e.g. 22 cm.) down, and a gradual decline thence. This rise of the radium content can only mean that in cores of this type the radium is not precipitated as such at the beginning, but generated from ionium, its immediate parent element. The radium, though not uranium-supported, is in fact ionium-supported, an interpretation which is strongly held by Pettersson (1943).

We are now in the position to speak in more general terms. The series of radioactive disintegration products found in deep-sea sediments is not what one would expect it to be if the successive stages, ionium and radium in particular, were entirely uranium-supported. It is very probable that either ionium or radium, or both, are concentrated in varying amounts by precipitation from the seawater. Once deposited, however, these excess amounts will decay in accordance with their half-life periods, until only the uranium-supported quantities are left. From that time onwards, the ratios of these elements remain virtually constant.

A limit is thus set to the measurement of geological time by follow-

<sup>1</sup> As some uranium is usually present, some supported radium (in equilibrium with uranium) is present also. This is taken into account in the calculations. The possibility of age estimates, of course, depends on the *unsupported* radium.

ing the change of concentration of one of these elements. It lies in the neighbourhood of 300,000 years.

An interesting question is what causes the selective precipitation of the various radioactive elements from sea-water. It is as yet unsolved and, moreover, complicated by the fact that in the sea-water itself the ratios of the products of radioactive disintegration are not normal. There is less thorium present. As thorium and ionium are isotopes, there is also less ionium, and it is therefore supposed that a relatively large proportion of thorium and ionium is precipitated and included in the sediment. Now Koczy (1949) has shown that thorium is transported into the sea by rivers and, since it is precipitated quantitatively from solutions containing fluorine (such as sea-water), all the thorium reaching the sea is precipitated in the shallower shelf-seas. But ionium, the isotope of thorium which is a member of the uranium family, is precipitated everywhere in the ocean. Thus ionium is concentrated in deep-sea sediments.

Technically the method of measuring time by the change of concentration of one of the partly 'unsupported' elements has advantages over the lead and helium methods in that it does not necessitate the measurement of stable end products. Radium emanation is used as the indicator of ionium and radium. But the method requires that sediment cores of considerable length are obtained, and this has become possible in recent years only. Piggot succeeded in securing cores up to 3 metres long by means of an explosive core-sampler, from depths to over 6,000 metres. These spectacular results are completely overshadowed by those of Pettersson who used a vacuum core-sampler (1946) which has, on the Albatros Expedition of 1947-8, produced large numbers of cores up to 20 metres long. These are under investigation. The measurement of time by the method here discussed which Lane has aptly called the '*Per cent of Equilibrium Method*' is based on three assumptions which are or are not correct, namely (a) that the amounts of uranium, ionium and radium added to the bottom sediment *per annum* are constant throughout the period of time measured, (b) that the rate of sedimentation of ooze or clay is constant, and (c) that no diffusion of ionium and radium takes place. About (a) we have no evidence, whilst (b) is almost certainly incorrect in the majority of cases. As to (c), Koczy has found that manganese concretions and Red Clay adsorb ionium and thorium. It is possible therefore that the ionium content of deep-sea sediments is in part related to their content of small manganese nodules, in which it has become concentrated. The ionium content as found, therefore, need not represent the original distribution of ionium in the sediment.

It is evident that the method is still in its initial stage and undoubtedly beset with difficulties the causes of which are often not

known. On the whole it may be said that Pettersson is less optimistic about its chronological possibilities than are Piggot and Urry (1942).

These authors have determined the radioactivity ages of three out of ten cores collected in the North Atlantic between Newfoundland and Ireland. The lithology of the sediments of all ten cores was studied by Bramlette and Bradley, the Foraminifera by Cushman and Henbest, the diatoms by Lohman, other fossils, organic matter and selenium contents by several other workers (Bradley, *et al.*, 1942). In five cores from the western side of the Mid-Atlantic Ridge four zones of apparently glacial material were recognized and these have, according to the radium determination carried out by Piggot and Urry on one of them, dates of 14,700 to 23,700, 41,900 to 44,700, 50,000 to 51,200, and 58,800 to 61,900 years ago. Bradley has discussed the various possibilities of correlating them with glacial phases observed on the North American continent and considers it most likely that they represent periods of the extension of sea-ice corresponding to phases of the Last (Wisconsin) Glaciation. Since dates are available only for one of the five cores one cannot say yet whether these phases have the same ages in all five cores.

The Foraminifera, however, present a different picture of climatic fluctuations. They indicate that the water was colder than to-day between the first (uppermost) and second 'glacial' zones in four out of the five cores, and colder except for a very short milder phase according to the fifth. It was also on the whole colder between the second, third and fourth glacial zones, whilst conditions of continued temperate character like those of to-day are found only in one core between the third and fourth glacial zones. The evidence from the Foraminifera therefore suggests that the four glacial zones are no more than minor phases of one glaciation, and this appears to be borne out by one core which penetrated some distance below the fourth glacial zone, showing that temperate conditions were obtaining prior to this. Unfortunately, the temperate conditions indicated by the diatoms bear no apparent relation to those obtained by Bramlette and Bradley from the lithological evidence and by Cushman from the foraminiferal evidence (Lohman in Bradley, 1942, p. 61). Lohman has discussed the possibility of a phase displacement, perhaps due to a slow settling velocity of the diatoms. But the lack of satisfactory agreement between the different lines of climatic evidence provided by these cores shows that much work remains to be done before correlation of deep-sea phases with continental phases becomes possible.

The most recent researches have concentrated on the relative chronology of the cores. Phleger, Ovey (1950) and Schott use foraminifera as climatic indicators, whilst Wiseman concerns himself with the calcium carbonate content. Phleger (1949) investigated one of Pettersson's cores from the Caribbean Sea for its foraminifera and obtained a picture of climatic fluctuations which bears a remark-

able resemblance to the fluctuations of the climate during the Pleistocene. But more detailed work is now being undertaken at the British Museum (Natural History) by Wiseman and Ovey (1950), and Mr. Ovey's determinations of the foraminifera indicate that Phleger's curve will have to be modified in several points. It becomes more than ever necessary to obtain two or more cores taken in close proximity to each other in order to assess the amount of variation in the stratification of deep-sea deposits (Ovey, 1951).

W. Schott (1952) works on three cores from the tropical part of the Atlantic Ocean. His results which have been published in a preliminary fashion, suggest to him the presence of three cold oscillations corresponding to the three phases of the Last Glaciation. They are preceded by a long Last Interglacial. Schott gives some sedimentation rates; they vary from 1 to 3.2 cm. per 1,000 years. He was further able to recognize the Postglacial climatic optimum in one of the specimens (Core 227).

According to a preliminary report Wiseman (1950), too, has found the Postglacial optimum, in another core from the equatorial Atlantic. Assuming a date of 5,000 years ago for this event, he was able to assign tentative absolute ages to the cold phases of this core. They fall at 117,000 B.C., 68,000 B.C. and 23,000 B.C., with an additional indistinct minimum at 10,000 B.C. The agreement of these figures with those suggested by the astronomical theory is close; they correlate well with the three phases of the Last Glaciation and the Younger Dryas phase (see p. 145). Though it remains to be seen whether these first results of palaeoclimatological work on deep-sea cores will be confirmed by further samples, they are encouraging. The difficulties, however, of eliminating extraneous influences will be considerable. Pettersson (1948), for instance, found that cores from the Tyrrhenian sea were so much contaminated with radium of volcanic origin, that the dating method of Urry could not be applied.

The datings given by Schott and Wiseman, however, are based on sedimentation rates, and it will be interesting to see to what extent they tally with datings based on the radium contents of the same cores. Altogether, this new line of work must be regarded as another promising approach to the problem of absolute dating, especially since it affords possibilities of checking with other methods, and we are entitled to look forward to the results of work on the numerous fresh cores which have recently been collected by Swedish and American expeditions.

An interesting side-line of this work is the investigation of varved clays by the percentage of equilibrium method. Urry (1948*b*) applied it to varved clays from Hartford, Connecticut, and obtained an age of 18,000 years. This compares with Antevs's estimate of 29,000 years (p. 83).

This application has been further discussed by Koczy (1951)

in a paper dealing with the concentration of elements in sediments. Urry found that there is a discrepancy in the radioactivity of summer and winter varves, though the averages obtained for whole years are nearly constant. Using Urry's material, Koczy was unable to verify Urry's age determination, which he regards as very uncertain for theoretical reasons. But he succeeded in showing that most of the radium present was precipitated with the clay, and that only about one thirteenth part is precipitated chemically. Moreover, some of the radium is carried away by the water in solution after the sediment has settled, and it is probable that diffusion occurs into the layers above and below. (Note (50), p. 426.)

*Radioactive Carbon.* The other radioactivity method applicable to Quaternary deposits is based on the presence in organic matter of radioactive carbon of the atomic weight 14 ( $C^{14}$ ), or radiocarbon as it is now commonly called. This method has achieved fame within a short time largely because it provides dates for Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age sites in which archaeologists are intensely interested. As is so often the case enthusiasm has tended to make somewhat over-confident those who wish to apply the results of the method to their material, although the experts have not ceased to point out its difficulties and problems.

Both the theory of the radiocarbon method and its technique were first worked out by Libby (1946), in the later stages in conjunction with several co-workers (Anderson, Libby, Weinhouse, Reid, Kirshenbaum, Grosse, 1947; Libby, Anderson, and Arnold, 1949; Arnold and Libby, 1949; Libby, 1955).

Cosmic radiation produces in the upper atmosphere of the earth neutron particles, some of which hit atoms of ordinary nitrogen (atomic weight 14). This is captured by the nucleus which gives off a proton (atomic weight 1) thus changing to  $C^{14}$ .  $C^{14}$  in turn is radioactive and by losing an electron reverts to nitrogen. The half-life period of  $C^{14}$  is of the order of 5,700 years (see Note (51)). Its comparatively slow disintegration makes it possible to base a method of absolute dating on its presence in organic matter.

Carbon 14 is an isotope of ordinary carbon (atomic weight 12). It is believed to behave exactly like ordinary carbon from the chemical point of view. Thus it enters, together with ordinary carbon, into the carbon dioxide of the atmosphere, in which a constant amount of  $C^{14}$  is to be found which corresponds to the rates of supply and disintegration. This concentration is exceedingly low, being only one billionth ( $10^{-12}$ ) of a gram of  $C^{14}$  for each gram of  $C^{12}$ . Since living vegetation builds up its own organic matter by photosynthesis and using atmospheric carbon dioxide, the proportion of radiocarbon present in it is the same as in the atmosphere, neglecting the very short lifetime of the individual plants compared with the half-life of radiocarbon. It may further be assumed that the bodies

of living animals which, whether herbivorous or carnivorous, all ultimately derive body material from the plant kingdom will also exhibit the same proportion. So soon as the organism dies no further radiocarbon is added. The radiocarbon present in the dead organism will disintegrate so that after 5,700 years only half the original amount will be left, after about 11,400 a quarter, and so forth. The determination of the ratio of  $C^{14}$  to  $C^{12}$ , therefore, gives a clue to its age. Unfortunately, since the initial amount of radiocarbon is low, the limit of detectability is soon reached. It is not likely, therefore, that specimens of an age exceeding 20,000 to 30,000 years can be dated by the radiocarbon method.

Knowing that the neutron intensity is lowest at the equator and rises towards the poles, Libby, Anderson and Arnold (1949) selected a number of samples of wood, shell and antarctic sea-oil covering a wide range of geographical latitudes. No orderly variation was detected in the results. They concluded, therefore, that the mixture of carbon isotopes in the atmosphere was sufficiently complete to obliterate differences of latitude. Arnold and Libby (1949) proceeded to determine the ages of a number of specimens, the ages of which were known from other evidence. These comprised a tree-ring dated sample of wood from Arizona, a piece of wood from an Egyptian coffin of the Ptolemaic period, pine wood from a Syro-Hittite palace in north-west Syria, *Sequoia* wood from California and a piece of wood from the funerary boat of Sesostri III. Two other specimens from Sakkara in Egypt have been dated before. These specimens showed that age estimates based on radiocarbon content were not far removed from actual known ages, as shown by the following examples :

	Expected age	Radiocarbon age
Arizona wood	1872 $\pm$ 50 yrs.	1100 $\pm$ 150 yrs.
Tayinat Syro-Hittite palace	2624 $\pm$ 50 yrs.	2600 $\pm$ 150 yrs.
Sesostri III boat	3702 $\pm$ 50 yrs.	3700 $\pm$ 400 yrs.

These results (see Note (52), p. 427, on the standard deviation) were considered so encouraging that the application of the radiocarbon method to material of unknown age was warranted.

Briefly, the technique of investigating a sample is as follows. An ounce of wood or charcoal or a corresponding quantity of other organic material is burnt to form carbon dioxide. This gas is absorbed in lime water and calcium carbonate is precipitated. The calcium carbonate is dissolved in acid and the carbon dioxide thus once more liberated. This purified gas is finally reduced to pure carbon by burning magnesium metal in it. The sooty carbon thus obtained is spread on the surface of a Geiger counter, a tube in which the electrical impulses created by the electrons emitted by the disintegrating  $C^{14}$  atoms are taken up. After electronic amplification, they are recorded by automatic 'scalers'.

There are a number of technical difficulties inherent in the method, and it is conceivable that future apparatus will be somewhat different from that in use at present. A very obvious technical problem is the elimination of the large background of cosmic radiation that continually bombards the apparatus. It is reduced by protective shielding of iron and lead as well as by a screen of counters surrounding the  $C^{14}$  counter, which record the number of particles arriving from without. More recently the gas counter has replaced the solid carbon counter. Usually carbon dioxide or acetylene are used for counting (Barker, 1953; Crathorn, 1953; Crathorn and Loosemore, 1954; de Vries, 1955).

Another difficulty is that the quantity required for a single determination is comparatively large. In addition, in view of the low activity of radiocarbon it is very desirable that several estimates be made for the same material. The quantities required for two runs thus vary from 60 grams for charcoal to 2.2 kilos for charred bone. Occasionally archaeological sites produce large quantities of such material, but more often than not it will be difficult to obtain sufficient quantities, especially in the case of valuable museum specimens.

Many satisfactory results have been obtained already, as shown in the table on pp. 344 to 345.

There are, however, other results which must be regarded as unsatisfactory, and much work remains to be done on the causes of such deviations. As an example, an accurately dated piece of peat may be referred to. It was taken by Professor Overbeck from 0.2 cm. below a dry horizon, dated at 2,500 to 2,700 years ago. Two radiocarbon runs were made and gave  $1446 \pm 250$  and  $1452 \pm 290$ . This is over 1,000 years less than the expected age. It is probable that this discrepancy is due to the contamination of the peat layer in question by younger humus matter. This in fact must be expected to happen in peat deposits and equally so in soils, where humic solutions penetrate from the surface to a varying depth. Peat and still more so charcoal are substances which are liable to adsorb humic matter from the solutions that pass through them. If a specimen is analysed after having been exposed to such contamination by carbon compounds of an age younger than its own, its radiocarbon age is liable to be reduced (Zeuner, 1950, 1951).

Broadly speaking, the best results have so far been obtained from specimens which were preserved under very dry conditions, or even enclosed in rock tombs or the like, whilst the less satisfactory results come from open-air sites with damp conditions, or wet caves. Quite apart from the risk of contamination of the samples, the investigation of which is a matter for the geologist, there is also the possibility of exchange of carbon isotopes occurring under such conditions. This problem (Cressman, 1951) awaits investigation.

## EXAMPLES OF RADIOCARBON DATES

C.—Chicago Laboratory  
F.—London, Royal Institution  
GRO.—Groningen

K.—Copenhagen  
L.—Columbia University  
W.—Washington

Sample	Laboratory and no.	Expected age	C 14 age	Remarks
Bikini Lagoon, calcareous debris	L. 110B	5-15	< 100	} Samples taken prior to atom bomb tests
ditto	L. 110D	25-40	< 100	
Deep-sea core A164-38, CaCO <sub>3</sub> , 0-12 cm.	L. 105A	(small)	16,600 ± 500	Apparently contaminated by older slumped material
Sequoia, rings A.D. 1057-1087	L. 108A	880 ± 15	930 ± 100	Mean of 4 determinations
Sequoia, rings A.D. 570-578	L. 108B	1377 ± 4	1430 ± 150	Mean of 2 determinations
Hawaii, charcoal from earliest Polynesian culture	C. 540	—	946 ± 180	One determination only
Manchurian Lotus seed	C. 620	—	1040 ± 210	Can still be germinated
Paracas, Peru, prehistoric cotton cloth	L. 115	—	1850 ± 250 1550 ± 200	} From same cultural level but the C and L samples are not necessarily of the same age
ditto	C. 271	—	2257 ± 200	
North German peat from an accurately dated dry period	L. 450	2500-2700	1449 ± 200	Appears much too young, presumably contaminated with younger carbon
Khirbet Kumran, Jordan (Dead Sea Scrolls), palm wood	F. 25	> 68 A.D.	1040 ± 80	} From destruction of monastery, age of tree to be taken into account
	F. 47	> 68 A.D.	1065 ± 80	
Egyptian coffin, Ptolemaic period	C. 62	2280	2100 ± 450	Good result, dry preservation in tomb.
Huaca Prieta No. 2, Peru. Charcoal from first pre-pottery agricultural culture	L. 116B	—	3650 ± 400	} One determination only done in each laboratory. Associated with cotton
ditto	C. 508	4660 (?)	4208 ± 230	
Egolzwil 3, Switzerland, Neolithic	F. 17	3850 ± 100	4650 ± 110	} Good agreement, F17 by acetylene, K. 121 by carbon dioxide method
	K. 121	3850 ± 100	4720 ± 130	



Sample	Laboratory and no.	Expected age	C 14 age	Remarks
Sittard, Holland Bandkeramik	GRO. 422 GRO. 423	? 4000 ? 4000	5790 $\pm$ 190 6200 $\pm$ 150	Confirm the 'long' chronology for the Neolithic
Jarmo, Mesopotamia, pre-ceramic agricultural level No. 5	C. 743 F. 44	8000 (?)	6695 $\pm$ 360 6650 $\pm$ 170	
Jericho, Hog-back brick phase, lower pre-pottery Neolithic	F. 39	—	8770 $\pm$ 150	Oldest known Neolithic. Various methods of preparation of sample
	F. 30	—	8690 $\pm$ 150	
	F. 48	—	8895 $\pm$ 150	
Folsom bone from Lubbock, Texas	C. 558	—	9883 $\pm$ 350	Sellards satisfied that genuine Folsom horizon
Wooden platform from Mesolithic site of Star Carr, Yorkshire	C. 353	—	10167 $\pm$ 560 8808 $\pm$ 490	Good agreement
Alleröd nekron-mud, Neasham, near Darlington, England	C. 444	—	10851 $\pm$ 630	
Alleröd peat, Wallensen, north-west Germany	C. 337	—	11044 $\pm$ 500	
Two Creeks, Wisconsin, U.S.A., wood and peat of Mankato age	C. 308,	—	10877 $\pm$ 740	Five samples, good agreement with Alleröd phase of Europe
	365,		11437 $\pm$ 770	
	366,		11097 $\pm$ 600	
	536,		12168 $\pm$ 1500	
	537		11442 $\pm$ 640	
Meiendorf, Holstein, North Germany, Hamburgian	W. 172	15,000	15,750 $\pm$ 800	See p. 74.
La Garenne, France, Magdalenian burnt bone	C. 577	—	11109 $\pm$ 480	One determination only of each, but should all be contemporary
ditto. Ash with sand, charcoal and charred bone	C. 578	—	15847 $\pm$ 1200	
ditto. Burnt bone from same horizon outside hearth	C. 579	—	12986 $\pm$ 560	
Lascaux Cave, France, Upper Palaeolithic charcoal	C. 406	—	15516 $\pm$ 900	One determination only
Abri Pataud, Les Eyzies, Dordogne, Perigordian IV	W. 151	—	23,600 $\pm$ 800	'Aurignacian' <i>sensu latiori</i>
	W. 191	—	24,000 $\pm$ 1000	

Sample	Laboratory and no.	Expected age	C 14 age	Remarks
Haua Fteah Cave, Cyrenaica, Early 'Upper Palaeolithic'	W. 86	—	28,500 $\pm$ 800	} See Suess, 1954, and McBurney and Hey, 1955
Ditto, Mousterioid	W. 85	—	34,000 $\pm$ 2,800 or older	
Port Talbot, Ontario, wood under moraine	W. 100	—	> 32,000	Indicates a pre-Mankato glacial phase

(See Arnold and Libby (1951), Libby (1951) and Kulp, Feely and Tryon (1951); Rubin and Suess, 1955; Flint and Rubin, 1955; Zeuner, 1955, 1956; Levi and Tauber, 1955.)

Another serious difficulty is the possibility of uneven distribution of  $C^{14}$  in living matter. The work of Nier and others has shown that although, generally, the isotopes have the same chemical properties, there are instances in which it was observed that certain isotopes are favoured in the formation of certain chemical compounds. As regards carbon isotopes, Nier found that carbon of the atomic weight 13 is taken up in a relatively greater proportion than ordinary  $C^{12}$  when carbonates are being formed. On the other hand, a relative concentration of  $C^{12}$  is observed in plants. What applies to the difference between  $C^{12}$  and  $C^{13}$  may equally apply to  $C^{13}$  compared with  $C^{14}$ , so the possibility has to be considered that different types of carbon compounds have slightly different present-day values for  $C^{14}$ . It may eventually become necessary to compare samples of the same material only, for instance, old oak with recent oak, fossil land shells with similar recent land shells, and so forth.

That there are other risks of contamination and other pitfalls involved in this method is obvious enough. Whilst one can confidently expect the radio-chemist to be aware of the difficulties, it is up to geologists and archaeologists to study with care the conditions of preservation of specimens submitted for analysis and, in fact, to submit only specimens that can be regarded as foolproof as is possible in the circumstances. Altogether the method shows considerable promise especially as it is applicable to a period for which other dating evidence, such as varve and tree-ring dating and historical records, is available. It has already succeeded in throwing fresh light on the early prehistoric period in North America (Cressman, 1951), it has confirmed the absolute dating of the Alleröd period and has rendered probable the contemporaneity of the Fennoscandian moraine with the Mankato stage of North America (Flint, 1951). (See also Note (52a), p. 427.)

## CHAPTER XI

## THE AGE OF THE EARTH AND THE TIME-RATES OF GEOLOGICAL PROCESSES

The time-scales described in the preceding chapters, though still fragmentary and uncertain in many details, enable us to obtain a somewhat clearer view of the rôle played by the time factor in the physical evolution of the earth. First, the results of the radioactivity method have some bearing on our conceptions of the age of the Earth as a planet. Furthermore, the same method provides information about the duration of geological periods, and thirdly, the radioactivity, astronomical and varve methods permit us to determine the time-rates of certain geological processes, such as weathering and denudation, transgression of the sea, and crustal movements, including the rate of continental drift. In addition there are some geological methods of estimating the time-rates of processes like erosion or sedimentation which are briefly mentioned here because of their intrinsic interest.

## A. THE AGE OF THE EARTH

*Minimum age derived from radioactivity estimates of terrestrial material.* The 'age of the earth' is one of the outstanding problems to which the radioactivity method has supplied a partial answer. By making age determinations of the oldest known radioactive minerals and allowing for the still older rocks known to exist, a minimum age for the earth can be derived. (Notes (53), (54), p. 427.)

The oldest known radioactive rocks are 2,700 million years old (pegmatites from Rhodesia; Holmes, 1954). In order to find out how much older than this minimum the earth is likely to be, Holmes (1946, 1947a) has designed an ingenious method which relies on the relative abundances of the isotopes of lead in lead minerals of known age. It has been explained on p. 319 that three different kinds of lead are formed by radioactive disintegration, uranium-lead of the atomic weight of 206 (symbol,  $\text{Pb}^{206}$ ), actinium-lead ( $\text{Pb}^{207}$ ), and thorium-lead ( $\text{Pb}^{208}$ ). In addition there is a kind of lead which is not known to be generated by any naturally radioactive element. This is  $\text{Pb}^{204}$ . These isotopes occur mixed in lead minerals, including those which contain no radioactive elements. Now, Nier (1938, also with Thompson and Murphey, 1941) determined the relative amounts of lead isotopes contained in a number of common lead minerals (mostly galena), and Nier pointed out that, since  $\text{Pb}^{204}$  is not produced by disintegration from the uranium and thorium families, it is an indicator of 'primeval' lead in the mineral. On the other hand, certain amounts of the other three isotopes may have been added

to the primeval lead in the course of time by the disintegration of radioactive elements. Whilst this is obvious, it must not be assumed that primeval lead was free from these isotopes. But it is permissible to regard the lead which has the lowest amounts of  $\text{Pb}^{206}$ ,  $\text{Pb}^{207}$  and  $\text{Pb}^{208}$  relative to  $\text{Pb}^{204}$  as in its composition closest akin to primeval lead, and to interpret the surplus amounts of these isotopes present in the mineral as added to the primeval lead in the period of time that elapsed until the mineral under investigation was formed. This added amount is called the 'contamination'. Clearly the contamination should be the greater, the younger the mineral is, and a way is thus opened for estimating the time when 'primeval' lead only existed, i.e. what may be regarded as the age of the earth's crust.

Holmes selected from specimens of lead minerals of known age and of which Nier had determined the isotopes present, pairs of suitable constitution and difference in age and plotted the variation of primeval  $\text{Pb}^{206}$  with assigned values of time. The various sets of lines obtained for different pairs tended to cross each other at a point indicating the amount of  $\text{Pb}^{206}$  present in primeval lead, and for this a time-value could be read from the scale. A similar operation was carried out for  $\text{Pb}^{207}$ . As the method is sensitive to small variations in the data, it is remarkable that a fair proportion of the time-values for the crossing-points of the  $\text{Pb}^{206}$ -lines agree closely with those of the  $\text{Pb}^{207}$ -lines. The average result is 3,350 million years for the probable age of the earth's crust and Holmes (1947b) regards this as virtually the same as the age of the earth as a whole. Jeffreys (1948, 1949) has raised objections to Holmes's (1949) method, but Vinogradov *et al.* (1954) confirmed them.

*Age of meteorites.* Meteorites are believed to belong to the planetary system of the sun and hence to share the age of the solar system. Age estimates have been made of meteorites, the chief worker in the field being F. A. Paneth. Since 1937, he has carried out a new series of determinations of the helium content of iron meteorites, with vastly improved methods (Arrol, Jacobi and Paneth, 1942). These have raised their apparent age to as much as 6,800 million years (Mount Ayliff and Morden meteorites). Their curiously high helium content, however, has been assumed to be due to cosmic rays forming extra helium and, if corrections for this effect are applied, the ages are reduced to 2,000 to 3,000 millions years, figures consistent with results for the age of the earth (Page, 1950). Gerling and Pavlova (1954) obtained 3,000 million, using the argon method (Notes (55), (56), p. 429).

#### B. AGE AND DURATION OF GEOLOGICAL PERIODS

The time-scales described in the preceding chapters evidently help in estimating the age, as well as the duration, of geological periods.

The radioactivity method has revealed some most instructive details. The pre-Cambrian history of the earth is at least three times as long as the entire history from the Cambrian onwards, which covers 500 million years. The Palaeozoic (Cambrian to Permian, compare fig. 83) comprises about 300 million years, or more than the Mesozoic and Cainozoic together (190–200 million years). This had always been suspected. The periods constituting the Palaeozoic average 50 million years each, the Silurian, Devonian and Permian being shorter, the Cambrian longer than the average. The Carboniferous coal of Europe and North America is about 240 million years old.

The Mesozoic is an era of comparatively short duration, about 120 million years. Of these, about 40 million are taken by the Cretaceous. The Tertiary with its 70 million years, on the other hand, has proved to be rather longer than supposed. The short estimates for the Tertiary had been based on the evolution of mollusca and plants, but the evolution of the placentalian mammals with their great variety of forms illustrates the duration of this period more adequately than the less rapidly evolving Tertiary mollusca and plants.

Again, within the Tertiary, the length of the Pliocene, about 13 million years on radioactive evidence, had been underestimated on palaeontological grounds, though it is possible that this figure has to be reduced when more reliably dated lower Pliocene rocks are investigated.

The duration of the Pleistocene, estimated at one million years by the radioactivity methods, and 600,000 to one million years by the astronomical method (depending on where the line between Pliocene and Pleistocene is drawn—Zeuner, 1945, p. 174; 1950, and other authors in *Proc. XVIII int. geol. Congr.*), is well within the limits suggested by geological processes and the relative evolution of life. The Holocene, finally, may be taken as having lasted 10,000 to 20,000 years, according to how it is delimited from the Pleistocene. This delimitation is difficult (see p. 28) and varies in different regions of the earth.

#### C. TIME-RATES OF GEOLOGICAL PROCESSES

The figures thus obtained for the geological periods and epochs enable us to draw certain conclusions regarding the time-rates of geological processes. Curiously enough, this promising possibility has hardly ever been exploited, and a few examples must suffice here as illustrations.

*Time-rate of weathering.* The formation of soil-profiles in temperate Europe can be dated with a certain degree of accuracy. In abandoned gravel pits not more than about 100 years old I have found incipient soils formed under vegetation, to the depth of about

1 cm. On the site of a Roman villa at St. Albans, Herts., humus had stained a profile on calcareous building rubble to a depth of 20 cm. (Zeuner, 1947, p. 25). This profile appeared to be developing in the direction of the blackish rendzina soils commonly observed on Chalk in the south of England and which are nothing but an immature stage in the development of a brown-earth. Leaching had not penetrated below the surface layer of a few millimetres in about 1,600 years. Another profile at the same locality, but on building rubble with little or no lime, had an incipient A-horizon down to 18 cm. This agrees with the value observed in the first section, though the second profile looked as if it was developing directly into a brown-earth. There was no evidence of podsolization.

These observations are consistent with the fact that brown-earth and podsol profiles of Postglacial age, which have reached the mature stage, cannot be older than 10,000 to 15,000 years in many districts. It suggests that profiles of this kind require several thousand years to become mature. Furthermore, an observation in the blackearth district of Strehlen, south of Breslau (Silesia), where degradation of a previously-formed blackearth has begun, seems to confirm that two or three thousand years are not enough to develop a mature profile. This blackearth appears to date from the Boreal and may partly have been formed up to the Subboreal. If so, 3,000 years have not sufficed to superimpose upon the blackearth a brown-earth profile. It is possible, however, that man kept this area open artificially and thus produced a 'cultivation-steppe' under which the process of degradation would be much slower than under forest.

It is a fortunate coincidence that soil-profiles in temperate countries require several thousand years for their formation and not much more or much less. This period of time is too long for minor climatic fluctuations or exceptional weather conditions to find expression in the soil, but short enough to be completed during a single major climatic fluctuation of some ten thousand years' duration, as they characterize the European Pleistocene. For this reason, buried soil-profiles are the most reliable evidence available for climatic fluctuations in the temperate zones.

One must not assume, however, that soil-profiles cannot be much older than, say, 10,000 or 15,000 years and still constitute the surface layer of the ground. Once a soil-profile has become mature, it may alter at a very slow rate or, under special conditions, become a 'dead' profile. This appears to have occurred in arid or semi-arid regions which have become dry after a humid phase. An outstanding example is provided by the lateritic crusts of tropical Africa and India which, it is claimed, date from the Tertiary and, therefore, would be well over a million years old.

*Time-rate of weathering used in estimates for the duration of the Pleistocene.* An assumed time-rate of weathering has been employed

by Kay (1931) and more recently by Thornbury (1940) to estimate the durations of interglacial phases in North America. A critical discussion of their methods is to be found in Flint (1947, p. 398).

Kay studied the depths to which the leaching of calcium carbonate has proceeded in large numbers of soil-profiles in Iowa. He found an average of 2.5 feet in the Mankato Drift of late Wisconsin age. In places where the Iowan boulder-clays are not covered by later deposits, he found that an average depth of 5.5 feet has been leached. Hence he argued that the Iowan drift has been exposed to weathering 2.2 times longer than the Mankato. For the last-named stage he accepted an age of 25,000 years, relying on Antevs's work (p. 38). Applying this figure to the depths of leaching observed on older drifts also, Kay obtained the following estimates for the duration of the North American interglacials:

	Depth of leaching in units	Years
(Post-Mankato	1	25,000 assumed)
Post-Iowan time	2.2	55,000
Sangoman Interglacial	4.8	120,000
Yarmouth Interglacial	12	300,000
Aftonian Interglacial	8	200,000

The combined duration of the Aftonian, Yarmouth, Sangoman interglacials, plus Post-Iowan time, is 675,000 years. To this figure, 30,000 years for the duration of all glaciations is added, and 700,000 years are obtained for the minimum duration of the Pleistocene in Iowa.

As Flint (1947) and others have pointed out, several assumptions are implied in this estimate. They reduce its significance. First, the conversion of leaching depths into absolute time is based on the double assumption that Post-Mankato-time was 25,000 years *and* that leaching occurred throughout this entire period. Since leaching depends on temperatures and acidity it is by no means certain that the period of leaching was as long as the Post-Mankato period. If it was *shorter*, the interglacials would appear to have been correspondingly shorter. Halving the Post-Mankato period of effective leaching, for instance, would make the three North American interglacials about as long as those of Europe. But there is a further assumption, namely that the depth of leaching is a simple, linear, function of time, so that twice the depth of leaching means twice the time. It has been pointed out repeatedly that this need not be so, and it is in fact not likely. Leaching is probably rapid at first and slows down gradually, but no determinations of actual rates of leaching have yet been made. Finally, the rate of leaching must have varied with changes in climate, even within the same interglacial, and the nature of the fresh sub-soil has a profound influence. In short the number of variables involved is so great that Kay's 'leaching'

chronology can at best tell us that the durations of the interglacials were of the order of tens of thousands of years.

Thornbury (1910) did not use the leaching of calcium carbonate, but the formation of a clayey weathering horizon, called 'gumbotil'. This is a slower process than leaching, and it is assumed that gumbotil does not form in the first 50,000 years of an interglacial. This contention requires careful pedological confirmation. It is easy to invoke climatic differences between Post-Wisconsin and interglacial conditions to account for the absence of Postglacial gumbotil. Another attempt at using soils to date phases of the Pleistocene was made by Sayles (1931) in Bermuda. Both Thornbury and Sayles rely on Post-Mankato time being 25,000 years, and this figure must be regarded as too tentative to serve as a basis for extrapolations.

Compared with age estimates based on the astronomical theory, those of Kay are on the high side. But since radiocarbon dates have shown that Post-Mankato time has to be reduced to about one half of Kay's figures, a reasonable agreement has been achieved (p. 344, p. 345).

*Time-rate of erosion and denudation.* The denudation of large surfaces, chiefly on slopes, is intimately connected with the linear erosion of the rivers and, either directly or indirectly, dependent on it. The time-rate of erosion varies enormously. In districts where it is intensified by tectonic movements or drops of sea-level, the rate of erosion is highest (provided climatic conditions are the same), whilst in districts in which no such changes have interfered and where little water is available the rate can closely approach zero.

Most important is the rate at which rivers cut down their thalwegs. Without entering into the somewhat complicated details of this process it can be said that in the once glaciated or periglacial parts of Europe the interstadial, interglacial, or glacial phases (according to circumstances) have everywhere been long enough to enable rivers to cut down to a new level which, averaging very summarily, is some five to ten metres lower than the preceding. The duration of these phases may be taken as 20,000 to 40,000 years (on the evidence of the radiation curves), and the average of down-cutting of the thalweg would have been about 0.25 mm. per year, or one inch in a hundred years. This amount, or some other near it, accounts for the erosional processes which produced the Pleistocene river terraces in temperate Europe.

Much higher values are obtained (*a*) near the mouths of rivers in gorges cut during phases of low sea-level, (*b*) where the river crosses an active fault, and (*c*) where displacement of the river's course compels it to cut through an obstacle. If the rock is soft or even loose, the erosion can assume catastrophic proportions, resulting in many metres of cutting within a few days, as for instance when Lake Ragunda was suddenly drained in 1796 (see p. 26). It



is of little use, therefore, to calculate figures for a maximum rate of cutting.

The rate of recession of waterfalls has been reviewed by Flint (1947). The Niagara Falls figure prominently in North American geochronology, because their recession was believed to supply an estimate for one of the gaps in the Postglacial sequence (p. 84). For a long time it was thought that the major fall, the Horseshoe Fall, is being cut back at the rate of 5 feet per year, but it now appears to be about 3.8 feet per year. Since part of the gorge was filled with glacial drift, and since the rate of recession depends on the discharge of the river which is known to have varied during the Postglacial, Flint concludes that the history of the Niagara Falls does not furnish a basis for determining the duration of Postglacial time. The rate of recession of the St. Anthony Falls near Minneapolis (Mississippi) is 2.44 feet per year.

The rate of recession of an escarpment has been estimated by Pack at Bryce Canyon, Utah, as one foot in 50 years. At this rate, 26 million years would have elapsed since the uplift which created the escarpment in the Miocene, a figure which is consistent with radioactive estimates for the age of this epoch. The chalk escarpment of the North Downs of southern England has receded at the average rate of one foot in 70 years (fast at the beginning, slow now). This estimate is based on Wooldridge's work on the Lenham Beds coast-line and the interpretation of the 650 foot sea as part of the Calabrian. If it is earlier, the recession rate is correspondingly smaller.

The time-rate of the denudation of slopes, and of the development of denudational cycles which ultimately may lead to the formation of peneplains, is difficult to estimate, since the recession of the slopes usually destroys the very elements on which dating can be based, such as terraces, moraines, or other superficial deposits. It is safe to say, however, that peneplanation or anything remotely approaching it, requires a period of time far exceeding the duration of the Pleistocene.<sup>1</sup> Where an area has developed beyond the mature stage of the physiographical cycle, evidence can often be found that this condition had been reached previous to the beginning of the Pleistocene and that the effects of the Pleistocene are confined to repeated rejuvenation. From this it is clear that the reaching by an area of the senile stage of geomorphology requires many millions of years <sup>2</sup> and that it is extremely unlikely ever to have been achieved within the one million years assigned to the Pleistocene.

*Time-rate of ice-recession.* Another geological process the rate of

<sup>1</sup> This does not apply to areas composed of soft and loose rocks (sands, gravels, moraines, &c.) which may reach the senile stage very rapidly.

<sup>2</sup> Baulig (1935, p. 30) estimated the time required for the peneplanation at least 5 million years. It depends, of course, enormously on the initial height of the region being denuded.

which has been determined by geochronological work is the recession of the ice-margin during the late glacial stages in north Europe and North America. Since the ice-margin began to recede from a halt, the amount of annual recession must have risen from zero to at least the greatest value known. High values were obtained in Sweden in connexion with studies on annual moraines and varves, as explained on p. 23. De Geer (1940, p. 154) found that in some cases the ice-margin retreated 400 metres annually but, since this was during a late stage of the Last Glaciation, the annual rate of retreat must have been much less than this for the major part of the recession.

*Time-rate of marine transgression.* Some valuable figures can be obtained for the rate of rise of the sea-level and the corresponding recession of the coast-line, in other words for the rate of marine transgression. For the Postglacial transgression, Godwin's and other authors' work suggests an annual rise of 1 cm. during the major parts of the Boreal and Atlantic phases (see p. 95). This figure illustrates the eustatic rise of the sea-level after the Last Glaciation which was rapid. Similar figures are likely to apply to the rises which occurred during the early parts of the interglacial phases.

The recession of the coast-line which corresponds to such a rise in sea-level depends on the configuration of the submerged land. It varies from almost zero on perpendicular, resistant cliffs to as much as 350 km. in the middle portion of the North Sea during the Boreal and early Atlantic. This advance, over almost level ground, proceeded at the rate of at least 100 m. per year; and there appear to have been few cliffs obstructing it.

The formation of a platform of abrasion, though it begins with the transgression, continues during the subsequent phase of high sea-level (neglecting in this context slight oscillations, see p. 93), and much of the marine abrasion in the soft rocks of the North Sea area is definitely the result of wave-action during the 7,500 years of high sea-level which followed the Boreal transgression. The value of 18 metres (60 feet) for a single year, reported by Whitaker (1907) from Covehithe, Suffolk, is exceptional. At Cape Arkona, on the Baltic island of Rügen, the chalk cliff, which is 44 m. high, has been cut back by 300–400 metres in a hundred years (Neumayr and Suess, 1920). The cliffs of Heligoland, composed of Triassic sandstone (pl. XXI, fig. B), lost about 1 metre annually, according to my recollection, before protective measures were carried out. Annual rates of coastal destruction of one to a few feet can be observed in many places along the soft cliffs bordering the North Sea.

On rocky coasts bordering a less shallow sea and composed of resistant rocks, however, the result of 7,500 years of continuous wave-action is very small. In extreme cases nothing more than a notch may have been cut, or a bench a few metres wide. Since the time, during which these benches were cut, is known fairly accurately,

it will be possible in many places to calculate the amount of material removed, accounting for the width of the bench produced and for the height of the cliff.

The earlier Pleistocene transgressions have all produced effects which quantitatively are comparable with that of the Postglacial. All the Pleistocene transgressions together have nowhere been able to alter substantially the configuration of coastlines composed of resistant cliffs. The available time was obviously not sufficient to produce greater effects.

From this one cannot but draw the conclusion that the great transgressions of pre-Pleistocene times, such as that of the upper Cretaceous for instance, belong to a different category. Platforms of abrasion were then cut which cover sometimes large portions of continents, and they were cut into any kind of rock, resistant or soft. These great transgressions, therefore, cannot have been the product of fluctuations of sea-level of some 10,000 years (as are those of the Pleistocene), but of periods lasting many times longer. There is also evidence that such transgressions were more gradual in their rising and that the rise of sea-level was more persistent than those of the Pleistocene sea. It is probable, therefore, that transgressions of this type, which can be used for the distinction of major stratigraphical divisions, lasted through hundreds of thousands, or even millions, of years.

*Rate of geosyncline sedimentation.* Holmes (1944) has pointed out that his combination of radioactivity ages with maximum thickness indicate a remarkable change of the rate of sedimentation in the course of time. The maximum thicknesses were taken mainly from the large geosynclines (fig. 84, p. 315). In these, the average rate of accumulation of sediments has increased since the Cambrian. The observation as such is not new, as it was first made by Barrell in 1917. Holmes's time-scale now provides the following values for the average rate of sedimentation in geosynclines (fig. 89, p. 331):—

Period	Years per 1 ft. of sediment	Period	Years per 1 ft. of sediment
Pliocene	611	Permian	1,167
Miocene	667	Carboniferous	1,300
Oligocene	800	Devonian	1,568
Eocene	870	Silurian	1,850
Cretaceous	1,078	Ordovician	2,000
Jurassic	1,136	Cambrian	2,000
Triassic	1,200		

This progressive increase is very approximately logarithmic. Holmes is inclined to regard it as the expression of the intensification of sub-crustal processes which are believed to govern orogenic activities such as the depression of geosynclines and the compression of mountain belts.

*Time-rate of climatic fluctuations.* Since, with the exception of

the radioactivity method, geochronological work depends largely on the study of climatic cycles, it is not surprising that our knowledge of the duration of climatic fluctuations has much increased in connexion with this work. The short cycles, of which the sunspot cycle of 11.4 years is the most outstanding, may influence the weather periodically but are in any case too short to be considered as climatic fluctuations.

The major planetary perturbations, with oscillations of from 21,000 to 92,000 years, however, have produced climatic fluctuations of a length sufficient to leave geological evidence (p. 135). As shown in Chapter V, this applies in particular to the Pleistocene. It is possible that similar fluctuations in the Permo-Carboniferous Ice-Age of the southern hemisphere, for which some evidence has come forward, were of the same type. Furthermore, Gilbert has tried to recognize the precession cycle in Cretaceous sediments (p. 313). It may be expected that the cycles of the perturbations will be discovered in other geological epochs also.

*Rhythms in the history of the Earth.* The fact that the cycles of the perturbations have left distinct traces in the Pleistocene deposits but not in the Tertiary suggests that there are superimposed cycles, or non-cyclic changes of a considerably longer duration, i.e. of millions of years.

It has been suggested that the appearance of glaciations at the end of the Tertiary is connected with the heightening of the crustal relief as the result both of upheaval of portions of the crust and of a drop of the sea-level (Zeuner, 1945, p. 164).

In recent years, a number of workers have come to the conclusion that the relief of the earth's surface was intensified at intervals during periods of increased orogenic (mountain-forming) activity, and that these episodes are somehow coupled with two other 'cycles', that of magmatic intrusions and that of the transgression and regression of the sea. There is no need here to discuss these theories, especially since excellent summaries have been published by Umbgrove (1939*a, b*, 1945, 1947), (see also fig. 90). This author recognizes the following rules:

(1) Worldwide transgressions and regressions are probably caused by simultaneous but opposite movements of both continents and ocean floors.

(2) The periods of regression coincide with orogenic epochs, which are relatively short in comparison with the much longer intervening periods, which are at the same time-periods of transgression.

(3) The periods of regression and orogeny result in intensified erosion on the continent, and the climatic zonation according to altitude becomes more noticeable.

(4) The movements of the level of the sea and the continents as well as the orogenic epochs are caused by processes in the substratum, which elapsed periodically, as it were, with a pulsating rhythm.

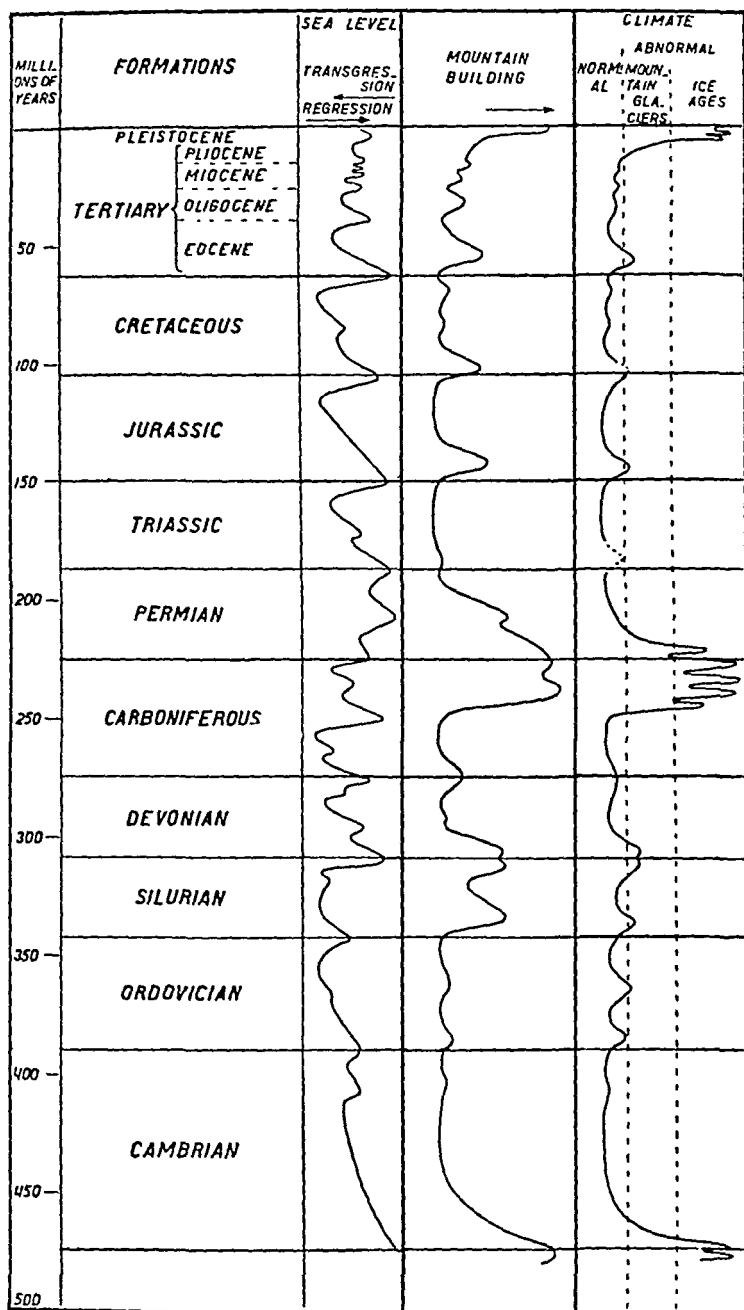


FIG. 90.—Diagrammatic presentation of 'rhythms' in the history of the earth according to Umbgrove (1947).

The application of the absolute time-scale to these rhythmic processes is of great interest. A. Holmes has paid special attention to this matter, which is bound in the course of time to bring out the length and character of the rhythms involved. Holmes (1937, pp. 185-214) extended the dating of the cycles to the pre-Cambrian periods (fig. 91) and specified the intervals between the culminations of the major orogenic cycles. The periods of the later cycles are reasonably consistent with each other, lasting for 120 to 190 million

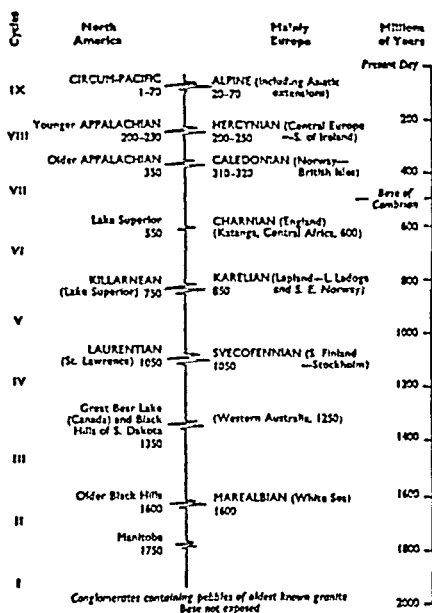


FIG. 91.—Chronological table of the pre-Cambrian periods mainly of North America and Europe according to Holmes (1944). (Reproduced by permission of Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd.)

years. Since the episode leading up to the climax of the Gotho-karelian cycle of the pre-Cambrian also may have lasted 190 million years, some regularity of the rhythm is suggested. On the other hand, the figures from North America in particular indicate that the intervals between the culminations of the orogenic epochs may have become shorter in the course of the earth's history.

The theory of rhythms in the development of the earth's crust is being elaborated by several other workers like Bucher (1933, 1939), Grabau (1940), Kuenen (1941), Waal (1943) and Bubnoff (1947). Their results agree in suggesting that rhythmic repetition of mountain building and transgression is a reality. There is no doubt that in

this field the gradual development of a reliable time-scale is providing an invaluable key to further discovery (Holmes, 1937).

*Time-rate of tectonic movements.* The rates at which tectonic movements operate can either be measured directly or computed from geochronological evidence. We are here chiefly concerned with the latter method. In reviewing some examples it is advisable to distinguish vertical and horizontal movements.

*Time-rate of faulting and local disturbances.* Vertical movements have been calculated for the great fault which separates the central Sudeten mountains from the lowlands of Silesia (Zeuner, 1928). This fault cuts across the terraces of the rivers, and the terraces have been lifted up with the mountain block. Since their approximate age within the Pleistocene is known, the annual rate of upheaval can be found with the aid of the astronomical time-scale. The rate proves to be rather low, 0.2 to 0.5 mm. per year. Comparing this value with the average value for the down-cutting of the rivers (0.25 mm., see p. 345), one understands why no rapids or falls have developed over this fault, which nevertheless has created a spectacular mountain wall.

Observed modern values from tectonically active areas suggest that the rate of vertical movement is sometimes considerably higher. The Serapis temple at Pozzuoli, near Naples, which stood on dry land when built by the Romans, had since become submerged to a depth of at least 20 feet and has risen again to about sea-level (for summary, see Lake and Rastall, 1913). Assuming that the phases of submergence and subsequent rising were about equal in duration, the annual average of movement is about 6 to 7 mm. As they probably were not equal, one of the movements must have taken place at a rate faster than this.

Many still higher values have been observed for local movements, but they come from earthquake areas and, therefore, are liable to being exceptionally high.

*Time-rate of isostatic movements.* Another type of vertical movement is the isostatic response of parts of the crust to the weight or removal of ice and more generally, to the weight of deposits or the removal of rocks. The upward movement of Scandinavia since the Last Glaciation has been dated by Swedish and Finnish investigators who studied the inclination of coastal terraces which must have been horizontal originally and which can be dated by means of the varve chronology (see p. 47, figs. 14, 15). As an example, two figures deduced from one of Sauramo's papers (Sauramo, 1919) may be quoted. The shore-line of the Ancylus Lake in southern Sweden and Finland has risen in places by at least 110 metres since 7400 B.C. The average annual rise, therefore, was 1.2 cm. per year. The Litorina Beach in middle and west Finland has risen by 90 metres since 4000 B.C., the annual rise being 1.5 cm. per year.

These two figures agree very well. Harbours in Sweden which were still navigable in the Middle Ages have since fallen out of use as they have become too shallow.

*Time-rate of folding and rise of mountain ranges.* A complicated combination of vertical and horizontal movements resulted in the building-up of mountain ranges of the alpine type. These processes were very intense during certain geological phases, so that any average values derived for the time from the formation of marine rocks now raised to great heights up to the present day cannot be more than minimum values for the actual rate of upheaval. The following rates have been calculated to provide some idea of the intensity of such movements. They rely on evidence of certain marine sediments found at great heights and on the ages of these sediments as suggested by the radioactivity time-scale.

	Annual rate per annum
Alps, Mt. Säntis, Switzerland. Upper Cretaceous at 2,500 metres	0.03 mm.
Himalayas, Mt. Kinchinjunga. Upper Cretaceous at 8,400 metres, teste Dyhrenfurth	0.11 mm.
New Guinea, Carstenz Range. Lower Neogene at over 4,800 metres, teste van Bemmelen, 1939	0.2 mm.
Timor, Plio-Pleistocene coral reefs raised to 1,300 metres, teste Brouwer, 1925	0.2-1.3 mm.

*Time-rate of relative displacement of poles and climatic zones.* Two types of large-scale horizontal movements have been postulated, one resulting from the relative displacement of the rotational poles, and another resulting from a drifting of single crustal blocks. In practice, both are believed to have taken place simultaneously and are difficult to distinguish, except in certain cases. These movements are by no means generally accepted as established, and it is the task of geophysics, not of geochronology, to prove or disprove them. It is nevertheless worth while to enquire how these assumed movements appear from the chronological standpoint, and the following paragraphs must be understood in that sense.

Any shifting of the poles implies a shifting of the equator. It must be understood clearly that this is not an actual displacement of the rotational axis, but merely a movement of the crust of the earth over the interior core. It is therefore purely relative, but has inevitably a great effect on the position of the climatic zones, since parts which once lay far distant from the pole, may be shifted into higher latitudes, and *vice versa*.

Since it is possible to reconstruct to some extent the tropical and subtropical zones for the past geological phases, evidence suggestive of displacement of the poles has been obtained. The rate of displacement calculated by Köppen and Wegener (1924) for the late Tertiary and Pleistocene, however, is probably too large. Milankovitch (1934) has more recently calculated the past movements



of the poles on purely geophysical grounds but has been unable to apply a time-scale to them. His calculations have been attacked by Kuiper (1948) who disagrees with a basic assumption of Milankovitch in regard to specific weights involved (see also Umbgrove, 1947, p. 303).

The great effect of the displacement of the poles is the corresponding shift of the climatic zones. It will be necessary to establish the position of the climatic zones in successive geological phases before the movements of the poles can be dated in detail. Kreichgauer (1902), Wegener (1937), Köppen (in Köppen and Wegener, 1924), and others, have begun work on these lines, using the available evidence for the subtropical dry belts and the tropical rain-forest zone, but much more thorough research is needed to provide a reliable basis. At the present moment, only the movements of the equator during the Tertiary appear to be somewhat securely established. They seem to indicate that Malaya was in the equatorial zone throughout the Tertiary and that, thence, the equator ran up to the northern Mediterranean in the Eocene, and through Gambia, West Africa, in the Miocene. Assuming that continental drift did not displace Africa relative to Europe, the equator would have moved southwards, say, from Spain via West Africa to its present position through 4,500 km. in about 50 million years, or 9 cm. per annum.<sup>1</sup> This figure is bound to be very rough, but it at least indicates the rate of a movement of the climatic zones which must have been of overwhelming importance in the history of the distribution of the floras and faunas.

*Time-rate of continental drift.* The 'continental drift' is a large-scale horizontal movement of continents or other large blocks of the earth's crust. It was independently postulated by Taylor and by Wegener about 30 years ago. It is still a controversial subject, though a number of geologists are prepared to admit the reality of movements of this kind. Supporting evidence has been compiled in a book by du Toit (1937). The most widely known treatise on the theory is Wegener's original book (1937 and earlier editions). Holmes (1929) has published a valuable review of the different aspects of the theory and an up-to-date treatment may be found in his *Principles of Physical Geology* (1944, Chapter XXI). Wittmann (1934) has surveyed the biological evidence adduced in favour of the theory of continental drift, and the present author has studied a case of distribution of an insect genus in the Australasian archipelago

<sup>1</sup> Compare with this the changes of geographical latitude observed at many stations in recent years (Lambert, 1925). Most of them (chiefly European) point to a movement towards the equator. Some specimen values (per annum, based on short periods of observation, ranging from 15 to 70 years) are: Paris, 1.00 metre; Rome I, 0.75 metre; Königsberg in Prussia, 0.30 metre; Rome II, 0.15 metre. If real, these displacements may be caused either by polar shift, or by continental drift, or by more local movements in the crust; they must not be regarded as evidence for the displacement of the poles.

which would be difficult to explain without accepting a north-westward movement of New Guinea and Australia (Zeuner, 1943). The geodetic evidence concerning Wegener's hypothesis has recently been discussed by H. A. S. Smith (1947). This important paper shows that none of the geodetic changes, mainly of longitude, which have been claimed to support continental drift, are trustworthy. This applies also to the longitude determinations which Wegener accepted as proof of the rapid westward movement of Greenland.

The chief problem of the theory of continental drift is not the principle involved (horizontal movements of some kind or other being too obvious to be denied as such) but rather their intensity and rate. The figures which Wegener gives (1937) for the average rate of horizontal movement are based (*a*) on the geological phase during which, according to him, the separation of two blocks began, and (*b*) on estimates for the duration of geological periods which were considerably too small, judged by the recent results of the radio-activity method. Point (*a*) cannot be discussed here, being beyond the subject-matter of this book. Point (*b*) tends to increase the average rate computed. In the following table, some of Wegener's rates previous to the Pleistocene<sup>1</sup> have been re-calculated, using the latest datings obtained by the radioactivity method, as given by Holmes. This table must not be regarded as more than what it is:—a list of average rates of continental drift which would apply if Wegener's views regarding the original position of the blocks and their respective times of separation were correct.

	Distance km.	Time of separation	Years of separation	Annual rate of drift
Newfoundland—Ireland	2,410	Early Pliocene	12–16 million	0·2–0·15 metres
Buenos Aires—Cape Town	6,220	Cretaceous	90 million	0·07 metres
Peninsular India—South Africa	5,550	Early Tertiary	70 million	0·09 metres
Tasmania—Wilkes Land (Antarctica)	2,800	Early Oligocene	45 million	0·07 metres

One notices that the annual rate of drift previous to the Pleistocene would have been a few centimetres per year, an amount which is in good keeping with the values obtained for other kinds of crustal movements. Wegener's figures for the Pleistocene, however, were exorbitantly high (ranging from 9 to 36 metres annually). This is partly due to his assumption that the separation of North America

<sup>1</sup> Wegener's values for the Pleistocene have been omitted, as they were influenced by measurements of the longitude of Greenland, now proved to be useless (Smith, 1947).

from Europe occurred in the late Pleistocene. Even if one removes the time of separation to the end of the Tertiary (one million years ago), one would still obtain annual rates varying between 1.8 and 0.9 metres, values which are ten to twenty times higher than the moderate rates obtained for the earlier drifts. This discrepancy either calls for a special explanation, or else it reveals that Wegener was mistaken in assuming so late a date for the separation.

The northward movement of Peninsular India, in connexion with which the Himalayas were built up, affords a means of checking Wegener's values. He supposes that India originally lay to the east of South Africa and that it began to move northwards at the beginning of the Tertiary. Argand has since estimated the compression suffered by the Himalayan region in the course of the folding process and arrived at 3,000 km. The folding movements are likely to have begun rather earlier than the early Tertiary, since there is evidence from the Mesozoic. Assuming that they began towards the end of the Triassic (150 million years ago), the average rate of northward movement of the Peninsula can be calculated as 0.02 metres.<sup>1</sup> This figure falls in the same category as the figures for the earlier drifts in our table, and agrees also with the amounts for other large-scale crustal movements.

This order of magnitude of the movement is also confirmed by a recent paper by Gutenberg (1956) on continental drift. He mentions horizontal displacements of 1 to 5 cm. per year on the St. Andrews Fault in California, and of 1 to 2½ cm. per year in New Zealand. He concludes that considerable horizontal movements of continental blocks have indeed taken place.

Thus, the figures at present available suggest that the rate of horizontal movements is about 10 to 100 times greater than that of vertical movements.

*Conclusion.* The preceding review of applications of geochronological time-scales to geological events and processes is anything but complete. It merely intends to indicate the lines along which it will be possible gradually to transform our deep-rooted conceptions of relative time in geology into terms of absolute time. A great field is open here for future research.

<sup>1</sup> My friend, Mr. Day Kimball, has pointed out to me that on the whole the strata in the Himalayas show no erosion surfaces till the Eocene. The rate, therefore, may have been as high as 0.06 metres per year.

## CHAPTER XII

## BIOLOGICAL EVOLUTION AND TIME

## A. THE AGE OF SOME GROUPS OF ANIMALS

The significance of geochronology for studies in the evolution of life can hardly be overestimated. Until the first time-scales appeared, the palaeontologist was much in the same position in which a historian would find himself who knew the correct succession of events in human history, but not the dates. Dates in years, even if they are only approximate, enable palaeontologists as well as historians to see events and developments in their true chronological proportions and to deduce from them some of the hidden rules of life.

As geochronology is still in its infancy and since the time-scales are as yet incomplete, it is not surprising that little use has been

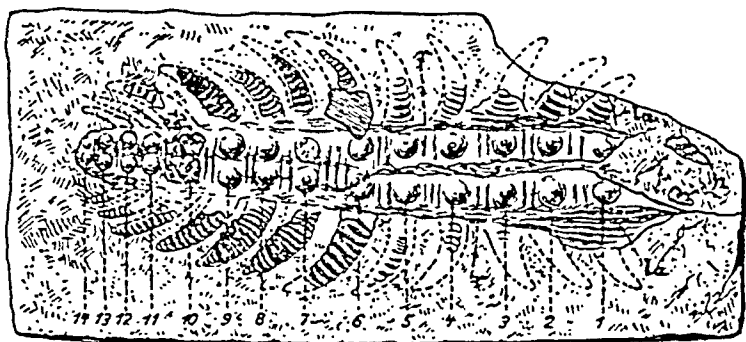


FIG. 92.—*Xenusion auerswaldae* Pompeckj. Algonkian Dala Sandstone from central Sweden, found in a glacial erratic at Heiligengrabe, Mark Brandenburg. A representative of a group intermediate between annelid worms and Arthropoda. —From Pompeckj (1927).

made of them in research bearing on evolution. It is intended, therefore, to show in the following paragraphs that promising possibilities are contained in a combination of geochronological and palaeontological investigations. Since this matter goes somewhat beyond the main subject of the present book, it can only be treated in a very sketchy manner.

*Absolute age of some groups of animals.* The most obvious application of time-scales to palaeontology is in determining the approximate minimum time during which certain groups are known

to have existed on earth. A few instances are compiled in the following table:

Group	Stratigraphical Age	First appearance, years ago	Minimum period of existence
(1) <i>Xenusion auerswaldae</i> Pompeckj (1927) *	Dala Sandstone, Upper Pre-Cambrian (?)	500-800 million	—
(2) Trilobites	Early Cambrian to Permian	500 million	310 million
(3) Scorpions	Silurian to Recent	350 million	350 million
(4) Wingless Insects; <i>Rhyniella praecursor</i> Hirst and Maulik, see Scourfield, 1940 †	Middle Devonian	275 million	275 million
(5) Winged Insects	Upper Carboniferous	225 million	225 million
(6) Protorthoptera (ancestors of following three groups)	Lower upper Carboniferous to Permian	225 million	50 million
(7) Cockroaches	Middle upper Carboniferous to Recent	215 million	215 million
(8) Saltatoria (grasshoppers, &c.)	Middle upper Carboniferous to Recent	215 million	215 million
(9) Beetles	Upper Permian to Recent	190 million	190 million
(10) Caddisflies (and moths ?)	Rhaetic (upper Triassic) to Recent	160 million	160 million
(11) Lingulidae, Brachiopoda	Lower Cambrian to Recent	500 million	500 million
(12) Genus <i>Lingula</i>	Ordovician to Recent	390 million	390 million
(13) Vermes	Middle Cambrian to Recent	470 million	470 million
(14) Jawless fishes	Ordovician to Recent	390 million	390 million
(15) Placoderm fishes ‡	Devonian and lower Carboniferous	310 million	70 million
(16) Shark-like fishes	Upper Silurian to Recent	320 million	320 million
(17) Bony fishes	Devonian to Recent	300 million	300 million
(18) Amphibia	Upper Devonian to Recent	270 million	270 million
(19) Reptilia	Lower Carboniferous to Recent	250 million	250 million
(20) Birds	Upper Jurassic to Recent	140 million	140 million
(21) Mammals	Upper Triassic to Recent	160 million	160 million
(22) Multituberculate mammals	Upper Triassic to Eocene	160 million	100 million
(23) Pantotheria (pre-marsupial mammals)	Upper Jurassic	130 million	20 million
(24) Marsupials	Upper Cretaceous to Recent	80 million	80 million
(25) Placentalian mammals	Upper Cretaceous to Recent	80 million	80 million
(26) Lemurs	Eocene to Recent	60 million	60 million
(27) Man-like apes	Lower Oligocene to Recent	40 million	40 million
(28) Man	Late Pliocene (?), Pleistocene to Recent	1 million §	1 million

\* Fig. 92.

† Earliest insects; order Collembola

‡ See Westoll (1943).

§ With allowance for evolution up to the stage of Heidelberg and Peking Man.

Organisms have existed on the earth's crust for at least 2·7 thousand million years, according to Rankama (1954) and Holmes (1954). These estimates are based on the presence of organic carbon in pre-Cambrian rocks (Note (57), p. 429).

### B. EXPLOSIVE EVOLUTION

The table on the preceding page illustrates what in palaeontology is called *explosive evolution*. When a major group appears, one often observes that its main subdivisions also appear within a comparatively short space of time. This episode is followed by a longer stretch of time when evolution proceeds at a quieter pace.

*More or less simultaneous appearance of major systematic units.—Classes and orders.—Insects.* The table contains two instances of taxonomic orders appearing all within a comparatively short space of time. The first is that of the winged insects (rows 5 to 10 in the table) which could have been amplified greatly by including a larger number of orders. A summary table published by Martynov (1938) which distinguishes over 100 orders of insects provides the basis for a numerical analysis of the evolution of this class. Neglecting the four orders of the wingless insects (Apterygota) which constitute an older stock (see table, row 4) about 100 orders of winged insects (Pterygota) are left.<sup>1</sup> Of these, the following orders are present, or appear for the first time, in the following periods :

Number of orders	Present in the	New orders appearing
0	Devonian	0
0 (2)	Lower Carboniferous	0 (2) *
18	Upper Carboniferous	18 (10) *
37	Permian	30
31	Mesozoic	22
38	Tertiary	13
48	At the present day (of these 7 without fossil record).	

\* No winged insects are known earlier than the base of the upper Carboniferous but it is to be presumed that the two orders then appearing date back to the lower Carboniferous.

If one plots the number of new orders which appeared during the Carboniferous, Permian, &c., on the radioactivity time-scale (fig. 93), it becomes clear that an exceptionally large number of new orders evolved during the 60 million years of the upper Carboniferous and Permian, that this episode was apparently preceded by an insignificant initial phase, and that the rate of appearance of new orders has since slowed down. The figure given for the Tertiary is too high, and due to lack of fossil evidence from the Cretaceous.

<sup>1</sup> One may disagree with parts of Martynov's classification. He has a tendency to raise suborders and families to ordinal rank. But for the present purpose this matters little.

It is almost certain that the majority of Tertiary orders date back at least to the Cretaceous.

*Vertebrates.* Another instance of quasi-simultaneous evolution of classes and orders is provided by the primitive vertebrates (fig. 94). Three classes of fishes, and the Amphibia, appear in the Silurian and Devonian, apparently evolving from the jawless vertebrates, either directly or indirectly. The latter (Agnatha) also appear in at least four different lines in the Silurian and Devonian, whilst only one is so far known from the Ordovician. *This splitting of the primitive vertebrates seems to have taken place within about 60 million years and there is reason to believe that the transition from the crossopterygian fishes to true Amphibia was performed in a*

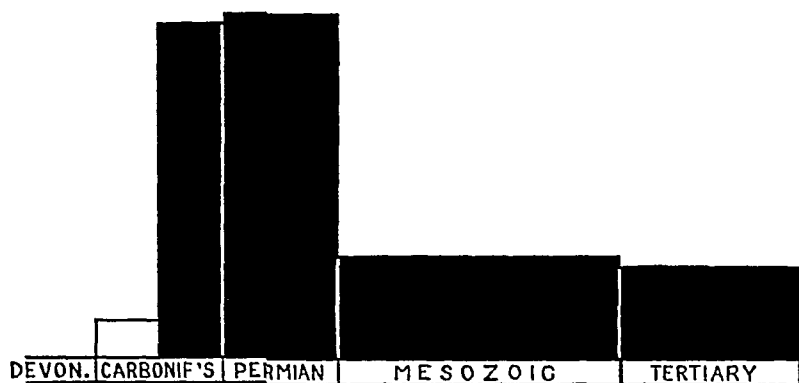


FIG. 93.—Insect orders. Numbers of *newly appearing* orders plotted against time, surface areas proportional to numbers. Two orders presumed present in the lower Carboniferous.—Based on material provided by Martynov (1938).

period of the order of 15 million years (within the upper Devonian ; Westoll, 1943, p. 95). In the remaining 275 million years up to the present, only three new classes have appeared. Of these, the reptiles have been found in the upper Carboniferous, so that one may regard them as the last sprout of the middle Palaeozoic episode of evolution. The remaining two are the birds and mammals which, incidentally, arose from the reptiles when these had their episode of explosive evolution during the Mesozoic.

This sudden appearance of the higher systematic groups, like classes and orders, within a relatively short period of the earth's history, i.e. within considerably less than 100 million years, can hardly be due to the chances of preservation. It may be admitted that the earliest vertebrates had no hard parts which would readily become fossilized. But the absence of winged insects in the lower compared with their abundance in the upper Carboniferous is a telling fact, since both lower and upper Carboniferous contain facies suitable for

insect-preservation. In this case at least, the sudden abundance is most probably due to an outburst of evolution. The same applies to many other instances derived from later deposits.

It is suggested, therefore, that *there have occurred in the evolution of certain phyla short episodes during which the majority of classes and*

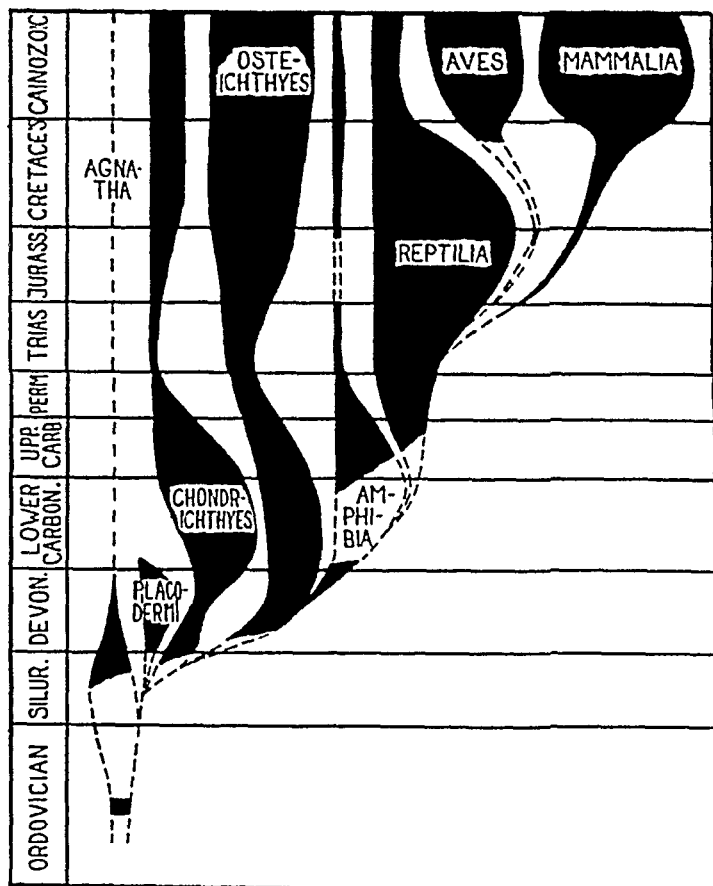


FIG. 94.—Phylogenetic tree of the Vertebrata, plotted on the time-scale.—After Romer (1933), modified.

*orders were born.* These episodes appear to have lasted for something like 50 to 100 million years.

*Families and genera.* The question now arises whether the evolution of families, genera and species is a similarly explosive process, or more continuous. For families, the instance of the Artiodactyles may be mentioned (compare Romer, 1933, fig. 302).



These appear in the lower Eocene with the primitive Homacodontidae, which presumably are of pre-Eocene origin. By the end of the Eocene, 14 new families have appeared, and the Homacodontidae die out. During the Oligocene, differentiation of new families was confined to the Tragulid stock since, in the Miocene, the deer and cattle families emerge from it, four in all. In the Pliocene, finally, one more family, the Hippopotamidae, is added to the Artiodactyles. These figures suggest that the explosive evolution observed in some higher taxonomic categories applies to families also, but in our particular case we have evidence that the explosive episode did not last longer than some 15 million years.

*Genera.* With respect to genera, the Terebratulidae (Brachiopoda) may be quoted. Schuchert and LeVene (1922) list

4	genera	for the	Triassic
24	"	"	Jurassic
10	"	"	Cretaceous
6	"	"	Cainozoic

The Terebratulidae thus appear to have passed through an episode of intense genus-evolution during the Jurassic, lasting for some 40 million years.

*Species.* Finally, we come to the rate of appearance of new species within a genus. Good examples for this process are provided by the Mollusca (material derived from Wenz, 1923-30). In the genus *Poiretia* Fisch., for instance, the following number of *new* species have appeared :

<i>Poiretia</i>	during the	Paleocene,	3	new	species
"	"	Eocene,	18	"	"
"	"	Oligocene,	14	"	"
"	"	Miocene,	19	"	"
"	"	Pliocene,	5	"	"

This genus experienced an episode of abundant species-evolution from the Eocene to the Miocene, or roughly for 40 to 50 million years.

In other genera, this episode was shorter, as for instance in *Cepaea* Held., where it was confined to the Miocene, a period which is unlikely to have lasted for less than 15 million years.

Other genera again have been increasing the pace of production of new species in the course of the Tertiary and have not yet passed the climax of their phase of abundant species-evolution. *Theodoxus* Montfort, *Melanopsis* Férussac, *Limnaea* Lam., and *Gyraulus* Ag. are in this category; the figures for the last-named may serve as an example :

<i>Gyraulus</i>	during the	Paleocene,	1	new	species
"	"	Eocene,	2	"	"
"	"	Oligocene,	18	"	"
"	"	Miocene,	33	"	"
"	"	Pliocene,	79	"	"

One may say that the episode of abundant species formation began in the Oligocene. It has lasted through the major portion of the Tertiary, and therefore for some 40 million years.<sup>1</sup>

*Phases of abundant production of new taxonomic units. Summary.* The conclusion to be drawn from this sketchy survey is that there are episodes of abundant production of new types which last for a few tens of millions of years. These episodes are not appreciably longer for the higher systematic categories than for the lower. This raises two problems. First, why are these episodes not dependent on the systematic category? It seems to me that the answer rests in the lowest common denominator, i.e. the species. We shall have to return to this point again later on (p. 373).

The second question is whether these episodes of abundant production of new types occur in every stock and every lineage without exception. This is probably not the case, as there are many groups which linger on for a great length of time without ever increasing appreciably their rate of production of new types. An instance of this kind is shown in the phylogenesis of the true fishes (fig. 95). The Coelacanthini continue from the Devonian to the present day; their rise was exceedingly slow (about 100 million years, from middle Devonian to end of Palaeozoic), their best times, if one call it that, were during the Mesozoic (180 million years), and one species has survived to the present day. The Dipnoi, or lung-fishes (fig. 95), seem to have experienced several slight outbursts of evolutionary activity, but they, too, did not reach the level of 'explosive evolution', so clearly exhibited by the four remaining orders of fishes in this table.

*Time-frequency curves.* So far, the discussion has been restricted to the rate of production of new types, and the question of survival has been neglected. If one wants to obtain a picture of the 'vigour' of a group, expressed by the number of lower taxonomic units existing at any particular time, the number of units existing at that time must be considered, irrespective of whether they were newly-evolved or survivors. The number of lower units (e.g. species in a genus, or genera in a family) plotted against time, produces a most instructive type of curve which might prove to be a help in phylogenetic research. It is here called *time-frequency curve*, and examples are given in figs. 96 to 98, for a superfamily (96a), two families (96b, 97) and a genus (98).

It will be noticed that these curves exhibit a certain regularity. One (fig. 97) has a protracted initial *lag phase* which was too short in the other instances to appear in the graph.<sup>2</sup> All curves show a period of *progressive rise* which is suggestive of a logarithmic increase

<sup>1</sup> Such figures, of course, are not meant to be exact.

<sup>2</sup> It would have appeared if the earliest time-interval had been subdivided further.

(*increase phase*). It is followed by the climax, or *stationary phase*, which is short in the curves shown but may be protracted (fig. 95, Chondrostei). The subsequent *phase of decline* may be sudden (figs. 97, 98) or slow (fig. 96b). The terms here used are taken from

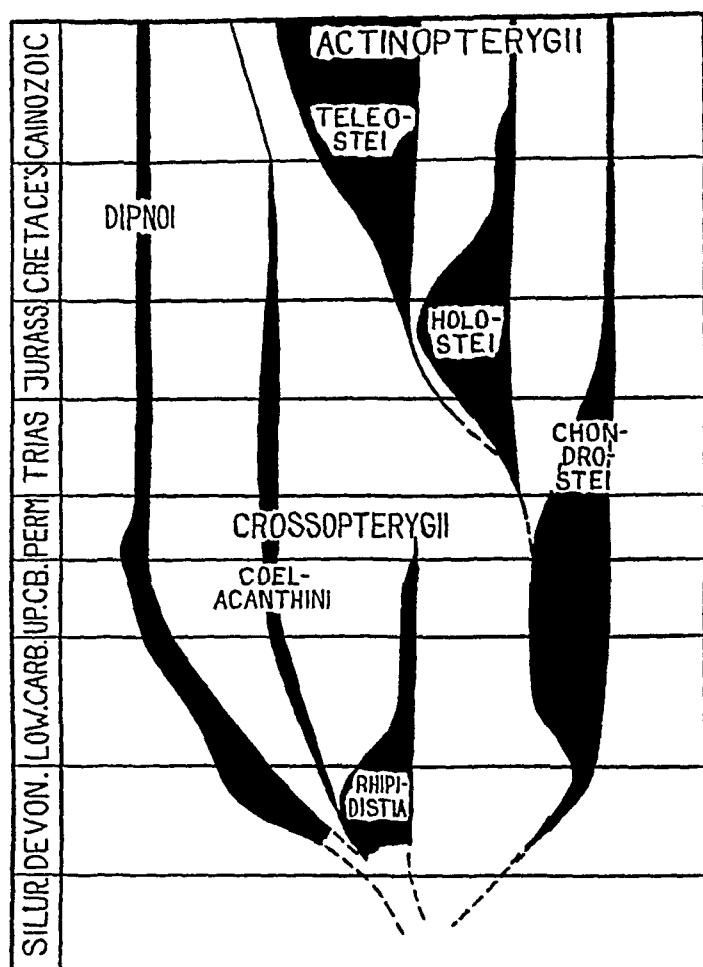


FIG. 95.—Phylogenetic tree of the fishes, plotted on the time-scale.—After Romer (1933), modified.

another kind of time-frequency curve which shows the increase and decrease of population in a colony of bacteria (fig. 99, Corbet, 1934).

These curves are nothing but an expression of what is sometimes called the Law of Organic Growth. The logarithmic shape which the lag and increase phases tend to approach indicates an under-

lying exponential function or, expressed in simpler terms, one in which the increase per unit is determined by a certain constant factor of multiplication.

Let us take the example of successive generations of a species and assume that there are one hundred individuals, 50 males and

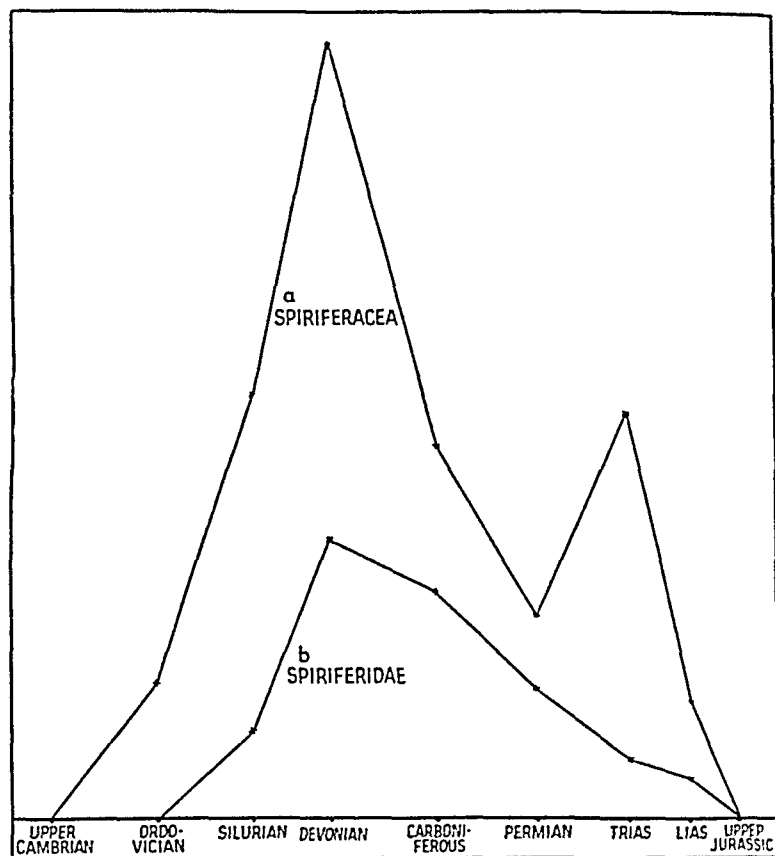


FIG. 96.—Time-frequency curves of Spiriferacea (Brachiopoda). (a) Superfamily Spiriferacea; (b) Family Spiriferidae. Note the two maxima of curve (a), which indicate its composite nature. Method of plotting: Horizontal, time-scale marked at distances in correct proportion to the radioactivity time-scale. Vertical, number of genera.

50 females, to start with. If only one hundred individuals out of their progeny reach maturity and the same occurs in every successive generation, the multiplication factor is 1, and the time-frequency curve would be represented by a straight, horizontal, line. If more than one hundred individuals survive, the curve will rise and do

so increasingly, in the later stages at a very rapid rate. The following table shows this :

Multiplication factor	Initial number of individuals	Generation								
		2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
1	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1.5	100	150	225	348	521	782	1,173	1,759	2,639	3,958
2	100	200	400	800	1,600	3,200	6,400	12,800	25,600	51,200

A slight advantage of a species over its environment, resulting in a survival rate only just over 1, will, if the advantage persists for some time, result in a logarithmic rise of the number of individuals. *Mutatis mutandis* the same applies to any increase in the number of organisms in the course of time.

If a curve shows two maxima (fig. 96a), it is to be suspected that two stocks have been combined. In our instance, the maximum in the Devonian is that of the Spiriferidae, and the second in the Trias that of the 'diplospiral' Athyridae and the closely related Koninckinidae.

*Time-frequency curve and rate of production of new types.* Now it is clear that the episode of abundant production of new types, previously discussed, is largely coincident with the phase of logarithmic increase. The peak of the time-frequency curve is reached when the number of extinctions equals the number of newly-formed types. This may occur (a) because the rate of production of new types diminishes, or (b) assuming this rate to persist unchanged, because an external, environmental factor increases the rate of extinction. The fact that the peak or stationary phase was reached after a time of less than 100 million years in all cases investigated so far, suggests that these limiting factors come into action quite normally. The causal constituents of these factors cannot be discussed in the present context, fascinating though such speculations may be. But it is necessary to indicate one other numerical feature emerging from this limitation of the phase of logarithmic increase.

If we arbitrarily assume that at the beginning of the phase of increase there was a single species in existence, that for some unknown reason this species splits into two in the course of one million years, and that the descendant species again each split into two in the second million years, and so forth—in other words if the numerical rate of species-evolution is 2 per million years, there would be something like 1,180 billion species about after 50 million years. This absurd figure shows that, in the practice of nature, either the numerical rate of species-evolution is much less than two in one million years, or natural selection extinguishes many species, even in such instances of explosive evolution as have been used in the

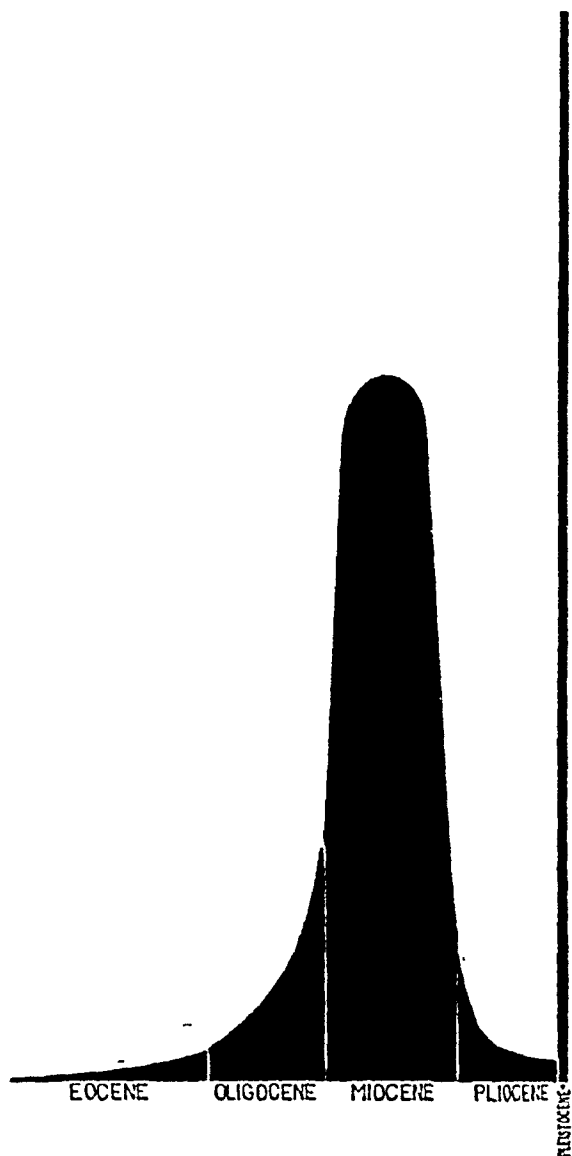


FIG. 97.—Time-frequency curve of the Family Clypeastridae (sea-urchins, Echinodermata). 250 fossil, 22 Recent (Pleistocene) species.—Material taken from Lambert and Thiéry (1925).

Method of plotting: Surface area proportional to number of species known from period in question. The difference between Pleistocene and late Pliocene illustrates the incompleteness of the palaeontological record, but this disadvantage applies more or less equally to all periods prior to the Pleistocene.

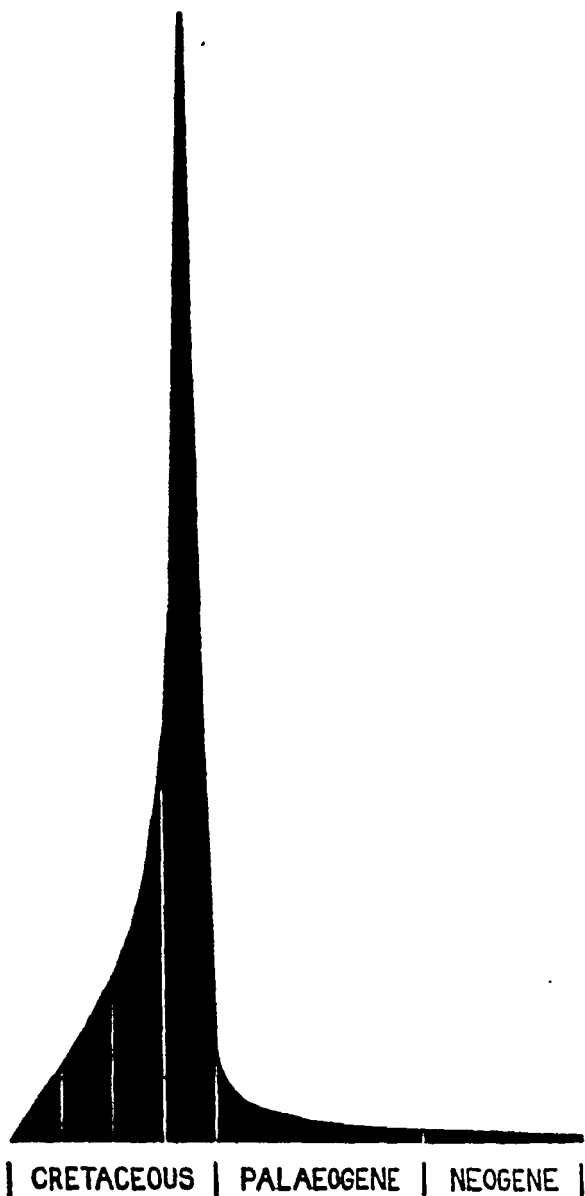


FIG. 98.—Time-frequency curve of the genus *Salenia* Gray (sea-urchins, Echinodermata). 76 fossil (and 4 Recent) species.—Material and method, see fig. 97.

present argument. Reasonable figures, which agree with the number of species of Recent, plastic, groups such as certain insects, are obtained if the rate is assumed to be for instance 2 surviving species in 5 million years, when after 50 million years about 1,000 species will exist.

Although these figures are highly conjectural, they suggest to me that the rate of species-evolution is subject to certain peculiar limitations, and that the production of new species is a comparatively slow process, of the order of one or a few million years. This point, however, can be tested from a different angle, namely that of the time which was required for the evolution of certain species in the past.

*Explosive evolution. Summary.* Before attacking this problem,

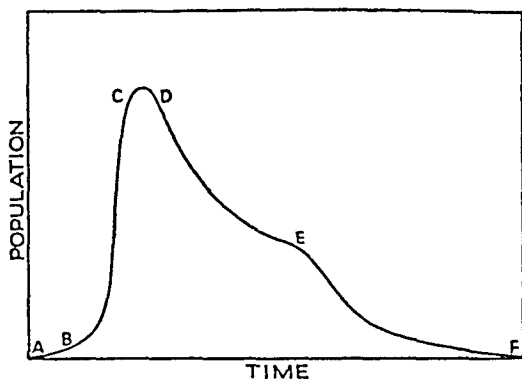


FIG. 99.—'Bacterial growth-curve', of the population of a bacterial colony growing on a culture-medium, plotted against time. A-B, lag phase. B-C, logarithmic increase phase. C-D, stationary or critical phase. D-F, decline phase.—After Corbet (1934), with permission.

let us briefly summarize the main conclusions concerning the problem discussed up to this point.

(1) In the evolution of any stock there may occur, and have occurred, episodes of abundant production of new types. These episodes lasted for several tens of millions of years; as a rough average, 50 million years may be taken.

(2) The episodes of explosive evolution result in a logarithmic increase of the number of species (and genera), the rate of production of new forms being greater than the rate of extinction. The peak is reached when these two rates become equal, and the subsequent decline may follow various lines.

(3) The rate of species-production to be computed from explosive evolution is surprisingly low, being probably of the order of two new surviving species from each ancestral species in 5 million years.



## C. THE TIME-RATE OF SPECIES-EVOLUTION

*Time-rate of species-formation.* Quite apart from the bearing the rate of species-formation has on the problem of explosive evolution, it is in itself a most interesting subject, to which geochronology has contributed an essential basis.

The faunas of the Pleistocene and post-Pleistocene and, to a minor degree, of the Tertiary, provide chances of determining how much time was actually taken by certain processes of species-formation.<sup>1</sup> In selecting examples, I have attempted to draw upon some widely different stocks, namely the mammals, the insects and the marine mollusca, in order to obviate the argument that any results obtained apply to one group only. Terrestrial groups are much more suitable than marine ones, since their ecology is better known and their response to environmental changes more obvious.

*Post-Pleistocene evolution.* The changes in the characters of species which have occurred after the Last Glaciation (i.e. roughly in the last 10,000 to 20,000 years) are slight everywhere. As far as this can be tested by fossil material, many species indeed have not altered to a noticeable degree, or so little that even a subspecific distinction is impossible. In some, however, the degree of differentiation is somewhat higher.

*British Red Deer.* An interesting case is that of the British race of the red deer (*Cervus elaphus scoticus* Lönnerberg). It is smaller than the continental race (*C. e. germanicus* Desmarest) which ranges from France to Russia, and the antlers are less developed. In

<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that, on the following pages, the terms 'species' and 'subspecies' are used as if they designated unambiguous and clear-cut units. I am fully aware that this is not so. In naming species and subspecies, authors are (or ought to be) guided by their experience with the Recent fauna, in which species are forms, or groups of forms, which are not linked by intermediate forms with their nearest allies, and which would not freely and successfully interbreed even if intermingled. This latter point is, of course, nearly always an assumption, but systematists will agree that the cases in which the distinction of species is difficult are, on the whole, few compared with those which are clear.

The palaeontological species should, morphologically, be treated as if it were a Recent species. In other words, within the same stratigraphical level or at any one moment of the chronological scale, the fossil forms should be treated as if they were members of a Recent fauna, with their individual and geographical variation.

The palaeontological species is, however, more than this, being also a species in time, representing a section of the lineage and affording no clear delimitation along the lineage. In separating species in time, the measure of variation known to occur in related Recent species is usually applied, and if the morphological differences between two sections of the lineage are greater than those of Recent species, different specific names are used.

Authors vary in their conception of the scope of the term 'species', and a species of one may be regarded as a subspecies by another, and as a species-group by yet another author. But the differences of opinion rarely exceed this amount. On the whole, therefore, the term 'species', though vague in several respects, has in practice proved to provide a workable basis for the definition of forms of life. See also Zeuner (1943).

particular, the bez-tine is, as a rule, missing (Zeuner, 1939). *C. e. scoticus* shares this character with other subspecies found along the western edge of the area of *C. elaphus* Linné, namely with *C. e. atlanticus* Lönnerberg which occupies an isolated strip of country on the west coast of Norway up to 65° N. lat., *C. e. hispanicus* Hilzheimer from Spain, *C. e. corsicanus* Erxleben from Sardinia and Corsica, and *C. e. barbarus* Bennet from northwest Africa.<sup>1</sup>

All the fossil remains, however, of British red deer known to me, including those of the Last Glaciation and many of the early Postglacial, are large and their antlers identical with the continental type, being strongly developed and possessing the bez-tine. Up to the Atlantic period, Britain was connected with the Continent, so that this observation is not surprising. It is only since the severance of Britain from the Continent (see p. 99) that the characters of *C. e. scoticus* have developed, i.e. within the last 7,500 years.

The subspecific characters of *C. e. scoticus* are correspondingly unstable. The form crosses readily with *C. e. germanicus* and other subspecies and assumes their characters; the bez-tine is present in many British stags for this very reason. Scottish deer imported into New Zealand developed into a race as large and strong as the Carpathian race (Huxley, 1932, p. 205). In short, 7,500 years have, in the case of *C. elaphus*, produced a purely phaenotypic geographical subspecies.

It is interesting to note that the evolution of *C. e. scoticus*, distinguished from the Continental race chiefly by degenerative characters, finds a parallel in the appearance of a similar, but still smaller, almost minute, race of *C. elaphus* in the Last Interglacial of Jersey, Channel Islands (*C. e. jerseyensis* Zeuner, 1940a, 1946). This island was detached from France during the Last Interglacial as it now is, and the period of isolation cannot have exceeded 70,000 years and probably was considerably shorter. The morphological differences are, in this case, much greater than in that of *C. e. scoticus* and extend to the bones of the feet also. It is safe to say that the period of isolation of *C. e. jerseyensis* was longer than that of *C. e. scoticus* and that, correspondingly, the morphological differences evolved are greater.

*Large Copper butterfly in England.* Another instructive case is that of *Lycaena dispar dispar* Haw., the famous Large Copper Butterfly of England (Edelsten, 1929; Riley, 1929; pl. XXII, fig. B). This race is now extinct, but the number of specimens preserved in collections is sufficiently large for a comparison with the various forms occurring on the Continent of Europe and in Asia. The species is found from western France (Bordeaux) through Germany, Austria, Balkan Peninsula, Russia (south Russia, Podolia, Vyatka), the Caucasus, Semipalatinsk, the southern Altai, Tibet, northwest

<sup>1</sup> For races of *C. elaphus*, see Miller, 1912.

China, Manchuria and Korea to the Amur Province, but is everywhere local, depending on dense patches of the water-dock (*Rumex hydrolapathum* Huds.) and related plants in swampy districts. In England, it occurred in the fens of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire (see p. 92) which are young land formed during or since the Atlantic phase of the Postglacial.<sup>1</sup> The English *L. d. dispar* Haw. resembles very closely the Dutch *L. d. batavus* Oberth. from Friesland and St. Quentin (Aisne, north France), and cross-breeding between this and the German subspecies, *L. d. rutilus* Wern., has been carried out without the slightest difficulty.

The fact that *L. d. dispar* and *L. d. batavus* resemble one another so closely that they can usually be separated in series only, whilst they are both more readily distinguished from *L. d. rutilus*, suggests a common origin, as does their geographical distribution. Their common ancestor would have lived in the once frequently flooded, but now entirely submerged, area of the lower Rhine, which forms the western part of the North Sea. This area was land in the Boreal phase of the Postglacial. On the other hand, glacial and periglacial conditions would have excluded *L. dispar* from the area until well after the Last Glaciation. If we therefore estimate its immigration into this area at 15,000 years ago,  $\pm$  a few thousand years, we are not likely to be far off the mark. This time would have sufficed for the evolution of the differences compared with *L. d. rutilus*, and the 7,500 years of separation from Holland would account for the slight differences between the British and Dutch races. The characters involved are restricted to the coloration; between *L. d. rutilus* and *L. d. batavus* + *dispar* they extend to the shade of the pigmentation, whilst between *L. d. batavus* and *L. d. dispar* they are confined to the relative size of dots and bands.

*Subspecies of insects on Jersey, C. I.; Platycleis occidentalis.* A third instance of subspecific differentiation during the Postglacial takes us back to Jersey. From this island, several indigenous subspecies have been described. Of these, *Platycleis occidentalis jerseyana* Zeuner (1940b), a tettigoniid grasshopper, is well distinguished in size, proportions and shape of the ovipositor from the form *P. o. occidentalis* Znr. which occurs in France, west Germany and southern England.

The isle of Jersey lies on a submerged platform and was connected with France until late in Boreal times. The separation, due to the rising sea-level of the Flandrian transgression, is not likely to have occurred more than 10,000 years ago, and not later than 7,000 years ago. Since *Platycleis occidentalis* is a species which cannot have lived in Jersey under the periglacial climate of the Last Glaciation,

<sup>1</sup> This was the only district where the form was frequent. It appears also to have occurred in similar places in Norfolk and Suffolk, and in Somerset (Hudd, 1906).

it must have immigrated into Jersey early in Postglacial times. 7,000 to 10,000 years were therefore sufficient for the evolution of the pronounced characters of the subspecies *P. o. jerseyana*.

It is important to note that British individuals of *P. occidentalis* do not differ from continental ones, although the separation of Britain from the Continent occurred hardly, if at all, later than that of Jersey. In Britain, however, the species is restricted to a few colonies on and near the south coast, and the British climate, unlike that of Jersey, is little suitable for a *Platycleis*, the genus being almost entirely mediterranean in distribution. *P. o. jerseyana* thus appears to illustrate well the rapid evolution of forms on small islands under favourable environmental conditions, a case which has been observed in other groups and regions also.

A second instance is that of the acridid grasshopper *Euchorthippus elegantulus* Znr., also from Jersey. This is most probably a subspecies of *Eu. declivus* (Bris.) but, the precise status of the species and subspecies of the genus still being obscure, the Jersey form is temporarily treated as a species from the classificatorial point of view. The characters which distinguish it from its nearest allies are of subspecific value.

*The Jersey Shrew, Sorex araneus fetalis.* Among the vertebrates of Jersey, the shrew, *Sorex araneus* L., distributed over the temperate and northern portions of Europe and Asia, occurs in a distinct subspecies (*S. a. fetalis* Miller, 1909; Miller, 1912). At first sight, this appears to be another instance of Postglacial differentiation on Jersey. Whilst the two insects described, however, are southern forms which would not have survived a periglacial climate on the spot, this little shrew may have persisted on Jersey through the Last Glaciation, and its subspecific differentiation may, therefore, date from the Pleistocene.

On the whole, the vast majority of species appear to have remained unaltered during the last 10,000 or 20,000 years representing the Holocene or Postglacial. As shown in the preceding paragraphs, however, some instances have been found of subspecific differentiation within about 7,500 years or slightly more.

This conclusion is corroborated by Moreau (1930) who found that some subspecies of birds in Egypt were formed in 5,000 to 10,000 years. Huxley (1942, p. 194) subscribes to this view and quotes a number of further instances in which even a few hundred years have produced morphological differences. Whether all these instances deserve to be considered as subspecific, and not merely as phaenotypic responses to environment, remains to be seen.

*Pleistocene evolution. Insects from Starunia.* Turning now to the Pleistocene, it is advisable first to consider the later part of this period, comprising the Last Glaciation and the Last Interglacial ('upper Pleistocene'). An insect fauna dating from the Last

Glaciation was discovered at Starunia, near Stanislawow, in the Polish Carpathians. It was found associated with bodies of the woolly rhinoceros and the mammoth (Nowak, Stach, &c., 1930; Zeuner, 1934*a, b*, 1945*b*). The fossils were preserved in a 'pickled' condition, being contained in a silt soaked with salt and mineral oil. They could be studied almost like Recent specimens.

Grasshoppers figured prominently in this fauna. Out of these, four were so well preserved as to allow of a detailed comparison with modern races. One of them, *Melanoplus frigidus* (Bohem.), was completely identical with Recent European specimens. One, *Podismopsis gracilis pleistocaenica* Znr., is certainly, and another, *Gomphocerus sibiricus* (L.), probably, subspecifically distinct from Recent forms. One, *Stenobothrus posthumoides* Znr., is at least subspecifically, if not specifically, distinct from its nearest Recent relative.<sup>1</sup>

*Podismopsis gracilis pleistocaenica* is, geographically and morphologically, the link between *P. g. gracilis* F.-W. of central Asia and *P. g. relicta* Rmme. of Montenegro. It may be ancestral to the two modern subspecies. On the other hand, it constitutes with them a geographical subspecies-group with gradually changing characters, and it is conceivable that the characters of the two Recent subspecies were, in the upper Pleistocene, as clearly differentiated as they are now, so that all that happened was the extinction of the central member of the subspecies-group. In either case, the distinction of the forms involved has not exceeded subspecific characters since the upper Pleistocene.

The time involved in these processes may be assessed at not more than about 100,000 years and not less than 20,000 years, according to the phase of the Last Glaciation during which the Starunia deposits were formed. This phase cannot be ascertained at present.

*Upper Pleistocene mammalian faunas.* An analysis of mammalian faunas of upper Pleistocene age,<sup>2</sup> such as that of the Younger Loess, for instance Wallertheim (p. 159) or Předměstí, of the cold phases of the Last Glaciation, or of Cotencher in Switzerland or Ehringsdorf in Thuringia (p. 159) of Last Interglacial age, show that, apart from a number of forms whose lineages are now extinct, there are nothing but Recent species. The differences observable in osteological material are so slight that authors have often hesitated to introduce even a subspecific distinction. Yet, in many species, slight differences do exist which, in the eyes of systematists working on Recent material, would be regarded as of subspecific value.<sup>3</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> The affinities of the members of this fauna are discussed in Zeuner (1941-2).

<sup>2</sup> For mammalian faunas of Pleistocene age and faunal evolution during the Pleistocene, compare Zeuner, 1945*a*, Chapter X.

<sup>3</sup> This also applies to *Microtus anglicus* Hinton, *Dicrostonyx henseli* Hinton and some other rodents of the upper Pleistocene which, as a matter of convenience, are usually quoted as 'species'.

is important to note that, in spite of abundant fossil material, no new species is known to have arisen since the Last Interglacial. 150,000 years have not produced any new species among the mammalia of Europe, though a fair number of subspecies appear to have arisen during this period.

*Pleistocene marmots.* An instructive example has been supplied by Wehrli (1935). He studied the marmots of the upper Pleistocene and found that both the Alpine marmot (*Marmota marmota* (Linné)) and the bobak or steppe marmot (*M. bobak* (Müller)) of Russia and northern Asia are present in the upper Pleistocene of the German lowlands. The fossil form of *M. marmota* is larger than the Recent Alpine form, in the average by 10 per cent. Osteological differences are slight, the most marked being in the shape of the temporal ridges. In all marmots, except the Recent *M. marmota* and a certain number of fossil specimens, the temporal ridges of the skull run into the upper posterior edge of the processus postorbitalis, whilst in Recent *M. marmota* it has moved on to the upperside of the processus. This character was not yet fixed in *M. marmota* of the upper Pleistocene, but has become almost entirely stable since. This is shown by the following figures drawn from Wehrli's paper :

Horizon and Locality	Temporal ridges			No. of skulls studied
	Marmota-type	Intermediate	Primitive type	
Last Glaciation : Niedermendig, Rhenish Schiefergebirge	33%	53%	13%	30
Recent : Alps	98%	—	2%	120

These and other characters confirm that the upper Pleistocene *Marmota marmota* can be regarded as ancestral to the Recent form, but the differences between them are merely in the degree of perfection of characters, and there is a considerable overlap in the curves of variation of these characters. Forms of this degree of variation would, in the Recent fauna, be regarded as subspecies.

Similarly, the fossil bobak differs from the Recent form in the degree of development of minor features, among them in the average shape of the foramen magnum. This character, too, may be regarded as subspecific, if at all so, and most certainly not as specific.

The common origin of the two closely related species, *M. marmota* and *M. bobak* (and others of the genus *Marmota*) lies further back than the Last Interglacial, since *M. marmota* has been found in deposits of this phase situated in the Alps.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Another instance of the same category as the marmot is that of the mountain suslik of the Caucasus (*Citellus musicus musicus* Ménét), which, however, is not supported by fossil evidence. It was described by Sviridenko (1927) and is of

*Middle Pleistocene fauna. Ibex.* The fauna of the middle Pleistocene (Penultimate Interglacial and Penultimate Glaciation) is less well-known than that of the upper or of the lower Pleistocene. Only one instance, therefore, can be quoted here in detail, that of the ibex.

The ibex (*Capra ibex* Linn.) is, at the present day, a mountain goat. It occurs in the Alps (*C. i. ibex* Linn.), the Pyrenees and some Spanish mountains (*C. i. pyrenaica* Schz.), central Asia from the Himalayas north to the Altai (*C. i. sibirica* Pall.), the Caucasus (*C. i. severtzowi* Menzb.), and Sinai, Palestine, southern Arabia and Abyssinia (*C. i. nubiana* Cuv.). These major geographical units have been considered as species (for instance, Lydekker, 1913) and subdivided into a large number of local races. More recently, Schwarz (1935) has claimed that the differences do not justify a specific distinction, and that the Arabian-Abyssinian group even shows signs of grading into *Capra hircus* Linn., the wild goat of the Mediterranean area. The entire assemblage of *C. ibex* + *hircus* bears the marks of a subspecies-group (= *Rassenkreis* of Rensch) in which the extreme members are as different as species in other cases, but these extremes are connected by transitional forms. For the present purpose it should be kept in mind that the subspecies enumerated above are well-distinguished and differ more widely than do, for instance, the Postglacial subspecies of *Lycaena dispar* (Linn.) (p. 371).

During the cold phases of the Pleistocene, the ibex occurred at low altitudes all over Europe, from Spain (Gibraltar) through France (Mentone), Germany (Thuringia), Italy (Apulia, see p. 225), Moravia (*Capra prisca* Woldřich 1893; not identical with *C. prisca* Adametz 1914), to the Balkan Peninsula.

In 1934, Toepfer described as *C. camburgensis* an ibex from a Thuringian gravel terrace of the first phase of the Saale Glaciation to which, on the astronomical time-scale, an age of about 230,000 years is assigned. Toepfer came to the conclusion that 'the combined occurrence in *C. camburgensis* of characters which, in the upper Pleistocene, are found in different forms of the ibex is best explained if one considers the Camburg ibex as the ancestral form'. Since the diagnostic characters of *C. camburgensis* are within the range of variation of the subspecies-group of *C. ibex*, it is clear that *C. camburgensis* is not an ancestral species (as it is called by Toepfer), but an ancestral form only *subspecifically* distinct from its Recent relatives (correctly, therefore, *C. ibex camburgensis* Tpf.). The

particular interest because the mountain subspecies differs from that of the plains (from which it is separated by a wide gap) in habits as well as morphological and physiological characters. It is considered to have lived in the mountains during the Last Glaciation, since the re-immigration of the plains subspecies in Postglacial times from the east can be traced in some detail.

evolution of the Recent subspecies of ibex, therefore, has required at least some 230,000 years.

*Lower Pleistocene faunas.* Turning now to the faunas of the lower Pleistocene (Early Glaciation, Antepenultimate Interglacial, Antepenultimate Glaciation), the perusal of lists for any locality (for instance, Forest Bed, Mauer, Mosbach, Tegelen; Zeuner, 1945a, pp. 259-62) reveals a great difference in composition as compared with the faunas of the upper Pleistocene. Apart from a fair number of species belonging to lineages which have since died out or are too little known to be studied phylogenetically, many Recent species are represented by forms designated by the authors either as subspecies or even as species. The number of lower Pleistocene mammals which cannot be (or have not yet been) distinguished from their Recent descendants is small. In the Forest Bed of East Anglia (Antepenultimate Interglacial) it is 14 per cent., in Mosbach (late Antepenultimate Interglacial or early Antepenultimate Glaciation) 31 per cent., in Mauer (interstadial of Antepenultimate Glaciation) 37 per cent. These figures demonstrate clearly that in many lineages of European mammalia changes of at least subspecific value have occurred since the lower Pleistocene. The deposits referred to are, according to the astronomical scale, about 450,000 to 600,000 years old. This period of time, therefore, was sufficiently long for many subspecies and some species of mammalia to evolve.

*Pleistocene elephants.* As a particularly instructive example, the lineages of the Pleistocene elephants of Europe may be described here. They were reconstructed in great detail by Soergel (1912) and have since been confirmed and improved upon by many authors (for details and references, see Zeuner, 1945a, p. 275).

Of the morphological changes which occurred in the lineages of the elephants, those in the structure of the molar teeth are most easily studied, since elephants' teeth are not only frequent fossils but were also affected, in the course of evolution, by the diet of the animals and, therefore, indirectly, by the environment in which they lived. The molars of elephants are composed of upright lamellae which appear in cross-section on the grinding surface (fig. 100). The number of the lamellae increases in the course of phylogenesis, and they become narrower in cross-section.

The ancestor of the European Pleistocene elephants is *Elephas meridionalis* Nesti (pl. XXIII, fig. A), from the upper Pliocene (Villafranchian). This species had a wide range of distribution and varied considerably. It persisted into the earliest Pleistocene (Forest Bed, Mosbach), and this latest form, which grades into the primitive representatives of the *primigenius*- and *antiquus*-lineages (see following paragraph) may be called *E. meridionalis nesti* Pohlig. This name is based on specimens from the East Anglian Forest Bed.



The lamellae of the molars of *E. meridionalis* are few, and wide in cross-section (fig. 100).

The range of variation of *E. m. nest* of the Antepenultimate Interglacial is larger than that of the typical *E. meridionalis* of the Villafranchian, and extreme varieties appear with rhomboidal lamellae, resembling the later *E. antiquus*, and others with narrower and little widened lamellae, reminiscent of the later *E. trogontherii*. Single specimens of this kind would be, and have been, determined as belonging to the above-mentioned elephants of the middle Pleistocene, but in the lower Pleistocene they are merely the rare, extreme, variants of an intermediate, ancestral, form. The intermediate

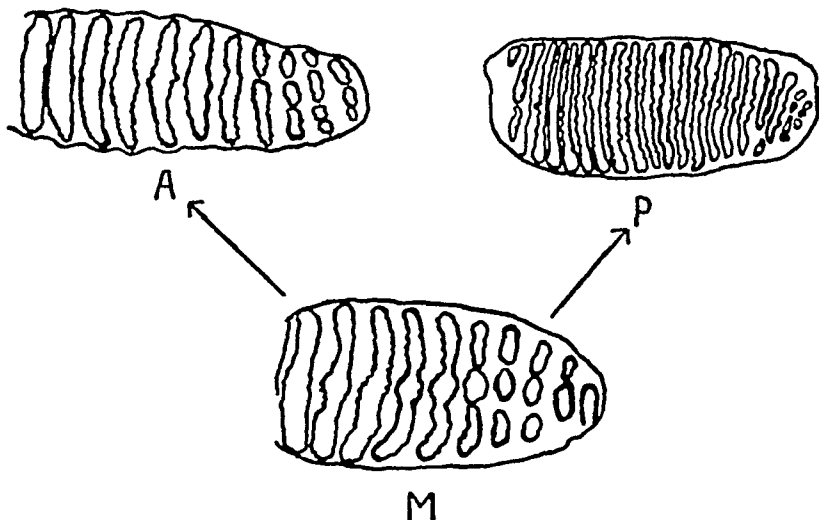


FIG. 100.—Diagrams of grinding surfaces of molars of *Elephas meridionalis* (M), *E. antiquus* (A) and *E. primigenius* (P), showing specialization in the course of the Pleistocene.

specimens are far more frequent than the extremes, and the former, therefore, represent the average characters of the species of that phase.

The earliest record of a *trogontherii*-like variant of the *meridionalis*-stock is from Italy and presumed to come from the Villafranchian. The earliest specimens of the *antiquus*-type appear at the time of the Early Glaciation in England.

In the course of the lower Pleistocene a degree of ecological differentiation becomes apparent. In the Forest Bed (Antepenultimate Interglacial) the relative frequency of the variants still agrees with the normal variation curve, intermediate specimens being the most frequent. In Mosbach (late in the same Interglacial) *trogontherii*-like specimens dominate, and *antiquus*-like specimens are rare. In

Mauer, however, whose fauna is one of woodlands (Interstadial of Antepenultimate Glaciation), only *antiquus*-like specimens have been found. Again, in Süssenborn (probably second cold phase of Antepenultimate Glaciation) *trogontherii*-like molars only have been recovered.<sup>1</sup>

In the middle Pleistocene, the two lineages appear more clearly separated, and intermediate specimens vanish from central Europe, though they linger on in southern France. In *E. trogontherii*, the lamellae of the molars continue to become more numerous and narrower in cross-section, and in deposits of the Penultimate Glaciation specimens occur which are reminiscent of the mammoth, *E. primigenius*, of the upper Pleistocene. It is difficult to say when exactly the *primigenius*-stage was reached, but with the beginning of the upper Pleistocene (Last Interglacial) the *trogontherii*-like specimens disappear from the scene.

*E. primigenius* continues to follow the described evolutionary trend throughout the upper Pleistocene, and the molars of the very latest specimens have extremely narrow, tightly packed and numerous lamellae. The species seems to have persisted up to the last phase of the Last Glaciation, which means that there were mammoths still living in central Europe only about 18,000 years ago. As I have mentioned elsewhere (Zeuner, 1935), molars of the latest evolutionary type were dredged from the Oder near Breslau and show an alluvial kind of preservation, so that *E. primigenius* possibly lasted even into the earliest Postglacial. The bodies of mammoths found frozen in ice in northern Siberia also exhibit advanced characters and therefore may date from the earliest Postglacial (rough estimate, 15,000 years ago).

The upper Pleistocene mammoth was a very distinctive species of elephant, with many peculiar characters, especially in the shape of the skull, dentition, loss of a toe, and coat of hair (pl. XXIV fig. A). Taxonomically it was a clearly-defined species.

The lineage of *E. antiquus* Falc. (pl. XXIII, fig. B) developed the rhomboidal shape of the lamellae. Their number also increased, but more moderately than in the *primigenius*-lineage. This is in accord with the ecology of the species, *E. antiquus* remaining associated with woodlands and parklands, whilst *E. primigenius* became adapted to the specialized environment and the harder food of the open steppe and tundra.

*E. antiquus* does not appear to have survived into the Last Glaciation.<sup>2</sup> It still occurred in Ehringsdorf, late in the Last Inter-

<sup>1</sup> In the upper Pleistocene, the ecological divergence of the two lineages is very pronounced, *E. primigenius*, the descendant of *E. trogontherii*, being found chiefly associated with steppe faunas of the loess steppe or tundra during the cold phases, *E. antiquus* with woodland faunas, mostly of the interglacial type.

<sup>2</sup> Except in the Mediterranean region.

glacial. Dietrich says that the teeth of *E. antiquus* from the Rixdorf horizon (one of the interstadials of the Last Glaciation) are probably derived from an earlier interglacial.

In short, the upper Pliocene *E. meridionalis*, an unspecialized species which occurred in a variety of habitats ranging from woodlands to bush-steppe or savannah, developed in the course of the Pleistocene into two different species, one adapted to woodlands and a temperate or warm climate (*E. antiquus*), and the other to open steppe and tundra, harder food and a colder and more continental climate. This divergent evolution became apparent soon after the first cold phases of the Pleistocene had occurred, i.e. during the Antepenultimate Interglacial. At that time, however, the vast majority of specimens were still of an intermediate character (*E. meridionalis nesti* Pohl.).

During the Antepenultimate Glaciation, the differences became more marked; though intermediate specimens still occurred. In the number of specimens, two frequency-maxima had developed, one with *trogotherii*-characters and another with *antiquus*-characters. At the same time, the *trogotherii*-type is observed to occur more frequently in steppe or glacial habitats, and the *antiquus*-type in woodland, interglacial or interstadial habitats, though not yet exclusively so.

By the end of the middle Pleistocene and the beginning of the Last Interglacial, the intermediate forms had disappeared nearly everywhere, and two morphologically and ecologically distinct species had emerged. Since the environment favoured by *E. primigenius* spread periodically over central and west Europe during the glacial phases, whilst that of *E. antiquus* reigned during the temperate inter-phases, the two species alternate stratigraphically in the later Pleistocene successions of central and west Europe, *E. primigenius* probably withdrawing to the north-east in the mild phases, *E. antiquus* to the south in the cold phases. Where their environments met or overlapped, their remains are found associated in one deposit, though as distinct species. Intermediate specimens are absent from the upper Pleistocene.

Considering this instance of divergent evolution, one is inclined to link causally the process of species-formation with the climatic fluctuations of the Pleistocene. The time required for the evolution of two species from their common ancestor was, in this case, about 500,000 years, counting from the first evidence of incipient divergence in the Villafranchian to the clear establishment of two unconnected species in the Last Interglacial.

*Instances of suggested differentiation of species during the Pleistocene.* The instance of the Pleistocene elephants has been described in some detail, since it is so far the case of species-evolution most completely supported by direct evidence. There is, however, plenty

of evidence that many other species, at any rate in Europe, have developed in the course of the Pleistocene and most probably in connexion with the climatic fluctuations and repeated displacements of the main environmental zones (see Zeuner, 1945a, p. 276). Many authors have inferred from the present geographical distribution that, for instance, the area of certain ancestral species was split into two or more 'refuge' areas by the ice-sheets of the glacial phases, and this is indeed likely to have happened since, in the narrow unglaciated strip between the Scandinavian and Alpine ice-sheets, a severe periglacial climate prevailed which was probably unsuitable for many species requiring temperate conditions. This repeated cutting of a continuous area into an eastern (or south-eastern) and a western (or south-western) refuge area may have produced eastern and western subspecies or species, which would now meet or overlap in central Europe.

*Carrion Crow and Hooded Crow.* A good example is that of the carrion crow (*Corvus corone* L.) of western Europe and the hooded crow (*Corvus cornix* L.) of northern, east and south Europe including Italy (Meise, 1928). Except in winter, when the hooded crow tends to go westwards, the overlap is confined to a narrow line from Jutland south to the Alps and thence along the Alps to their western end; Italy, Corsica and Sardinia belonging to the area of the hooded crow. The extreme narrowness of the zone of frequent overlap suggests that hybrids are not infinitely fertile, so that the two forms must be regarded as species. Both have already begun to develop geographical subspecies in their respective areas.

*The tettigoniid grasshoppers* *Platycleis grisea* and *occidentalis*. An almost identical case is that of the tettigoniid grasshoppers *Platycleis occidentalis* Znr. and *P. grisea* Fab. (Zeuner, 1931a, 1941a), which overlap in precisely the same manner as *Corvus corone* and *C. cornix*. In both instances the affinity of the two species to one another is closer than to other species of the same genus, and this in conjunction with the geographical distribution renders it highly probable that they evolved as geographical forms of some ancestral species.

The theory of geographical differentiation of subspecies in consequence of the climatic fluctuations of the Pleistocene has in recent years been widely applied, as for instance by Rensch (1929), Reinig (1937), who studied birds and insects, and Eller (1936) who reconstructed the history of the races of the swallowtail butterfly, *Papilio machaon* L. It is incorporated in the recent syntheses of evolution by Huxley (1942), and Mayr (1943).

Examples of this kind show that a certain number of species are likely to have arisen from ancestral forms during the Pleistocene, i.e. within 600,000 years. But quite apart from this circumstantial evidence, direct palaeontological evidence, of which some instances

have been given above, proves beyond doubt that species did arise within this space of time. *No instance, however, is yet known of a species developing at a faster rate than that found in the elephants* (about 500,000 years), and a comparison of this rate with those observed in the evolution of subspecies suggests that species rarely, if ever, have developed at a much faster rate than that of the Pleistocene elephants. A certain minimum time appears to be required for a lineage to advance from species to species.

*Rate of evolution since the Tertiary. Pliocene Mammalia.* In order to obtain some idea of the rate of species-formation previous to the Pleistocene, it will be useful first to consider some mammalian faunas of the uppermost Pliocene.

The fauna of the upper Val d'Arno in Tuscany (Major, 1884; Zeuner, 1945a, p. 257) contains *Elephas meridionalis* and is, on the whole, only slightly more primitive than the fauna of the Forest Bed. It is considered as Villafranchian, dating from somewhere between 600,000 and one million years. The Val d'Arno fauna is probably just earlier than the Early Glaciation and therefore nearer the 600,000 mark. It contains no Recent species, except possibly the *Hippopotamus*, which occurs with what may be a distinct subspecies, *H. amphibius major* Cuv.

Other Villafranchian deposits contemporary with the Val d'Arno, such as Senèze (Stehlin, 1923), in France, contain no species or subspecies that have persisted unaltered up to the present day. As far as evidence goes, the mammalia of Europe have all changed their specific characters since the Villafranchian, or within the last one million years.

*Rate of evolution of terrestrial forms.* From the examples discussed in the preceding paragraphs, taken from groups as widely different as mammals and insects, it would appear that the rate of species formation in these terrestrial groups lies between 500,000 and one million years, and that very few species have existed unaltered for more than one million years.

*Marine evolution. Mollusca.* It may be argued at this point that terrestrial groups are liable to evolve at a faster rate than marine groups, since the latter live under more equable conditions and are less affected by frequent climatic fluctuations. If one calculates, for faunas of marine mollusca of lower Pleistocene and late Pliocene age, the percentage of forms which the authors have been unable to distinguish specifically or subspecifically from Recent species, one finds that the *average* rate of evolution was indeed much slower in the marine mollusca than in the mammalia. This is borne out by the table on page 382.

There is reason to believe that the Red Crag is contemporary with the Early Glaciation (see p. 183). The Coralline Crag is slightly older and, therefore, approximately contemporary with the mam-

East Anglian lower Pleistocene and late pre-Pleistocene	Percentage of Recent forms in the total number of forms known from each deposit *		
	Harmer	Boswell	Zeuner
Forest Bed (Antepenultimate Interglacial)	—	90%	—
Weybourne Crag (?Early Glaciation, phase II)	89%	93%	—
Norwich Crag	80%	84%	—
Butleyan Red Crag	87%	73%	—
Newbournian Red Crag } ?Early Glac. I	68%		
Waltonian Red Crag	64%	67%	68%
Coralline Crag	62%	60%	—

\* Newton, in Reid, 1890; Harmer, 1902; Boswell, 1928, 1931; Zeuner, 1937.

malian fauna of the upper Val d'Arno (Pilgrim, 1944, p. 36). Yet while 60–67 per cent. of the marine species and subspecies survived to the present day, the known mammalia all underwent changes in the same space of time.

An even higher figure for survivals is found in the contemporary deposits of the Mediterranean Sea. The Calabrian phase of the Mediterranean is approximately contemporaneous with the Coralline Crag of south-east England and also with terrestrial deposits of Italy called Villafranchian (including the Val d'Arno fauna). On the basis of Gignoux's thorough work on the marine Pliocene and Pleistocene of Italy one finds that not less than 89 per cent. of the species and subspecies of the upper Calabrian Mollusca have survived to the present day. For the lower Pliocene (Astian + Plaisancian), the corresponding figure is 63 per cent.

*Influence of environment on evolution.* A comparison of these figures with those found for the English Crag suggests once more that the intensity of environmental changes increases the number of changes in the specific composition of the fauna. The area of the North Sea in which the Crag was deposited, was shallow and its coastline unstable, and it is certain that severe climatic fluctuations occurred repeatedly, affecting temperature and salinity of the water. In the Mediterranean, however, the corresponding fluctuations were much less intense.

Changes in the specific composition of a fauna are due both to extinction of certain forms and to the appearance of new ones. The latter class has again to be subdivided into immigrants and forms newly evolved on the spot. For obvious reasons it is difficult to sort out these groups in marine mollusca, and one cannot decide, therefore, whether the intensity of environmental changes is capable of speeding up the rate of evolution in any particular lineage. Lineages of terrestrial animals suggest that it is so, but this point cannot be cleared up by considering the average constitution of faunas. It necessitates a detailed study of lineages. Yet, it is conceivable

that species with a fast rate of evolution have an advantage over slowly-evolving forms when environmental conditions change frequently and considerably, so that the former are likely to prevail in the end and the latter liable to become extinct.

*Stabilized species.* The one fact that emerges with certainty from these comparisons of faunas is, that, in marine faunas, a large number of species and subspecies are stable, since they have not noticeably modified their characters since the late Tertiary. It is interesting, therefore, to see how long species can remain stable, or how far Recent species can be traced back in geological history.

*Miocene of Java. Oldest Recent species.* A suitable group of deposits are the Tertiaries of Java, studied, among many others, by K. Martin and Umbgrove (1933). The following table, derived from Umbgrove, is based on Martin's work :

Percentage of Recent species in Java	Local divisions	European equivalents
100%	Tertiary h	Holocene
90% } 80% } 70% }		Pleistocene
60% } 50% }		Pliocene
40% }		
30% }		
20% } 10% }	Tertiary g	
0%	Tertiary f	Miocene
	Tertiary e	
Palaeogene		

This table was built up on a fair number of localities, of which the most interesting in the present context is West Prongo, of lower Miocene age. It still contains 6.8 per cent. of Recent species. In earlier deposits, of upper Eocene and possibly Oligocene age, however, no Recent species have been found. On the radioactivity scale, the Miocene began about 30 million years ago, and this period of time may be regarded as the maximum period through which any species of the animal kingdom *is known* to have persisted without noticeable morphological modifications.<sup>1</sup>

A species, which has persisted from the lower Miocene to the present day without noticeable changes in its characters, must have a time-rate of evolution of astonishing slowness. It is extremely unlikely, however, that the change within its lineage was equally

<sup>1</sup> There is, of course, a possibility that very rarely a species persists through an even longer time. This applies perhaps to the brachiopod genus *Lingula* (see table, p. 358, row 12), but because of the scarcity of taxonomic characters in the shell this is difficult to prove. *Lingula* is discussed at some length in Davies (1937, p. 170). For diatoms, see Small (1948).

slow in the more distant past since, if one assumes that it was so, some Tertiary molluscan genera would have existed as early as in the Palaeozoic, and this is plainly contradicted by the evidence.<sup>1</sup> At some time in the history of the lineage, the rate of evolution must have been faster. Later on, the characters became stabilized and the species continued to exist unaltered through many millions of years.

#### D. THE TIME-FACTOR IN EVOLUTION

In the two preceding parts of this chapter an attempt has been made to derive time-rates for certain evolutionary processes from the combination of palaeontological with geochronological evidence. This evidence is not yet complete enough to permit any far-reaching conclusions. For lack of evidence, the time-factor in evolution has been somewhat neglected in the past,<sup>2</sup> but both Simpson (1944) and Small (1945-8) have recently tackled the problem of time-rates independently of each other and of the work of the writer. They use, however, different methods of presentation. (Note (58), p. 430.)

In order to point out the possibilities for future work afforded by the application of geochronology to evolution, the chief results of the foregoing pages, and the suggestions which may be based on them, are best summarized as follows.

*Maximum rate of species-evolution.* (1) *There appears to be a fastest rate of evolution of species of the animal kingdom under natural conditions, namely about 500,000 years per species-step.*

Evidence shows that subspecific characters have appeared within a few thousand years. In other instances, forms have not passed the stage of subspecific differentiation after a few hundred thousand years. The fastest time-rate of species-evolution yet known is about 500,000 years.

Since many Recent species are able to interbreed, although the resulting offspring is usually sterile or of reduced fertility, one is inclined to think that several hundred thousand years have to pass before the change in chromosome-structure of a form assumes the proportions commonly found in related species. This period is rather longer than that available for genetic experiments on species-formation.

*Number of generations and time.* (2) *In evolution the number of generations appears to be less significant than absolute time.*

One might argue that, for the reason given in the last paragraph, it will be advantageous to study groups in which the generations

<sup>1</sup> *Pleurotomaria* Defr., said to have persisted possibly since the Cambrian, probably since the Ordovician, may be regarded as an exception. But Wenz, in his recent revision of the *Pleurotomariidae* (1938), restricts the genus to forms from the Triassic to Recent.

<sup>2</sup> Notable exceptions are Haldane (for instance, 1932, p. 144 ff.), and Huxley (1942).



follow one another very rapidly. It appears, however, that in nature the number of generations is not the only factor ruling the rate of change, and that absolute time enters the picture to some extent. In other words, the evolutionary step per generation may be proportionally greater in a form with a slow succession of generations than in a form with a rapid succession of generations.

At first sight this statement looks startling but, as I pointed out more than ten years ago (Zeuner, 1931b), evolution would on the whole proceed more rapidly for instance in certain Protozoa, Crustacea like *Daphnia* or *Cyclops*, aphids, or mice, than, for instance, in certain cicadas and wood-boring beetles (adult after 3 to 40 years of larval life), or elephants, if the rate of evolution in fact depended in the first instance on the number of generations. There is apparently no directly proportional relation between the rate of succession of generations and the rate of evolution, and genetic experiments based on this assumption may be based on a serious misconception. It is perhaps worth mentioning that a species of the genus *Drosophila* existed in the upper Eocene, about 45 to 50 million years ago.

Since these views were first expressed by the writer, confirmation has been provided by breeding experiments with bacteria. Novick and Szilard (1950, 1951) have shown that mutations in bacteria occur at a constant rate which is not related to the number of generations. Further work by Labrum (1953) and by Lee (1953) supports the conclusions of the earlier experiments.

It would indeed be difficult for a species with a rapid succession of generations to maintain its specific characters for any length of time if the rate of evolution depended on the number of generations. Short-timed climatic cycles of a few hundred years, duration or, in exceptional cases like that of certain Protozoa which can produce generations every few hours, the sunspot cycle or even exceptional weather would cause a change in the characters of the species.

*Species-evolution beginning with a phase of great variability.*  
(3) *Every species passes through an episode of rapid evolution but may become stabilized thereafter and persist unaltered for a long time.*

The observation that species have survived apparently unaltered for some 30 million years, whilst other species have evolved within half to one million years, strongly suggests that species pass through an initial phase of rapid evolution after which their characters become comparatively stable. Since the instances of rapid evolution of species were all taken from the Pleistocene (for lack of suitable material from earlier periods), it is difficult to offer conclusive proof of this contention. But indirect evidence is not entirely wanting.

An example is afforded by the Pleistocene elephants, particularly the mammoth, *Elephas primigenius*, which in its final stages had a very restricted range of variation in the lamellar structure of its

molars, compared with the wide range of variation observed in *E. meridionalis nesti* of the lower Pleistocene.

For stretches of time longer than the Pleistocene, the same process of the reduction of the variability of specific characters is suggested by the different degree of consolidation found in the species of young and old genera. Recent genera in which plenty of variation, individual or subspecific, is observed and in which the separation of the species is often difficult, are the following :

<i>Equus</i> (horses),	existing since the	upper Pliocene
<i>Bos</i> (cattle),	" "	upper Pliocene
<i>Mus</i> (mice),	" "	Pliocene
<i>Arvicola</i> (voles),	" "	lower Pleistocene
<i>Canis</i> (dogs and wolves),	" "	upper Pliocene

None of these has been found in deposits older than the Pliocene.

On the other hand, the following Recent genera in which the species show little subspecific variation and in which the species (if more than one) are widely separated by constant differences, are known from earlier deposits :

<i>Tapirus</i> (tapirs),	existing since the	upper Miocene
<i>Dicerorhinus</i> (Sumatran Rhino),	" "	lower Miocene
<i>Diceros</i> (Black Rhino),	" "	lower Pliocene
<i>Capreolus</i> (roe deer),	" "	lower Pliocene
<i>Hystrix</i> (porcupine),	" "	Oligocene

Instances of this kind tend to show that there is some justification in assuming that the species pass through an episode of intensified evolution while they are young, when their characters still have a greater range of variation. It appears that more subspecies are evolved by young species than by old ones.

(4) *Every higher category also passes through an episode of intense evolution, which lasts for something like 50 million years.*

This is the outcome of Part B (p. 859). It makes the process of evolution, viewed from the standpoint of time, appear somewhat 'jerky'. Some authors go further and call it discontinuous (Schindewolf, 1986, p. 85). The existence of an apparent minimum required for the formation of a new species, however, sets a limit to the suddenness of this process.

*Limitations of explosive evolution.* Now, this combination of our points (3) and (4) leads to an interesting conclusion. If genera pass through a period of abundant species-formation, lasting c. 50 million years, and if each species needs about one-half to one million years to evolve, the number of successive species-steps in a lineage is limited to something of the order of 100 during the explosive episode of the genus, after which the rate slows down.

In spite of the vagueness of the figures here used it appears to me, therefore, that explosive evolution does not imply unlimited production of new forms, the number of species-steps in every affected lineage being limited to a comparatively small number.

Furthermore, the number of species-steps involved in the evolution of higher systematic categories is not larger than that involved in the evolution of lower categories.

*Chronological aspect of evolution : quality, not quantity, is important.* Clearly, if this picture deduced from chronology be true, the widely-current conception that evolution proceeds evenly by means of innumerable steps, which is held by many geneticists as well as palaeontologists, cannot be strictly true. If it can be verified by other evidence that there are periods of a limited duration during which a stock evolves many diverse lineages at a rapid rate, the number of species-steps in each surviving lineage nevertheless remaining comparatively small, the conclusion is inevitable that the *quality* of the species-steps during the period of explosive evolution differs from those of the period of ordinary, non-explosive evolution.<sup>1</sup>

This view is supported by the results of two quite independent lines of research, namely by morphology, and by genetics.

*Aromorphs.* Sewertzoff (1931) who studied numerous lines of evolution, particularly of vertebrates, from the phylogenetic standpoint, came to the conclusion that it is necessary to distinguish evolutionary changes which result in an 'increase of the energy', or 'life-activity', of the form from ordinary changes which do not do so. The change in organization involved in the former case was called by him *aromorphosis*, hence it is convenient to call the resulting character an *aromorph*.

A few examples will make the difference clear.

*Jaws of vertebrates.* One of the most important aromorphoses in the evolution of the Vertebrata was the conversion of one or several gill arches into the biting apparatus of the jaws (figs. 101-3; see Sewertzoff, 1931, or Romer, 1933). The most primitive fishes are jaw-less (Agnatha, extinct except for the modern lampreys and hag-fishes) and, therefore, restricted in the selection of their food. The appearance of jaws marked the beginning of the gnathostomous fishes; it enabled them 'to choose the food most suitable to them and to adapt themselves comparatively easily to it. Selection of the most suitable food, however, means better nourishment and, therefore, an increase in the general energy of life in these animals. The importance of a biting mouth-skeleton as weapon both offensive and defensive is obvious also.' (Translated from Sewertzoff, 1931, p. 75.)

If one compares this example of an aromorph with the evolution, for instance, of a highly specialized protective character, such as the leaf-shape of a leaf-insect (pl. XXII, fig. A), one realizes the difference between an aromorph and an ordinary adaptational character. The latter may be highly adapted to a certain manner of life, and

<sup>1</sup> These two periods are called *pre-adaptive phase* and *adaptive phase* respectively by Schindewolf (1936, p. 84).

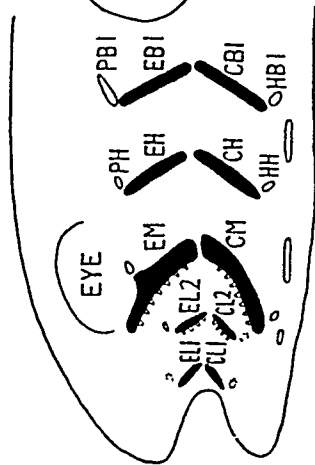


FIG. 101



FIG. 102

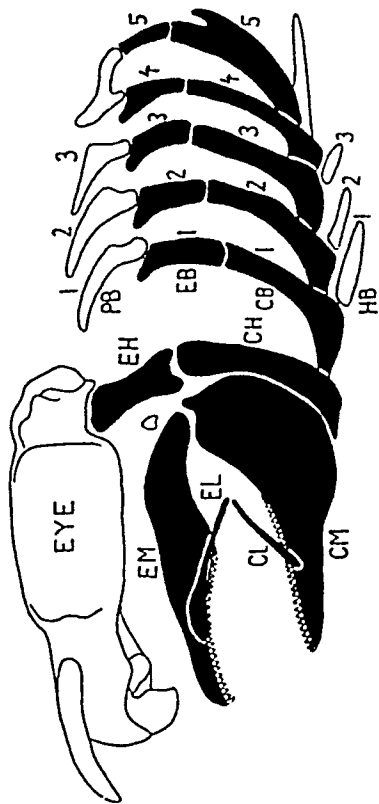


FIG. 103

FIGS. 101-3.—The aromorphosis of the anterior gill-arches in fishes: transformation of gill-arches into jaws.

FIG. 101.—Diagram of the elements of the branchial arches involved in the process.—After Sewertzoff (1931).

EL Epilabiale	PH Pharyngohyale	PB Pharyngobranchiale
CL Ceratolabiale	EH Epilhyale	EB Epibranchiale
EM Epimandibulare	CH Ceratohyale	CB Ceratobranchiale
CM Ceratomandibulare	HH Hypohyale	HB Hypobranchiale

(Some workers hold that EL, and CL, do not exist.)

FIG. 102.—Embryo of dog-fish (*Scyliorhinus canicula*), showing the shift in position of the mandibular arch towards the mouth. Also illustrates the embryonic position of the head at right angles to the axis of the body.—Based on Parker (1878, pl. 34, fig. 1).

FIG. 103.—Skull of adult dog-fish, with anterior gill-arches transformed into jaws.—Based on Parker, W. K., 1878. On the structure and development of the skull in sharks and skates.—Trans. Zool. Soc. London, 10(4), pp. 189-234, pls. 34-42, (Pl. 38, fig. 2.)

be very useful, but it does not contribute to increasing the life-energy of the form. The aromorph, however, does so.

If one applies this conception to various classes, orders or families, one finds that very often there is one aromorph, or several, at the root of the line. Thus, there is the fold in the back of the throat of certain fishes, which was used for retaining air taken in by the mouth and which eventually became the lung of the amphibia and higher vertebrates (Romer, 1933, p. 70). There are the molar teeth of the mammalia which are used for masticating food. This mode of comminution of food before it reaches the digestive tract helps in extracting more energy; it increases the life-energy of the animal. Warm-bloodedness and many other characters of the mammals are probably the consequence of a single important aromorph. The evolution of man also may be regarded as characterized by an aromorph, namely, erect posture (Note (59), p. 430).

These *qualitative* differences between aromorphs and ordinary adaptational characters appear to me to be one reason why evolution sometimes leads to the emergence of a new major group, and sometimes not (see also Note (60), p. 431). The time required for the evolution of an aromorph is, as has been shown in the earlier paragraphs of this chapter, *not* greater than that required for ordinary adaptations.

*Total number of species.* Simpson (1952) tried to estimate the total number of species that have lived since the beginning of life, the mean figure being of the order of 350 million. Cailleux (1954a, b) holds that the number present at any time increased according to a geometrical progression. This is a conclusion that may be drawn from the time-rate studies exposed in this chapter. If it is adopted as approximately correct, life would have begun about 1.7-1.8 thousand million years ago, on the basis of Cailleux's calculation. This is probably not enough, though of course it is unknown what *Corycium* and the organic matter in pre-Cambrian shales were which Rankama dated at 2.5 thousand million years (see p. 366). Perhaps they were plants, not animals. Supposed algal structures of an age of about 2,700 million years are described by Macgregor (1951, see Ch. XI) and dated by Holmes (1954).

The concept of geometrical progression leads Cailleux to a rather smaller estimate than Simpson, namely about 150 million species.

*Conclusion. Inheritability of acquired characters and time.* The attempt to consider organic evolution from a chronological point of view cannot be more than tentative. The reader may, and probably will, regard some of the views as highly conjectural, but it is open to him to test them with the material which he has at hand. In any case he will admit that with the establishment of geochronological time-scales a new element has entered into the study of evolution and that, as these time-scales are improved, they are bound

to become increasingly valuable as measures of the actual rates of evolution.

The time rates of evolution, measured in years, are bound to play an important part in solving the old problem whether the mechanism studied by genetics, viz. chance-mutation and natural selection, is sufficient to explain evolution as a whole, or whether there are, in addition, other processes which in the course of *long periods of time* render inheritable properties acquired during the lives of numerous successive generations in response to environment or habit (Note (61), p. 431). This alternative has been admitted as a possibility by some eminent Darwinists and geneticists, like Weismann (see Eimer, 1890, p. 174), Haldane (1929, p. 31) and Waddington (1939). It is the opinion of several morphologists and anatomists, like Eimer in the past (1890, p. 807), and Wood Jones more recently (1943, p. 99). In common with most palaeontologists, all these authorities agree that, if or when acquired characters become incorporated in the heritage of a species, it must be a matter of periods of time too long to be susceptible of experimental verification. For this reason alone it is well worth while to elaborate lineages from fossil evidence and to date the changes observed by means of geochronological time-scales. Evidence at present available already suggests that the periods required for changes in specific characters are normally beyond the reach of experiment.

I am confident that, ultimately, absolute chronology will attain the same significance in evolutionary research as dates and calendars now have in the study of human history. This, at any rate, is a goal worth working for.

## APPENDIX

### PART I. DENDROCHRONOLOGY

*Note (1) (p. 6). Invention of tree-ring analysis.*—Tree-ring analysis was first thought of by Linné, but suggested as a method by Charles Babbage in 1837. He was the writer of the 'Ninth Bridgewater Treatise' and a man of wide knowledge and remarkable ideas. In his work on natural philosophy, pp. 226–34, he gave a lucid summary of the method of distinguishing exceptional rings from ordinary ones, and also of the method of cross-dating. He said, 'the application of these views to ascertaining the age of submerged forests, or to that of peat mosses, may possibly connect them ultimately with the chronology of man'. Indeed a remarkable case of vision in science.

*Note (2) (p. 11). The development of dendrochronology in Europe.*—When Chapter I was first written very little work on tree-rings had been done in Europe. The situation has since changed notably, because forestry institutions have taken an interest in this work. The most important school is that of Professor B. Huber in Munich.

Huber emphasizes that dendrochronology encounters greater difficulties in Central Europe than in the south-western United States, because temperature and humidity effects on the rings interfere in such a way that they are difficult to disentangle. In Scandinavia, however, and in high mountains a positive correlation with summer temperatures has been observed by Erlandsson and Artmann. Müller-Stoll investigated the amount of correlation of ring widths in trees of different species growing in the same locality as well as of the same species growing in different areas. For these studies recent trees with known felling dates were used. The result was as surprising as it is encouraging: it was found that the resemblance of the plots in one species decreases less rapidly even over distances of up to 1,000 miles (from the Western Carpathians to the Vosges) than it does among trees of different species in the same locality. This work was carried out on Fir (*Abies*), Spruce (*Picea*) and Beech, which, therefore, are considered as suitable for dating purposes over the whole area of Central Europe. According to Wellenhofer's investigations, however, oak is less suitable, since trees growing in hilly countries tend to produce narrow rings in warm and dry years, whilst in trees growing on river floodplains with permanent access to water the reverse is the case. The investigation of oak is complicated by the difficulty of distinguishing the woods of the two common species (*Quercus robur* L. and *Q. petraea* (Matt.) Lieblein, known commonly as *Q. pedunculata* Ehrh. and *Q. sessiliflora* Salisb. respectively).

Huber and his school plot the actual width of rings on logarithmic ordinates, using *abscissae* for years as usual. In this way he intends to eliminate the laborious calculation of growth-rate allowances. He assesses the resemblance of plots by a figure called *Gegenläufigkeitsprozent*, which is not easily translated. It is perhaps best expressed by a simple



term like 'disagreement percentage'. It is the same which the present author has used for varves and tree-rings previously, except that it is expressed in a simpler and more practical way. In two plots which are supposed to match, the number of cases is counted in which the curve shows the same tendency from one year to the next, i.e. of rising or falling and the number of years in which the tendency is opposed. The number of the latter (*Gegenläufigkeiten*) is expressed as a percentage of the total of rings considered. It is evident that a figure near 50 per cent. means that there are about as many instances of agreement as disagreement, in other words the curves do not resemble each other. Huber undertook a large-scale search for chance resemblances in the curves available to him and came to the conclusion that in plots covering at least 50 successive years, chance resemblances are unlikely to occur, provided that the disagreement percentage does not exceed 30 per cent. As an illustration, it may be mentioned that the disagreement percentage of two spruces from the same locality (years 1897-1947) is 18 per cent. The method has been refined by the introduction of classes comprising the more or less conspicuous changes in ring width, as explained in Huber's paper (1948, p. 153). The work so far done aims at the establishment of a sound chronology based on several species of trees and securely linked with the calendar by felling dates. Thus, Brehme established a chronology of the larch trees of the Berchtesgaden area in the Bavarian Alps which extends back to A.D. 1800. It has enabled him to date the beams contained in numerous abandoned mountain barns. Wellenhofer and Jazewitsch have established a continuous ring-record for oaks from the Spessart Mountains in western Germany which covers 500 years and the latter author has recently succeeded in extending it to A.D. 1891 with the aid of oak beams from the church of Ziegenhain near Kassel. Oak beams from medieval buildings in Franconia are being investigated and Huber hopes thus to extend his oak chronology to about A.D. 1000. There is an unconnected chronology of oak, dated at about A.D. 1000 on historical evidence, from Vineta on the Island of Wollin at the mouth of the Oder which was studied by Holdheide.

A much earlier unconnected series comes from the Bronze Age waterfort of Buchau in the Federsee. It covers about 120 years of pine-rings and it could be shown that the two palisades were erected in a single period of short duration (Huber and Holdheide, 1942), much as Ording (1941) succeeded in proving for the Norwegian site of Raknehaugen. In addition the outer palisade of Buchau turned out to be synchronous with a lake dwelling at Unteruhldingen, Lake Constance. An interesting result of these studies on Bronze Age tree-rings is that the fluctuations of ring widths are more pronounced than in recent woods. It appears to indicate a more changeable climate, although it is for the time being impossible to say to which climatic factor this is due.

In England, Lowther has undertaken to study the ring sequences of Roman timber. On this work a preliminary report only is available (1949), according to which about 20 overlapping plots have been obtained covering the period 160 B.C.-A.D. 250 approximately. A second series of plots is based on Medieval and Saxon timber of A.D. 850-1500. The wood used is oak. The method employed by Lowther is, however, that

of Antevs, in which the curves are twice smoothed before the matching is carried out. It has been mentioned already that serious objections can be raised against this practice, and it is to be hoped that Lowther will publish the unsmoothed plots in the near future. According to Schove (1955) droughts of the Dark Ages are expressed in British timber. Tree-ring studies were carried out in recent years by Eidem (1953) and Hoeg (1956) in Norway, Mikola (1956) in Finland, Giddings (1954) in Alaska and Schulman (1947) in southern California.

The evidence for tree-rings and the presence or absence of seasons in the Mesozoic and Palaeozoic eras has been studied by Antevs (1953).

*Note (3) (p. 11). Methods of evaluation.*—Whilst Huber is content with a simple calculation of the percentage of disagreement, Gladwin (1940) calculates a percentage of agreement which embodies certain useful corrections. Like the majority of other workers, he measures the widths in tenths of millimetres. The departures from the mean value of a long series of rings of the same tree are plotted on graph paper for convenience. Agreement and disagreement are defined as by Huber and Zeuner, by the direction of change from one year to the next. If the trend is the same, it is a case of agreement, if opposite, disagreement. If one tree shows two successive rings of equal width, the case is regarded as a 'neutral' one. The cases of agreement and of disagreement are each weighed, the positive or negative correlation being regarded as only as strong as the lower of the two values compared. For instance, if one value is 0.2, the other 0.7, the agreement is regarded as 0.2 strong. Finally, if the ring departs by more than 1 mm. from the average, the excess above 1.0 is ignored for reasons given in Gladwin's paper.

Gladwin's method is more accurate than those of other authors, though for ordinary work Huber's simpler method appears to be sufficient. It would, however, be worth while for the purpose of comparison to try out both methods on the same material.

*Note (4) (p. 15). Teleconnexion.*—But if one counts the cases of agreement and disagreement of the annual changes shown by the two tree-curves (see fig. 5), one finds 31 cases of agreement and 34 of disagreement. The disagreement percentage is 52 per cent.; in other words, the curves do *not* resemble each other. It should be noted, however, that the pine curve from Raknehaugen agrees somewhat better with the varved-clay curve from Sweden. The probability of this agreement being due to chance is about 1 in 20. Although E. H. de Geer's attempts to introduce dendrochronology into Scandinavia are to be welcomed, one cannot help feeling sceptical with regard to the applicability of the Californian *Sequoia*-curve to Europe's tree-growth. It is essential first to build up a regional European tree-ring chronology from historic and prehistoric beams and other remains of wood, on the lines adopted by Douglass and his collaborators in Arizona, or more particularly to extend Huber's methods to other parts of Europe, before the question of likeness of curves from different continents is raised.

## PART II. VARVE ANALYSIS, POSTGLACIAL CHRONOLOGY

*Note (5) (p. 29).* The zero varve and the successive drainage phases in Jämtland have been published by Ebba Hult de Geer (1953).

In an account of the varve measurements made in Sweden up to 1954

she states that the salt water influx of — 1073 was followed by a greater one in — 978, so that the precise chronology based on the zero varve may be more complicated than is generally assumed.

*Note (6) (p. 53).* The Postglacial evolution of the Baltic Sea has recently been re-assessed by Sauramo (1954) and correlated with the history of the forest as shown in fig. 104.

According to him the Ancylus Lake stage is one of the three great units in the Postglacial history of the Baltic. Following the Yoldia Sea with its open connexion with the ocean, the Ancylus stage is generally believed to have been a fresh-water lake, since *Ancylus* and *Limnaea* occur in its deposits. It was their discovery by Munthe in 1910 that appeared to settle the question of the character of the Ancylus stage. Since that time, however, many doubts have been raised, especially because of the presence of diatom species indicative of a certain degree of salinity. Very naturally, attempts at explanation were centred around the height of the Baltic in the Ancylus stage above the level of the ocean of that time. The older view is that the level of the Ancylus Lake was higher than the ocean level and that the Svea river served as its outlet. Later authors, notably Sten Florin, however, maintained that the Ancylus Baltic was a bay of the ocean, the water of which was almost fresh because of the narrowness of the Danish sounds. Even von Post, the protagonist of the Svea river, adopted Florin's view later on, but other workers were not prepared to follow him. Matti Sauramo is, therefore, right in drawing attention to the puzzle of the Ancylus Lake.

Sauramo undertook the reconstruction of the shore-line of the supposed Ancylus Lake in relation to some of the older and younger shore-lines and determined the effect that the differential uplifts of the land have had upon them. For this purpose he analysed in detail the sections observed in several Finnish localities where deposits of the Baltic Sea are associated with peat sections. He came to the conclusion that the actual Ancylus stage of fresh-water conditions was of short duration, though nevertheless a reality. It was restricted to the upper third of the Boreal phase. The two lower thirds (pollen zones Va and Vb, fig. 104) show evidence of salt-water conditions. This phase, formerly called Rhabdonema stage is now called Echineis stage. At the transition from pollen zone V to VI marine deposits reappear (*Mastogloia*) which are, in due course, followed by the Litorina phases. In southern Finland it thus becomes evident that a sudden sinking of the Ancylus Lake level must have been caused by a catastrophic event, which brought it down to ocean level.

Sauramo then extended his studies to other areas, including the southern part of the Baltic. On the Isle of Gotland, off the east coast of Sweden, Munthe had established the positions of the Ancylus shore-line. Sauramo found that this is identical with the Finnish Echineis stage. He stresses that he does not wish to refute Munthe's idea of the lake-character of the Ancylus phase, but that the difference is due to the method adopted in Gotland which was one of measuring the height of the storm beaches. Those of the Echineis phase lie 2–3 m. higher than those of the Ancylus, so that the latter are plastered against them. It is, therefore, easy to understand that the highest and oldest wall was not destroyed and provided optimum conditions for measurement.

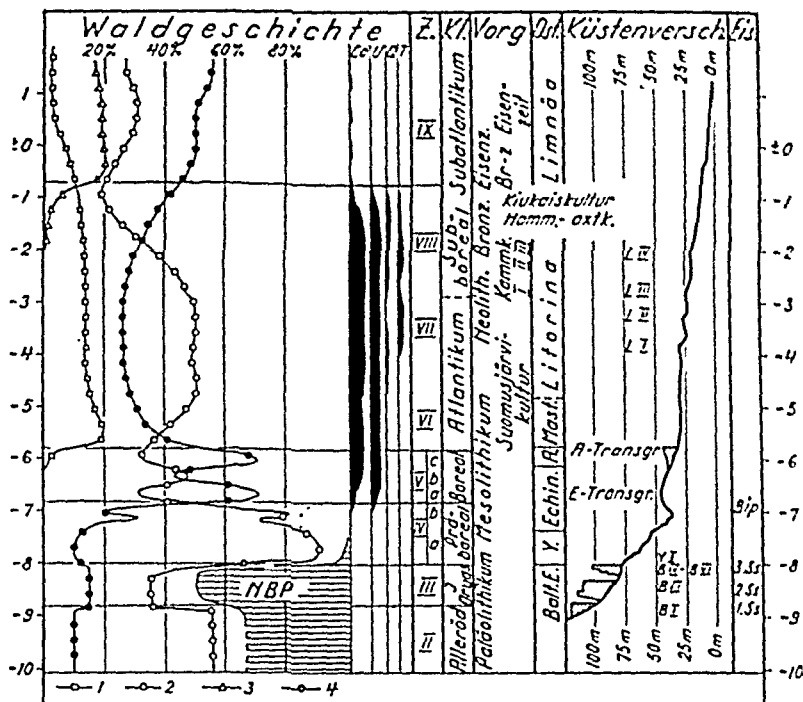


FIG. 104.—Forest history, pollen zonation, climatic phases, prehistory, sea-level phases and displacement of the coast-line of the Finnish coast of the Baltic from 10,500 B.C. to the present. NBP: herbaceous pollen. 1: alder (*Alnus*), 2: birch (*Betula*), 3: spruce (*Picea excelsa*), 4: pine (*Pinus sylvestris*). A: Ancylus stage. B: Baltic Ice-lake. Y: Yoldia Sea. Ss: Salpausselkä moraines. Bip.: Bipartition of Scandinavian ice. On the right and left the Finnish varve time-scale is given in thousands of years B.C. and A.D.—After Sauramo, 1954.

Sauramo's diagram (fig. 104) relates the positions of the shore-lines in different parts of the Baltic, those of the Litorina Sea being used as reference lines. The Litorina complex thus reproduces the amount of uplift from that time onwards, whilst the older levels show the character of the deformation suffered by the older shore-lines. These are, therefore, not straight and reveal the presence of two important hinge-lines which are called the outer and the inner. Their existence had been postulated by Sauramo some 15 years ago and has now been confirmed on the evidence of more ample material. They suggest that the hinge of the isostatic uplift did not remain in the same position but moved inward towards the centre of uplift in the course of time. The same phenomenon has recently been found by Lougee (*Sci. Monthly*, 76 (5), pp. 259-76) in North America. Further comparisons are made with the coast of the Arctic Ocean, western Sweden and the Danish-north-German area. In western Sweden it becomes evident that local crustal move-

ments may have played a part in the sudden termination of the Ancyclus Lake. Since its eastern and northern Fennoscandia the Mastogloia stage is not represented by a transgression, whilst in western Sweden this is the case, a sinking of the western Swedish block appears to be the cause of the phenomenon. Similarly, the south-west corner of the Baltic experienced a subsidence, well illustrated in the bays of Kiel and Lübeck. Here Tapfer found a transgression of the order of 14–41 m., with marine gyttja overlying land- and fresh-water deposits of pollen zone V–VI. It is probable that this condition is somehow connected with that observed in western Sweden.

If one tries to understand these differential movements as a single large-scale phenomenon, one is struck by the chronological coincidence of sinking in the south-west and rising in the north. The rapid late Boreal rise of the centre of Fennoscandia is linked with a sudden sinking of the land in the south-west. In agreement with the theory of isostasy, it is reasonable to assume that this movement was caused by the disappearance of the weight of the Scandinavian ice and it is evident that compensatory horizontal displacement must have taken place at a great depth. Sauramo holds that tectonic movement was responsible for the sudden discharge of the Ancyclus Lake, and not the eustatic rise of the ocean level, although such an eustatic rise was actually taking place at the time.

This remarkable event in the history of the Baltic took place at the beginning of the Atlantic phase, about 5700 B.C. according to the Finnish time-scale. It must have been witnessed by Maglemose man. It is at least conceivable that the replacement of the Maglemose by the Ertebolle culture is connected with the considerable change in the coastline at the beginning of the Atlantic period.

The problem of the shifting of the hinge-lines of uplift in Fennoscandia was discussed by Sauramo in a separate paper (1955).

*Note (7) (p. 79).* For *Siretorp*, see Bagge and Kjellmark's monograph (1939), for *Vrå* and correlatives, Becker (1948).

*Note (8) (p. 83).* Florin (1948) claims to have found eustatic oscillations which can be separated from the isostatic rise of Scandinavia and also dated by diatomacea and varves. Pollen-analytical sequences have been linked with the sequence of sea-level fluctuations and the Mesolithic and Neolithic industries fitted into the resulting chronology.

He found 'undulations' of 1300 to 1400 years which are unconnected with *eustatic oscillations of a duration of 1700–1800 years (l.c., p. 74)*. The first of these eustatic oscillations falls at the Maglemose, the second at the Ertebolle and part of the Trindyx period, and the third from the later Trindyx period to the Passage graves. It is perhaps significant that eustatic oscillations of a similar periodicity have been observed in England (see p. 99).

The chronological value of Florin's work appears to be considerable. Another recent publication on the interference of eustatic and isostatic movements in Sweden is by von Post (1948).

*Note (9) (p. 89).* *Forest History of Germany*.—The valuable work which Franz Firbas has done in central Europe has now become available in the form of a comprehensive book (Firbas, 1949) discussing forest history, history of distribution of species, composition of forests, causes

of spreading of tree species and the relations between prehistory and forest development.

*Note (10) (p. 33).* The survey of North American chronology on pp. 33, 34 is by now largely of historical and methodical interest since radiocarbon measurements have proved that the gaps assumed by Antevs must have been very small. Radiocarbon dates have been obtained in quantity for the Mankato stage, which crosses Lakes Huron and Michigan, assigning to it only about 11,000 years. Flint (1955) is against the 19,000 years given to it by Antevs (1953).

A further number of samples have been taken from the Tazewell and Cary stages of the Wisconsin Glaciation and radiocarbon-dated by Rubin and Suess, and these suggest that the entire Wisconsin corresponds to Last Glaciation III of the general terminology (fig. 105). According to Flint and Rubin (1955) a 'major glaciation' affected the Great Lakes region between 25,000 and 18,000 B.P. It embraces the Cary and Tazewell sub-stages and in the periglacial zone is represented by the Farmdale Loess.

An earlier glaciation is suggested by underlying peat, gyttja and wood of an age greater than 30,000 years. The duration of this oscillation has been estimated on the depth of leaching at Sidney, Ohio, as possibly of the order of 10,000 years. See fig. 105.

*Note (11) (p. 35, p. 282, p. 344).* Whilst many radiocarbon dates have confirmed that human occupation became abundant in North America round about the Mankato phase, about 10,000 years ago, the evidence for earlier occupation remains somewhat insecure. Orr (1956) found human skeletal remains and perishable objects in Fish Bone Cave, Nevada, with a radiocarbon date of 10,000 years  $\pm$  350. Harrington (1952) states that a scraper from Tule Springs, Nevada, was found *in situ* with charcoal dated by C14 as over 23,800 years old. Carter (1949, 1950) maintains on soil evidence that man was present at La Jolla, South California, about 40,000 years ago. He also claims to have found primitive implements in the San Diego region (Carter, 1952) which he considers to be of Last Interglacial age. The implement character of most of his finds, however, is much disputed, whilst others would be placed much later on typological evidence.

In Mexico, Tepexpan Man from the Valley of Mexico was claimed by de Terra (1947, 1949) to be substantially older than any remains found elsewhere. The reconsideration of the evidence by Aveleyra (1952), however, places him at about 8000 years ago. A mammoth skeleton found at Iztopan in the same valley was associated with artifacts of the laurel-leaf type. For these radiocarbon-dates suggest an age of 10,000-11,000 years (Aveleyra, 1955) and in an analysis of the stratigraphical evidence for the finds from the Valley of Mexico, Lorenzo (in: Mooser, White and Lorenzo, 1956) maintains this chronological position, making these finds approximately equivalent to the Mankato stage. No earlier finds of man are so far known from Mexico with certainty.

The focal point of the new dates is the radiocarbon evidence for the age of the Two Creeks Interval. Antevs has persistently maintained on geological evidence that this age must be much too low (1955a, 1955b).

*Note (12) (p. 57).* Normally pollen analysis is applied to sequences of lake deposits and peat, but in recent years acid soils have been successfully

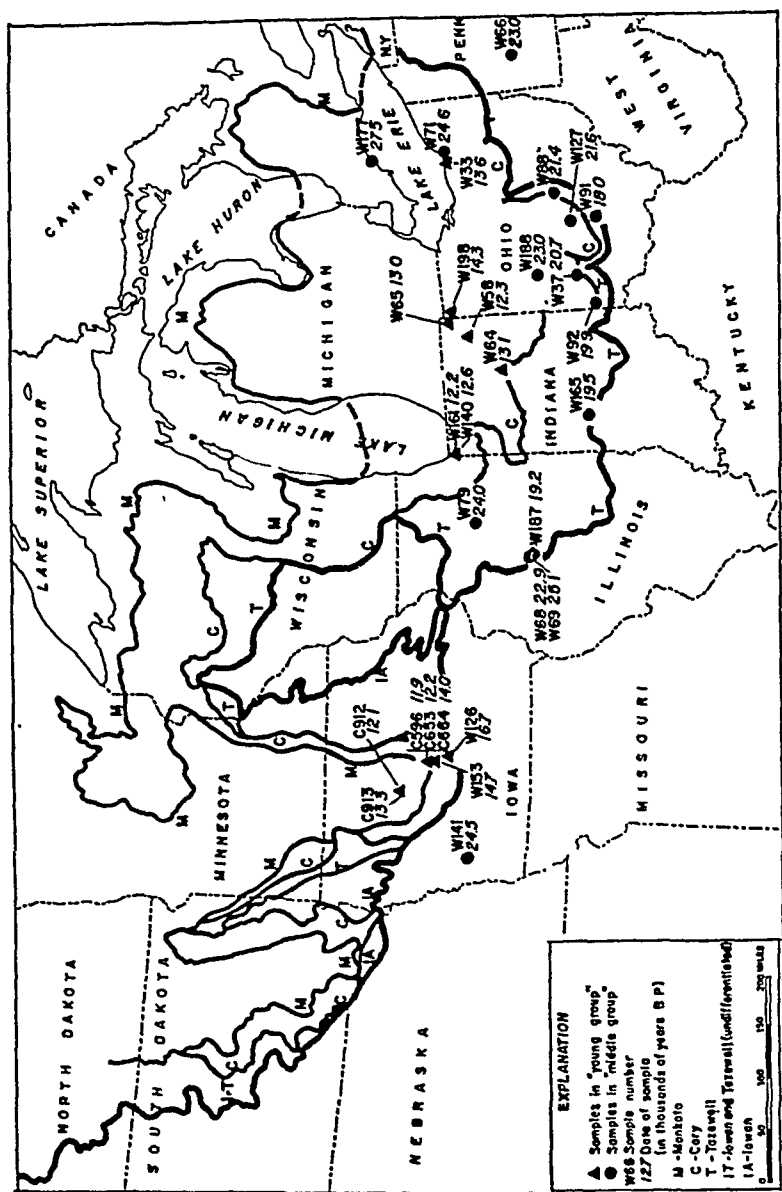


FIG. 105.—Sketch map showing localities, accession numbers, and dates of significant samples. Drift borders, diagrammatic only, are compiled from the Glacial Map of North America and other sources.—After Flint and Rubin, 1955.

studied by this method. The protagonists of this new approach are Dimbleby (1951, 1954, 1955), Dimbleby and Gill (1955) in England, and Waterbolk (1954) in Holland.

*Note (13) (p. 77, p. 79).* More recent work has introduced complications into the Landnam period. Iversen (1949) has discussed this period once more and replied to Nilsson's criticisms.

Troels-Smith (1954) holds that the Ertebolle culture agrees essentially with that of the early Swiss Lake dwellings (Michelsberg and earliest Cortaillod) and that, although they lived on game, fish and wild plants they also grew some grain and had domesticated animals. The latter, however, were not grazed untethered, so that they had no great effect on forest clearance. The Ertebolle culture passed smoothly into the early Megalithic culture according to this author.

Becker (1955) found 'early Neolithic', i.e. *Trichterbecher*, occupation of a purely Neolithic type and with no traces of Ertebolle ware which must be older than the Megalithic. He points out that the idea of cereal growing in the Ertebolle culture as put forward by Troels-Smith is based entirely on grain impressions on such Neolithic pottery and stresses that not a single grain impression has yet been found on Ertebolle pottery proper. There are now so many finds of Ertebolle and *Trichterbecher* pottery that it is permissible to conclude that these two types cannot have been made at the same places. The problem of the chronological sequence of these cultures thus requires further elucidation.

*Note (14) (p. 81).* The relevant radiocarbon dates were obtained by Levi and Tauber (1955) in Copenhagen, and Zeuner (1955) in London. They assign the late Neolithic lake dwellings (e.g. Egolzwil 3) of Switzerland to about 2700 B.C. The new radiocarbon evidence thus confirms the long chronology that has persistently been put forward in this book for the last ten years.

*Note (15) (p. 94).* The important site of Star Carr lies at the eastern end of the Vale of Pickering in Yorkshire (J. G. D. Clark, 1950a, 1954; J. W. Moore, 1950). It is of Preboreal age (pollen zone IV) and therefore earlier than the classic Maglemosian sites of northern Europe. Especially on the evidence of its antler and bone equipment it represents an early phase of the Maglemosian group. Only Klosterlund and Vig in Denmark are approximately of the same age (fig. 106). It has been dated by radiocarbon in Dr. Libby's department at Chicago University, two runs from the same sample having yielded  $10,167 \pm 560$ , and  $8,808 \pm 490$  years respectively. If one disregards the discrepancy and adopts a mean, Star Carr would be virtually contemporary with the Central Swedish moraine, or with the beginning of the withdrawal of the ice from it. The period following the withdrawal of the ice from the Central Swedish moraine corresponds indeed to pollen zone IV in Denmark. Walker and Godwin (in Clark, 1954) confirmed that Star Carr belongs to pollen zone IV, though apparently to the somewhat later part of it.

The post-Maglemosian Mesolithic of Britain has Sauveterrian affinities. The site of Peacock's Farm in Cambridgeshire has been pollen-dated by Godwin (Clark, 1956). It belongs to pollen zone VIc. Other sites of the same archaeological phase occur from East Anglia and Lincolnshire to eastern Scotland, the Isle of Man, Wales and Cornwall and most of them



	Climatic periods	Zones in history of vegetation			Pollen-dated archaeological sites		
		Denmark	Schleswig-Holstein	Eastern England	Denmark	Schleswig-Holstein	Eastern England
Early Postglacial	Boreal	VI	VII	VI	Holmegaard Svaerdborg		Skipsea
		V	VI	V	Mullerup	Duvensee	Broxbourne Leman and Ower
	Preboreal	IV	V	IV	Klosterlund Vig	— Pinnberg I	Star Carr Flixton I
Late-glacial	Younger Dryas	III	IV	III	Nørre-Lyngby	Stellmoor (Ahrensburg)	—
	Allerød	II	III	II	Bromme	—	Flixton 2
	Older Dryas Bolling Osc.	Ic Ib	II	I	—	—	—
	Oldest Dryas	Ia	I		—	Meiendorf (Hamburg)	—

FIG. 106.—Sequence of prehistoric sites in relation to climatic and vegetational periods during Late-glacial and early Postglacial times in the North Sea area.—After Clark, 1954.

appear to belong to localities which were at the time relatively free of trees. This applies, for instance, to the coastal sites of Westward Hol and Yelland in North Devon (Note 16.) An inland site in what appears to have been a densely wooded area has, however, been discovered in South Devon. This is Three Holes Cave, one of the Torbryan caves. It is being excavated by the writer.

*Note (16) (p. 97).* At Westward Hol, on Bideford Bay in North Devon, a Postglacial sequence of tidal clays containing a peat bed and a Sauveterrian industry occurs below high tide level (Rogers, 1942, 1946). It indicates that the sequence of events observed in the Fenland and on the Essex coast (pp. 97, 99) applies in the West of England also.

*Note (17) (p. 109).* It has, however, been pointed out by Pfaffenberg (1954) that the sinking of the coast in the area of the Jade Bay in north Germany has had such a profound influence on the evolution of the peat sequence that the recognition of the Grenzhorizont becomes impossible. In fact, he concludes that in the bogs of his area Weber's Grenzhorizont never developed because of the local influence of short periods of rising (mainly) and of falling (occasionally) sea-levels.

### PART III. PLEISTOCENE AND PALAEOLITHIC CHRONOLOGY, ASTRONOMICAL THEORY

*Note (18) (pp. 114, 115).* Northern central Europe in the Pleistocene. The question of the Warthe phase has agitated the minds of northern

Europeans considerably. Originally, it was regarded as the first phase of the Last Glaciation. Gradually it was pushed back to become an after-phase of the Penultimate Glaciation. The reasons for this were partly geomorphological, for it was clear that much time elapsed between it and the Weichsel Glaciation proper. There were, in addition, psychological reasons, a corresponding phase not having been established in the Alps. The real trouble is, however, that as the Warthe Phase occurred considerably earlier than the Weichsel Phase and considerably later than the Saale Glaciation, one has to reckon with two warm phases, separating the Warthe from the preceding and from the following glaciation. These two warm phases have been confounded by most writers. This is understandable, for it requires exceptionally favourable circumstances to have evidence for both warm phases in the same section, and such evidence has so far been forthcoming only from loesses and fossil shore-lines. That the first fully temperate phase (as one progresses back into the past) should be regarded as 'the last interglacial' is only natural.

But there is another interglacial which separates the Warthe from the Saale Glaciation, and this on the evidence from loess areas was warmer and longer than the second. For this reason I consider it essential that the term 'Last Interglacial' should be retained for the *first* of these warm phases, and the *second* be regarded as the first of the two interstadials of the Last Glaciation. The confusion that reigns at the present in continental literature concerning this matter is thus due to the failure of recognizing the presence of two temperate phases and it is particularly regrettable that the term Eemian has by some writers been applied to the second of these phases without hesitation and without any consideration of the problems it involves. The situation has been summarized by Zeuner (1953, 1954). In addition, two books summarize the present state of knowledge for northern Germany (Woldstedt, 1950) and Holland (van der Vlerk and Florschütz, 1950).

*Note (19) (p. 116).* Recent work in the Alpine foreland seems to suggest that in many places the first of these three phases was smaller than the second. This would imply that what Penck called Würm 1 and Würm 2 might correspond to my Last Glaciation 2 and 3. This matter requires further careful elucidation and enthusiasts will have to keep in mind the implications this has regarding the existence of three younger loesses.

*Note (20) (p. 117).*—Corresponding deposits occur in the southern Alps, where Venzo (1948, 1949) has established a detailed chronology (see Note 22).

*Note (21) (p. 129).* Whilst Zeuner (1952) discusses the evidence for high shore-lines of Pleistocene age, Pfannenstiel (1950, 1952) describes evidence for phases of low sea-level.

A high sea-level *following* the two Monastirian phases has been established in recent years. Its mean height is about 3 m. and difficult to determine because of the width of the notch. It is not a Postglacial beach, for it belongs to an independent terrace in the Thames, with a bench that is younger than the first, but older than the second phase of the Last Glaciation.

At Start Point and Lannacombe Bay in South Devon this level is covered with solifluxion deposits, which confirms the interstadial age of

the beach. In addition it has been found at numerous other points, for instance in Jersey, Gibraltar, Morocco (Gigout 1949), Arab's Gulf (Northern Egypt; see this publ., p. 233) and many other places. Further details will be found in Zeuner (1953). This new shore-line is called the *Epimonastirian*.

Note (22) (pp. 143, 145). *Further evidence for agreement of geological record with Astronomical Theory.*—A number of authors have in the last few years come to the view that the geological record of the Pleistocene of their areas agrees with the expectations of the Astronomical Theory. Among these are Achilles (1939; periglacial terraces of Neckar, Württemberg), Brandtner (1950; Austria), Choubert (1946; ancient shore-lines, Morocco), Fink (1949; Austrian soils), Gage (1953; New Zealand), Le Danois (1939; ocean level), Sprigg (1948, 1952; South Australian beaches); Verseveldt (1951, Central Europe); Grahmann (1952, Germany); Woldstedt (1947, 1954, North German moraines); Zaruba (1942; periglacial rivers, Czechoslovakia), Kimball and Zeuner (1946; glaciifluvial terraces of the Upper Rhine).

Bacsak (1955) not only strongly supports the Milankovitch Theory, but develops it further from the point of view of celestial mechanics. The importance of this paper cannot be overestimated. The climatic divisions are found to agree closely in an elaborate paper by Kriván (1955) of the Hungarian Geological Institute. This paper used the modifications suggested by Bacsak.

Important confirmatory evidence has been discovered in the Italian Alps by Venzo (1948*a, b*, 1949). The girdles of moraines in the Adda Valley and the glaciifluvial terraces emanating from them provide a sequence which agrees well with both Eberl's sequence from the northern Alps and the radiation curve. At the time of his first two publications, Venzo was evidently not familiar with Eberl's work nor with that of the present author, so that he is not likely to have been influenced by evidence obtained previously. His summary (1948*b*) may be translated as follows: 'The Quaternary deposits of the morainic amphitheatre of the Adda near Lecco have been compared with the absolute chronology of Milankovitch's diagram. A perfect correspondence has been found between the number of the chief morainic belts and the maxima of cold (*sic*); there are two for Günz, locally represented by conglomerates of the upper Villafranchian and by glaciifluvial gravels; two for Mindel, two for Riss and three for Würm. The outer girdle of each glaciation corresponds to the earlier and stronger maximum of cold. The ferruginized girdles of Mindel are nevertheless more extended than the relatively fresh ones of Riss, whilst in the diagram the maxima of Riss appear stronger than those of Mindel.' This latter observation agrees with others in western central Europe, according to which Mindel was larger than Riss in many areas, though the reverse applies in others. In fact, the two glaciations were *approximately* of the same size.

In the new edition of *Climate through the Ages*, C. E. P. Brooks gives a lucid account of astronomical factors of climate and of the climate of the Quaternary. He holds that 'the good accord between Milankovitch's astronomical scheme and the succession worked out by F. E. Zeuner supports the idea that these small astronomical causes may actually have been the controlling factor in the glaciation of the Northern

Hemisphere' (p. 270). In Holland, Brouwer (1950) holds that the radiation curves are a useful basis for Pleistocene stratigraphy.

Furthermore, the benches of the terraces of the River Thames (Zeuner, 1954) give an exceptionally complete record of the detailed chronology of the Pleistocene, which is in full agreement with the Astronomical Theory. There are three benches for the Last Glaciation, two less developed ones for minor fluctuations in the Last Interglacial, two for the Penultimate Glaciation, the second of which is the well-known Taplow Bench, five benches for minor oscillations during the Great Interglacial and two benches for the Antepenultimate Glaciation, the latter of which corresponds to the lower bench of Swanscombe and should be equivalent to the Elster Glaciation of Germany.

Altogether it appears that the different dating methods are beginning to yield reasonably consistent results for the Pleistocene, and the astronomical method falls into line with other evidence. This is shown by the relative durations assigned to the mild periods as follows:

	Post-glacial	to	Last Interglacial	to	Penultimate Interglacial	to	Antepenultimate Interglacial	Total Duration since Beginning of Gunz
Penck	1	:	3	:	12	:	4	600,000 yrs.
Kay	1	:	5	:	12	:	8	700,000- 1.2 million yrs.
Astronomical	1	:	3	:	8	:	3	600,000 yrs.

As to the total duration, Kay made practically no allowance for the duration of the glacial phases in his lower figure, hence the higher figure (1.2 million) is the better value. But his absolute chronology was based on an assumed duration of the Postglacial of 25,000 years. This has to be reduced to about half on radiocarbon evidence, so that the duration of the Pleistocene in North America from the First Glaciation onwards, has now come to agree closely with the Astronomical Theory.

*Note (23) (p. 145). Criticism of the Astronomical Theory.*—Objections against the applicability of the Astronomical Theory have been raised by a number of writers. It will be useful to list them here so as to enable the reader to weigh the evidence. Fortunately, the great majority of these criticisms have already been answered in existing publications, so that it suffices to refer to these. A summary of seven objections may be found in Flint's excellent book (1947), but these were formulated before the *Pleistocene Period* and the first edition of *Dating the Past* had appeared, and the author had not had at his disposal the vast amount of European literature on the subject.

1. *The mathematical computations may be unreliable especially for times more than half a million years B.P.*—See *The Pleistocene Period*, p. 146; *Dating the Past*, p. 138.

2. *The Milankovitch version is a new edition of Croll's Theory which is usually disregarded by its modern protagonists.*—Although using the same elements, the computations by Milankovitch and Michkovitch are new and their effects are interpreted in a different manner. See Milankovitch, 1930, p. 120; 1941, p. 493; *The Pleistocene Period*, p. 141; *Dating the Past*, p. 137; Brooks, 1949, p. 105; Bacsak, 1955.

To sum up ; these and other arguments against the Astronomical Theory are mostly based on lack of information. It is not intended to say that the Astronomical Theory is necessarily correct, especially in the interpretation given to it at the present time, but criticism which is levelled at one aspect, neglecting others, is unconstructive. That there are difficulties has been emphasized by most workers, but the greatest difficulty of all appears to be *to read the relevant literature*. Changes are conceivable in the interpretation of the maxima and minima and their correlation with the glacial and interglacial phases. In particular, Van Woerkom's diagrams require the careful attention of workers on the European Continent and so does Bacsak's recent work.

3. *The Astronomical Theory fails to consider any factor other than solar radiation.*—For discussions of climatological, physiographical and other factors see especially Wundt (1933, 1935, 1938*a*, *b*, 1944) also Beck (1938), Meinardus (1944), Soergel (1937), *The Pleistocene Period*, pp. 150–65.

4. *The calculated temperature changes are too small to have brought about the glaciations.*—It should be noted that the Theory relies on periods of increased and decreased oceanicity of the climate coupled with favourable physiographic conditions. The temperature changes alone are not considered sufficient. See Wundt (1938*a*, *b*) ; *The Pleistocene Period*, p. 152. Values for temperature changes smaller than those found by Milankovitch are accepted by other workers.

5. *The Theory requires that the maxima of the glaciations are not simultaneous on the two hemispheres.*—Simultaneous glaciation of the northern and southern hemispheres has never been proved, though many workers are inclined to believe in it (summary of present knowledge in Flint, 1947, p. 452). But whether this view be correct or not, the fluctuations of solar radiation in the temperate and cold zones of the two hemispheres suggest that when there was a glacial phase in the north, the south had one at *about* (though not exactly) the same time (see tables in Milankovitch, 1930, 1941 ; also Zeuner, 1938 ; *The Pleistocene Period*, p. 223 ; Meinardus 1944, p. 755 ; Brooks, 1949, p. 105).

6. *The Theory requires slightly increased temperatures in the equatorial region during the glacial phases.*—Exact contemporaneity of any of the equatorial glacial phases with one of the glacial phases of the temperate zone of the Northern Hemisphere has never been proved. The complex situation in the tropical zone is discussed in a tentative fashion in *The Pleistocene Period*, p. 215 ff., *Dating the Past*, p. 265 ff., and Zeuner, *Proc. First Pan-African Congress Prehist.* (in the press). Even the climatic interpretation of the suspected tropical pluvials has not been established (du Toit, 1947 ; Zeuner, 1948), so that the tropical zone does not yet provide us with any argument for or against any particular theory.

7. *Spitaler's curve differs from that of Milankovitch.*—It has been shown by Milankovitch (1941, p. 497) that Spitaler's calculations rested on erroneous premises. Since then Spitaler has revised his tables (1943) and emphasized that his values are no longer in violent disagreement with those of Milankovitch, and that the maxima and minima of both sets coincide. Most critics making use of the disagreement between Spitaler and Milankovitch appear to have overlooked the fact that

Spitaler's long chronology is based on an assumed total duration of the Pleistocene of over a million years; and not on a counting of summer minima and their comparison with geological evidence.

8. *The Astronomical Theory makes no reference to the way in which the combined atmospheric factors react to radiation.*—See Wundt's numerous papers and *The Pleistocene Period*, pp. 150-61.

9. *The minima of summer radiation are too numerous for the small number of glacial phases.*—It is the focal point of the Astronomical Theory that, where favourable conditions of sedimentation have preserved the evidence, the glaciations prove to be subdivided in a manner reminiscent of the 'radiation curve'. Favourable conditions cannot have prevailed everywhere, and the absence of the detailed sequence from certain areas is no valid argument against the Theory. The evidence has been summarized repeatedly, most recently in *The Pleistocene Period*.

10. *If the Astronomical Theory were true, there should have been glaciations throughout geological history, and especially in the Tertiary.*—The Astronomical Theory differs from Croll's Theory in that it does not claim to explain the Pleistocene Ice Age at all, but merely its subdivisions. See *The Pleistocene Period*, pp. 161-5.

11. *The time, 600,000 years, is less than the time which interglacial soil formation seems to demand.*—This argument relies on Kay's estimates which use an arbitrary figure for the Postglacial. Actually very little is known about rates of soil formation but since radiocarbon dating has reduced Kay's basic figure to less than one half, his chronology has come into line with the astronomical scale (see Note (22) (p. 411). (*Dating the Past*, pp. 342-5.)

12. *The astronomical calculations become increasingly inaccurate as they are extended into the past.*—This point has been considered by Milankovitch, who found that the possible error amounted to 10 per cent. at one million years. It is for this reason that he has not extended the calculations further back. On Van Woerkom's diagrams the error is greater, which confirms that caution is necessary in interpreting the Lower Pleistocene.

13. *The transformation of radiation into temperature is still impossible.*—This is true, and most workers have admitted that smaller transformation values than those used by Milankovitch are probable. Their effect, however, was increased by secondary climatic effects such as albedo. See Wundt's papers, and *The Pleistocene Period*, p. 150 ff.

14. *The Postglacial summer maximum of 10,000 B.P. is not reflected in the floral record.*—It may well be represented by the Alleröd oscillation. Complicated questions of secondary effects arise in this connexion. It must not be forgotten, that the summer radiation has since dropped from its maximum to its present value, and that it was therefore still higher in the Atlantic than it is to-day.

15. The Alleröd oscillation is, as shown by radiocarbon dating, contemporary with the Two Creeks interval, and the Mankato re-advance corresponds to the Fennoscandian moraine. Flint (in Flint and Deevey, 1951) points out that this contemporaneity renders it difficult to maintain that the Fennoscandian stage is the result of a temporary increase in precipitation consequent on the reduction of the diameter of the ice-sheet and the intensity of its anticyclone, for the same explanation would now

perforce apply to the Mankato ice-sheet. This, however, appears to have been too large for the application of Brooks's conception of 'minimum size'. If this interpretation is not applicable to the Mankato-Fennoscandian stage, one would expect a summer radiation minimum to have occurred at this time, but this is non-existent.

This is the only sound argument based on geological evidence which has been raised against the Astronomical Theory and it deserves to be taken seriously. It does not, however, disprove the Astronomical Theory as a whole, since the stage in question appears to have lasted only a few hundred years and is, therefore, a minor oscillation, at any rate in Europe. For this reason, European workers have not regarded the Fennoscandian substage as an obstacle to the acceptance of the Astronomical Theory for the Pleistocene as a whole. Nobody denies that factors other than the perturbations of the orbit have produced fluctuations in the Pleistocene climate and the stage in question may turn out to be due to some other cause.

Other objections are based on misconceptions. There would be no need to mention them had they not appeared in print. Among these are, that the minima of the 'curve' represent the minima for the year, and that a pole-shift is required (as postulated by Köppen and Wegener in 1924 but not accepted by later workers).

*Note (24) (p. 156). Duration of LGL<sub>2</sub> and LGL<sub>2/3</sub>*—Since *The Pleistocene Period* and the first edition of *Dating the Past* were written, evidence has accumulated which shows that the interstadial LGL<sub>2/3</sub> was decidedly cool. This was suggested long ago by Zeuner and Schulz (1931) who found that between the Weichsel and Pomeranian stages dead ice, covered by moraine, survived the interstadial in the Oder area. It was then concluded that the temperature must have remained low. Later, surveys in the loess areas of central and west Europe made it probable that a third Younger Loess, separated from the second by a weathering horizon, is of restricted distribution (*Note (26)*), and confined mainly to areas with relatively dry summers. The interstadial climate, therefore, appears to have not been warm enough for chemical weathering to take place on a large scale. Since chemical weathering of the podsollic type has developed on a large scale in areas vacated by the ice late in Postglacial times, one is justified in suspecting that the *duration* of the phase of chemical weathering in LGL<sub>2/3</sub> was short. A non-loessic site with a soil attributable to LGL<sub>2/3</sub> is the Magdalenian cave of Petersfels near Lake Constance. Here the soil is 15 cm. thick, i.e. about the same as the Recent soil. The latter is unlikely to be more than 15,000 years old, and this figure may be taken as the maximum duration of cool-temperate conditions of the interstadial, so far as the available evidence goes. Corroborative evidence for the persistence of ice-sheets through this interstadial also comes from the eustatic sea-levels, since the sea appears to have remained below that of the present throughout the period between LGL<sub>2</sub> and LGL<sub>3</sub>.

All this is admittedly but scanty evidence. Yet, considering the presence of well-developed soils of the *first* interstadial of the Last Glaciation, what little we know appears to be suggestive. When, therefore, Kimball and Zeuner were investigating the sequence of Würmian terraces in the area of Lake Constance (1946) and their relation to the Magdalenian

sites of Kesslerloch, Petersfels, etc., they were not surprised to find that the fauna of the former site indicated only a very slight amelioration of climate during the interstadial LGl<sub>2/3</sub>. They came to hold, therefore, that the duration of the cold conditions of LGl<sub>1</sub> was protracted, and that the onset of LGl<sub>2</sub> occurred prematurely, so that the interstadial was short.

This has an important bearing on the chronology of the Aurignacian and Magdalenian which was not realized when the first edition of *Dating the Past* was written and which is explained on p. 291.

*Note (25) (p. 158). Section of Achenheim, Alsace.*—Pending further investigations, the profile of Achenheim, as exposed in the Briquetterie Sundhauser and the Briquetterie Hurst, may briefly be summarized as follows (omitting certain less important subdivisions):

(K) Recent soil, with Neolithic (Postglacial).

(J) Younger Loess III, with cold fauna and upper Palaeolithic. LGl<sub>3</sub>.

(I) Weak weathering, often with effects of solifluction or soil-creep. Upper Palaeolithic. LGl<sub>2/3</sub>.

(H) Younger Loess II, with cold fauna. In upper part apparently with upper Palaeolithic, but at its base *foyer de Schumacher*, typical Mousterian (Wernert, 1929). LGl<sub>2</sub>.

(G) Weathering loam, with incorporated flake industry, also a small cordiform hand-axe. LGl<sub>1/2</sub>.

(F) Younger Loess I (formerly Upper Older Loess), with cold fauna and, at base, solifluction. Industry poor, of Levalloisian type. In its lower, sandy, portion a point 18 × 8 cm. was found (Wernert and Schmidt, 1909), which is comparable with certain High Lodge specimens. LGl<sub>1</sub>.

(E) Weathered surface of 'Middle Older Loess', a reddish soil, ± decalcified. Last part of L Igl.

(D) Middle Older Loess. Loessic material often brecciated, or mixed with humic matter, 'Loess atypique'. Flake implements of Clactonian technique (Wernert, 1934), some describable as Tayacian (Wernert, 1936), as well as Levallois-like types (Coll. Wernert) and Mousterioid points with or without prepared platform (Coll. Wernert). There are also balls made of loess and presumably used as projectiles (Zeuner, 1953b). L Igl. Subdivisible into:—

(Df) Brecciated loess with temperate shells.

(De) Brown soil, calcareous.

(Dd) Impure loess with shells.

(Dc) Loess with large concretions.

(Db) Loess of clean appearance (a little).

(Da) Stratified impure loessic material, hill-wash.

The fauna of land snails described by Wenz (1919) came from Df, so far as this can be ascertained from the comparison of his published section with that visible in the Briquetterie Sundhauser to-day. It is possible that Wenz regarded Dd and Df as one deposit. The fauna is so extraordinary for a loess that it is listed here. The temperate character is evident. It is a hygrophilous forest fauna indicating an environment comprising moss, rotting wood, low herbaceous plants (nettles, etc.)



shrubs and trees. Only two species (*Ch. tridens* and *Pup. muscorum*) are fond of dry grass slopes. They may have been washed in from higher up the slope which, as can be seen in the pit, was very steep. Wenz notes that a similar fauna exists to-day in the neighbourhood on the steep slopes of the River Breusch. The fauna comprises:

1. *Agriolimax agrestis* (L.)
2. *Milax marginatus* (Drap.)
3. *Hyalinia nitens* (Michaud)
4. *Arion* sp. Wenz holds that the calcareous grit which abounds in the deposit comes from *Arion*.
5. *Gonyodiscus rotundatus* (Müller)
6. *Eulota fruticum* (Müller)
7. *Euomphalia strigella* (Drap.)
8. *Fruticicola hispida* (L.)
9. *F. plebeja* (Drap.)
10. *Helicodonta obvoluta* (Müller)
11. *Arianta arbustorum* (L.). Many giant specimens suggesting a mild climate with long periods of growth.
12. *Helicogona lapicida* (L.)
13. *Cepaea nemoralis* (L.)
14. *C. hortensis* (Müller)
15. *C. sylvatica* (Drap.). A 'moist' species of the eastern Pyrenees, south France and western Switzerland, with an isolated occurrence on the Rhine at Karlsruhe. Frequent in the Pleistocene of Mosbach, Mauer, Hangenbieten, Cannstatt.
16. *Marpessa laminata* (Montagu)
17. *Kuzmicia pumilla* (Ziegler). Eastern species.
18. *K. cf. bidentata* (Ström.)
19. *Chondrula tridens* (Müller)
20. *Orcula doliolum* (Brugière)
21. *Pupilla muscorum* (Müller)
22. *Vertigo pygmaea* (Drap.)
23. *Acanthinula aculeata* (Müller)
24. *Cochlicopa lubrica* (Müller)
25. *Azeca menkeana* (Pfeiffer)
26. *Vallonia pulchella* (Müller)
27. *V. costata* (Müller)
28. *Carychium minimum* (Müller)

(C) Soil, weathering of B<sub>2</sub> in a temperate climate.

(B<sub>2</sub>) Lower Older Loess.

(B<sub>1</sub>) Sandy loess and fluviatile sands, with solifluction, and with cold fauna.

(A) Marls and fluviatile sands of the Rhine, with temperate fauna of the Mauer or Mosbach type. Since this suggests an Antepenultimate Interglacial or Antepenultimate Glaciation age, there appears to be a gap in the sequence, between A and B, or B and D, not recognized by previous workers.

The section of Achenheim suggests the survival of the Mousterian into the early part of Last Glaciation 2. There is evidence elsewhere in western Europe for such survival (Zeuner, 1956).

*Note (26) (pp. 159, 163).* *The three phases of Younger Loess confirming the detailed chronology.*—Whilst the presence of two Younger Loesses contemporary with the Last Glaciation and separated by a weathering horizon had been recognized long ago, the existence of a third Younger Loess is only now being established by workers who are familiar with the problems and methods of palaeo-pedology. Its presence had been suspected at Wallertheim, a thin black band having been regarded as separating it from Younger Loess II. This peculiar band has now been shown to be an intercalation, possibly of volcanic origin, within the Younger Loess III (Schönhals, 1951; Zeuner, 1953a), whilst the weathering horizon separating Younger Loess II and Younger Loess III at Wallertheim, which was not exposed at the time when Schmidtgen and Wagner published their account of the section, has now appeared in the new pit. Not only is a black band found in numerous sections from Rheinhessen to Rheingau and the Limburg district, but two weathering horizons dividing the Younger Loess in several sections, especially in the neighbourhood of Wiesbaden (Schönhals, 1950, 1951a, b). In the Rhine Valley, though farther south, the section of Achenheim in Alsace, has to be added to the list. Furthermore Schönhals (1951a) has described similar sections from Czechoslovakia and, as in the Rhine Valley, the soil corresponding to the First Interstadial is usually thicker than that corresponding to the Second Interstadial. These soils are brownearths or podsoles and, if brownearths, less mature than interglacial soils. Both in the Rhine Valley and Czechoslovakia, the soil of the Last Interglacial is of the chernozem type indicating a climate with hot summers, and it is not difficult to distinguish in sections this Interglacial soil horizon from those of the First and Second Interstadials. By now the evidence from Czechoslovakia has become very complete. It has been summarized by Prošek and Ložek (1957).

According to Brandtner (1950) three Younger Loesses can be distinguished in Nether Austria also and in the adjacent area of southern Moravia. This area comprises the important prehistoric sites of Willendorf and Dolní Věstonice. In this area, too, chernozems have been found which belong to the Last Interglacial, but in the First Interstadial, called the Aurignac oscillation, some chernozem was formed also. The Second Interstadial is called the Paudorf Interstadial. The soils belonging to these more or less temperate phases have to be studied in detail from the pedological point of view, though the existence of three Younger Loesses appears to be safely established.

The climatic character of the two interstadials is neatly brought out by pollen-analysis (Brandtner, 1950, p. 104; 1949). The pollen flora of the First Interstadial (Aurignac oscillation) has so far produced pine, spruce, birch, willow, alder, hazel, elm, oak and lime. Samples from the Second Interstadial (Paudorf horizon), however, show a different composition, the more or less cold-resisting species dominating, whilst the climatically more sensitive species, like hazel, elm and oak, appear only sporadically and the most warmth-requiring species, lime, is absent altogether. Moreover, the density of the forest was greater in the First Interstadial (herbaceous and grass-pollen about 100 per cent.) than in the Second (non-tree pollen nearly 300 per cent.). The picture of these two interstadials as it is being drawn by Austrian workers resembles in all

essential parts that obtained for the Rhine Valley. It can only mean that there are three divisions of the Last Glaciation, the first two being separated by a temperate interstadial and the second and third by a cool interstadial.

Archaeologically, the First Younger Loess is associated with Mousterian. The Aurignacian appears in Nether Austria and Moravia during the First Interstadial and continues, as shown by the section of Dolní Věstonice, through LGl<sub>2</sub> into the Interstadial LGl<sub>2/3</sub>. As the Aggsbachian is a belated facies of the Aurignacian, in the widest sense of the word, this culture must have lasted even into the advance phase of LGl<sub>3</sub>, as suggested by the site of Kemmegg. Coming from western Europe, the Magdalenian pushes itself over the Aurignacian during LGl<sub>3</sub>. The Aggsbachian continues to develop as an autochthonous culture further to the east and south-east and eventually disappears in the Mesolithic complex, in early Postglacial times. The Solutrian, now by some regarded as no more than a local facies of the Aurignacian, comes from Hungary and advances into Nether Austria and Moravia during LGl<sub>2</sub>, causing local cultural overlaps and fusions, for instance, at Morawany, Předměstí and Ondradice. These views of Brandtner are remarkably consistent with the observations made in the more western parts of Europe.

Three Younger Loesses can be recognized as far west as northern France (Bordes, 1954; Zeuner, 1956), but it appears that the Mousterian survived longer in the west than it did in the east, namely into LGl<sub>2</sub>.

*Note (27) (p. 173).* *Saint Pierre-les-Elbeuf*.—Apart from Achenheim, this is probably the largest loess section in western Europe. Granulometric and chemical investigations were first carried out following the writer's visit in 1936 (partly published in 1945), and results will be given in a forthcoming paper. The same material was studied by micropedological methods by Dalrymple at the Institute (1955). Moreover, Bordes (1954) has carefully re-investigated the sections available after the war and though he found it difficult to correlate his profiles with those of 1936, has proved the presence of three Younger Loesses in the new brickyard which has since been opened. In addition, three Older Loesses are distinguished by Bordes.

The chronology of the Palaeolithic industries of St. Pierre is not altered by the new finds. There is Acheulian associated with the Older Loess, though precisely how remains to be seen. The Last Interglacial soil is associated with Levalloisian V, and with Micoquian which perhaps extends into the beginning of YL I. The lower part of YL II contains Mousterian (= Levalloisian VI-VII). In addition, however, there are a few specimens of Upper Palaeolithic facies, including cores and burins, found by Mr. Harper Kelley. Their stratigraphical position is described on p. 172. They appear to belong to the interstadial YL I/YL II and to represent a temporary influx of Upper Palaeolithic elements into a domain of the Mousterian. This is conceivable in the light of evidence from Czechoslovakia. From time to time, Upper Palaeolithic tribes would have penetrated into western Europe with more or less lasting success, though causing muddle in our prehistoric chronology.

St. Pierre, however, shows clearly that the Mousterian survived into YL II, and other sites, mainly studied by Bordes, show the same.

*Note (28) (p. 178).* In recent years, Père C. Burdo has continued the excavations to much lower levels, without encountering a beach. The industry is a Lower Palaeolithic with bifaces. See Burdo, 1953, 1954.

*Note (29) (p. 183).—Deposits in East Anglia* need not have retained their original height. The levels of interglacial deposits therefore must not be used as evidence for the height of the sea-level at the time of their formation. The Forest Bed, in particular, is now at sea-level, whilst one would expect it to be adjusted to the Milazzian sea-level of 56 metres O.D. It is of course possible that it was formed at a time when the Milazzian sea-level was not at its maximum height. Subsidence, however, is the more probable cause of the low position of the Forest Bed, since Wooldridge (*Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, 39, p. 24) has shown, on independent evidence, that the part of East Anglia which lies east of his 'Braintree Line' has sunk.

*Note (30) (p. 189).* The important site of Hoxne in Suffolk near the Norfolk border was not mentioned in the previous editions because its age was uncertain. Pollen-analytical work by R. G. West (1956) has now settled this matter. The peat deposits belong to the Great Interglacial, the floral characteristics of which they exhibit. As a result, the Lowestoft and Gipping Glaciations of East Anglia may be correlated with the Elster and Saale Glaciations of north Germany. The industry is a late Middle Acheulian and is in place in the interglacial mentioned. It is evident, however, that, contrary to the view held by West, the pollen series does not comprise the entire Interglacial and that it has been decapitated. It appears that a minor cold fluctuation occurred at the end of the preserved sequence. It is, in any case, unlikely that the Great Interglacial, known to have been of long duration, would not show marked climatic fluctuations, but merely a simple cycle. The dating of the section, however, marks an important step in the chronology of East Anglia.

*Note (31) (p. 190).* Baden-Powell (*Nature*, London, 161, p. 287) has recently studied the erratic contents of the East Anglian boulder clays. West and Donner (1956) have undertaken to differentiate the tills of East Anglia on evidence provided by the orientation of the erratics.

*Note (31a) (p. 191).* *Swanscombe erratics.*—Baden-Powell (1951) studied the erratics of the Swanscombe gravel and concluded that it was formed between two ice advances, the later of which covered East Anglia.

*Note (32) (p. 194).* *Age of Baker's Hole Levalloisian.*—The argument of the preceding paragraph rests on the assumption that the coombe-rock which covered the Levalloisian site of Baker's Hole is the same as that observed in Burchell's sections. But since there are other solifluction deposits, of Last Glaciation age, in Burchell's sections, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the coombe-rock which covered the Levalloisian of Baker's Hole was a solifluction deposit of the Last Glaciation. It is necessary to keep this alternative in mind since it has been pointed out by King and Oakley (1945) that the industry contains comparatively thin flakes, and also triangular and heart-shaped bifaces as they occur in the Levallois stage V of northern France. If the covering coombe-rock were of Last Glaciation age, this would be all right. Breuil (1947), however, is still inclined to accept the coombe-rock of the site as of Penultimate Glaciation age and suggests possibilities of regional

differences in the evolution of the Levalloisian. The Levallois V of northern France may, for instance, be the result of an invasion from Britain, where this variety developed at an early date. There is yet another alternative to explain the Acheulian aspect of the Baker's Hole Levallois. In Great Interglacial times (Swanscombe Middle Gravel) middle Acheulian was present, but the oncoming of the Levalloisian is heralded by flakes struck from tortoise cores both in Swanscombe, and elsewhere. It is conceivable, therefore, that when in the early phases of the Penultimate Glaciation the Levallois technique became dominant, man continued to a slight extent to practise the making of Acheulian types of tools, until he dropped this, allowing his industry to deteriorate into a pure, primitive Levalloisian when the climate became more rigorous. It is pleasant to know that McBurney (in West and McBurney, 1955) has come to hold a similar view, at which he appears to have arrived independently, as he does not refer to the present writer's article.

*Note (83) (p. 228). Grotta Romanelli.*—The fact that suggestions of a third phase of the Last Glaciation have recently been made known from as far south as Syria, makes it possible to regard part of the Terra Bruna as LGl<sub>3</sub>. Geologically this cannot be confirmed on the evidence available, but the problem of the microburins would appear less serious if this alternative is adopted. It should, however, be realized that geochronology insists on geological dating. It would mean putting the cart before the horse if we should date sites by typology alone, though of course the latter frequently suggests certain possible ages for sites. Neither must it be forgotten that the sites of Palestine and Syria have already produced more than one typological surprise, such as mixtures and even inversions of the commonly accepted sequence. It is prudent, therefore, to await further evidence before the stratigraphical position of Grotta Romanelli is changed.

*Note (84) (pp. 231, 232, 234, 245). Syria and Palestine.*—In the light of evidence from more recent excavations, it would be desirable to confirm the *Dama*-graph of Miss Bate by geological evidence. The Carmel caves excavated so far cannot provide it. On the other hand, excavations at Ksar 'Akil in Syria suggest that a possible further climatic oscillation precedes the Natufian phase (level Wad B). In this shelter four deposits of stony rubble interrupt the sequence of fine-grained beds. The great faunal change known from Mount Carmel occurs between Complexes 3 and 4 (counting from the top). Complex 2 follows an industry transitional from Levallois-Mousterian to Upper Palaeolithic. Complex 1, which has no counterpart in Mount Carmel, is associated with a 'Gravettian' as the industry is called by Ewing (1947). But Dr. J. Waechter (1952) is inclined to suspect that this is Kebaran, similar to Kebarah, Jabrud and El Khiam (level D). The apparent coincidence of the stony horizon with the *Dama* maxima of Miss Bate suggests a correlation, though it must be realized that their climatic character is not yet understood. If Complex 1 is due to a climatic oscillation, it may provide evidence for the third phase of the Last Glaciation in the eastern Mediterranean.

This view is held by the excavators also (Ewing, 1951) and Wright's (1951) visit to the site has confirmed that it is of Last Glaciation age on the whole. In a footnote (*l.c.*, p. 121), however, Ewing mentions that

they are 'now seriously considering changing the correlations of our complexes to Last Glaciation Stadial 2, 3 and 4'. By stage 4 is presumably meant the Fennoscandian phase, so far not found anywhere outside glaciated areas. It would be surprising if this correlation could be established geologically, and it would probably cause difficulties in the faunal sequence, raising the faunal break to  $LGI_1$ . The final publication is, therefore, awaited with interest. In the meantime, it is to be regarded as probable that evidence for  $LGI_1$ ,  $LGI_2$ ,  $LGI_3$  has been found at Ksar 'Akil.

At Kebarah in Palestine (Turville-Petre, 1932), the microlithic industry now called Kebaran is preceded by middle Aurignacian and succeeded by Natufian. There is, however, no climatic evidence available. At El Khiam (Neuville, 1951), the same industry again follows the Aurignacian, and between it and the Natufian II a sterile layer is intercalated. It also occurs at Jabrud, Cave 3 (Rust, 1950), between the Aurignacian and the Natufian. Thus, the gap between Wad C and Wad B is filled to a large extent.

In the Mount Carmel sequence, there is an earlier erosional unconformity at Level F of El Wad. This was mentioned by Garrod in Garrod and Bate, 1936, p. 22, para. 2, and my attention was drawn to it by Dr. Wacchter. Erosion is also indicated at Shukbah (Garrod, 1942), where the upper Levallois-Mousterian was extensively eroded and in part re-deposited. This phase of water-action need not be more than the continuation, or climax, of the second *Dama* maximum of Miss Bate's sequence, i.e. evidence for  $LGI_1$ .

Some confirmation of the first *Dama* maximum is suggested by the section of Jabrud, Cave 1 (Rust, 1950, pl. 4). In it, a sequence of limestone debris containing mainly Acheulian (for the interpretation of the industries, see Wacchter, 1952) is followed by a series of cemented layers containing late Acheulian (Micoquian), and it is followed by Levallois-Mousterian in uncemented deposits. If the cementation is indicative of a climate damper than before and after, it could, on typological evidence, be related to the first *Dama* maximum.

In this way, confirmation appears to be forthcoming for the validity of the climatic inferences drawn from the *Dama* graph. In addition evidence for  $LGI_1$  is suggested.

On the coast of Syria considerable progress has been made by Fleisch (1946a, b) and Vaumas (1947). Vaumas's transgression levels are substantially the same as Wetzell and Haller's. The prehistoric industries have been correlated with the transgression and regression phases. The 'Tayacian' would belong to a level of 45 m. (early part of the Tyrrhenian = Great Interglacial). In view of the vagueness of the term, Tayacian, this is not significant. Levalloisian appears after this phase, and prior to the 35 m. level. This would still correspond to the Great Interglacial, and it continued to the regression of the Last Glaciation.

*Note (35) (p. 236). Monastir, Tunisia.*—This is the type site of the Monastirian originally described by De Lamothe. He was satisfied that an 18 m. sea-level existed at this point. Later on, however, it was found that other levels were present also, and since workers at that time had no conception of the multiplicity of Middle and Upper Pleistocene sea-level phases, they concluded that the different heights observed must have

been due to tectonic distortion (Gobert and Harson, 1953). The present writer, however, who has visited this area, has the impression that if the beach levels established elsewhere of 32 m., 18 m., 7.5 m. and 3 m. are taken to apply to the Monastir peninsula also, the observations fall in line with other areas and De Lamothe's view is vindicated. There is no need to assume tectonic warping after the Tyrrhenian, though before this period it was evidently intense. The Miocene-Pliocene core of the peninsula is strongly tilted, angles of  $45^\circ$  being observed. It appears that the tip of the island was shaved during the maximum level of the Tyrrhenian between 30 m. and 40 m.

The Main Monastirian appears to exist north-west of Bir el Djezira and other places. It is even conceivable that at the saltings along the east side of the peninsula the Epimonastirian beach is represented and the 7.5 m. beach would be present on the landward side of these saltings.

It goes without saying that the lack of faunal distinction between the Tyrrhenian and Monastirian phases is no proof whatever against the reality of the oscillations of the sea-level as such.

*Note (36) (p. 236). Morocco.*—Two sites in northern Morocco are important in the present context, Mugharet el Aliyah (Howe and Movius, 1947), and Cabo Negro near Tetuan (Zeuner, 1954). The latter site has provided a Mousterioid industry of apparently  $LGI_1$  age, whilst Aliyah has a more complicated sequence summarized in the table on page 424.

*Note (37) (p. 236). Gorham's Cave, Gibraltar.*—This important cave on the east side of the Rock of Gibraltar was formed during the Monastirian. There is evidence for both the Main and Late Monastirian sea-levels. It was subsequently partially filled when the sea-level receded in  $LGI_1$ . Mousterian man was present at this time. The sea-level rose once more and a notch was cut into the deposits previously formed (Epimonastirian phase of the first Interstadial of the Last Glaciation). Subsequently the sea receded again and was reoccupied by Mousterian man in  $LGI_2$ . It was only towards the end of this phase that Upper Palaeolithic man reached the cave. In addition there is evidence for the cool oscillation and corresponding drop in sea-level of  $LGI_{2/3}$ .

*Note (38) (p. 247). Climatic phases of Kharga Oasis.*—In *Climate through the Ages* (1949, p. 336), C. E. P. Brooks mentions doubts expressed by Beadwell as to the climatic character of the Kharga succession. The water supply being artesian, its variations 'do not necessarily represent synchronous variations of rainfall'.

*Note (39) (p. 257). Olduvai, Bed III.*—This is not a weathering horizon since many grains of fresh feldspar are present. But red soil has been incorporated in the sediment, indicating a red-earthly type of weathering in the neighbourhood.

*Note (40) (p. 258). Olduvai.*—A full account of the geology, palaeontology and the prehistoric industries of Olduvai has now been published by Leakey (1951).

*Note (41) (pp. 268, 275, 279). North-west India and Java.*—Compare Nilsson, E., 1941; Movius, H., 1949; Krishnaswamy, V. D., 1947; Sankalia, H. D., 1948; and various papers by F. E. Zeuner appearing in *Bull. Deccan Coll. Res. Inst., Poona*, and *Ancient India, New Delhi*.

In Borneo, Java and Sumatra, Smit Sibinga has recently identified the 'Günz regression' by means of freshwater deposits intercalated in a

	Sea-Level, Metres	Climate — 0 +	Gibraltar, Devil's Tower	Gibraltar, Gorham's Cave		Morocco	Morocco, Alghai
				Beaches, etc.	Industries		
POSTGLACIAL	0	0		Layer A	Punic	Oranian	4 Neolithic ? Gap
LAST GLACIATION 3	— 50 ?	— —		Sand	Upper Palaeolithic	Meridional Brownearth	Upper 5 Aterian v
LAST GLACIATION 2/3	— 20	—		Layer E Stalagmite			Lower red 5 Aterian iv
LAST GLACIATION 2	— 70 ?	— — —		Sand	Mousterian	? gap, partial denudation	0 brown Aterian iv 7 } Aterian i 8 }
LAST GLACIATION 1 1/2	+ 3	+		+ 5 m. Layer J		Rolleim, warm weathering	Levalloiso- Mousterian Red 9 Neanderthal
LAST GLACIATION 1	— 100	— — —	<i>Homo neanderthalensis</i> Mousterian	Breccia and Sand	Mousterian	Rock talus with Mousterian	Stalagmite and Breccia
LAST INTERGLACIAL (2)	+ 7.5	+	+ 8.5 m.	Layer S + 8 m.		+ 7.5 m.	8 m. platform outside, faunal evidence inside
LAST INTERGLACIAL (1)	+ 18	+		+ 15 m.			+ 18.3 m.
PENULTIMATE GLACIATION	— 200 ?	— — —					

Correlation across the Straits of Gibraltar



marine series and as a phase of erosion of the Pliocene terraces preceding the aggradation of deposits with Djetis Fauna. This stage is *later than the Kali Geagah* and therefore *later* than the Pinjor stage. *Smit Sibinga's results thus confirm Pilgrim's views and disagree with de Terra's* who places the Early Glaciation prior to the Pinjor stage. For details, see Smit Sibinga, 1949, 1953.

Zeuner (1950) studied the climatic sequence of Pleistocene deposits in Gujarat. Following a lateritic phase of unknown age there is a sequence of aeolian and fluviatile deposits which on the whole reveal comparatively dry conditions. It appears that since the Upper Acheulian the climate has never been noticeably damper than it is to-day. In other words, there appears to be no evidence for pronouncedly pluvial conditions during the Last Glaciation. This observation raises once more the problem of pluvials in the tropical zone. It is discussed in Zeuner (1952).

W. G. Gill (1951, 1952) has revised the stratigraphy of the Siwaliks series and his new interpretation 'confirms Pilgrim's statement that a great thickness of beds with a Villafranchian fauna constitutes the highest member of a conformable succession which was intensely folded and peneplaned before deposition again took place'. It is this evidence that provided the basis of Pilgrim's opposition to the inclusion of the Villafranchian in the Pleistocene.

*Note (42) (p. 291). Châtelperron.*—The site of Châtelperron with its industry has been monographed by A. D. Lacaille (1947), and the skull fragment by Cave in the same paper. The latter is the earliest known example of a brachycephalic skull. The fauna suggests a fairly cold climate, but the environment was varied, with patches of tundra and grassland, as well as some woods. The time of occupation is Last Glaciation, but neither fauna nor geology supply a more precise dating.

*Note (43) (p. 292). Alternative short chronology of the Upper Palaeolithic.*—Recently, the tendency has been followed by some workers to contract the Upper Palaeolithic into a much shorter period of time. In the main, typological and artistic considerations are the cause of this. In addition, the lingering on of late Magdalenoid industries to the Allered phase has had a psychological influence, and there is one published radiocarbon date from Lascaux.

It is important to note that so far there is no *geological* evidence for the restriction of the Aurignacian and Magdalenian to  $LGI_3$ . The Lascaux date ( $15516 \pm 900$  years) is consistent with the late Magdalenian, and, as Movius (1951) has pointed out, does not date the mural paintings of the cave, nor has this sample or others of Palaeolithic age been tested for contamination with younger carbon.

The reaction to the long chronology here suggested is, however, a healthy development and will no doubt sooner or later lead to the appearance of fresh sound evidence.

*Note (44) (p. 289).*—The *South African industries* using Levallois technique have been studied by C. van Riet Lowe (1945).

*Note (45) (p. 300). Fluorine method of determining relative age of bones.*—K. P. Oakley has used the fluorine content of the bones of Galley Hill Man, compared with that of bones from the 100-foot terrace of

Swanscombe of Great Interglacial age. Preliminary analyses carried out in the Government Chemist's Laboratory show a difference of the order of 20 to 1 between the middle Pleistocene and Postglacial bones from the area of Swanscombe and Galley Hill, with the samples of the Galley Hill skeleton coming nearest to the latter (*Science To-day*, London, (98), p. 284, and 4 (103), p. 324, 1948). A paper on the subject by Dr. Oakley and others has been published by the British Museum (Natural History). The method, which goes back to Carnot (1803), was described by Oakley (1948).

More recently, K. P. Oakley (1950) has tried to apply the fluorine method to the Piltdown case, but the results were less conclusive than in the case of Swanscombe Man. In Swanscombe, he had obtained values of about 2 per cent. from Middle Pleistocene bones, about 1.1 per cent. for Upper Pleistocene, and 0.05–0.3 per cent. for Holocene bones contained in flint gravel. At Piltdown, the Villafranchian bones proved to contain 2–3 per cent. of fluorine, whilst the later group (middle Pleistocene or later) varied from 0.1 to 1.5 per cent. These values are consistent with those of Swanscombe. But the *Eoanthropus* material, including the jaw and the fragments of the second skull found two miles away, averaged only 0.2 per cent. Since the human bones and much of the other material have now been proved to be fakes (Weiner *et al.*, 1955), these results are of use only from the methodological point of view.

*Note (46) (p. 300). Fontéchevade Man.* For further information, see Garrod (1949); Vallois (1949a, b).

#### PART IV. RADIOACTIVITY METHODS

*Note (47) (p. 330). Helium method.*—Hurley (1950) suggests that the helium-loss so widely held to occur is, perhaps, in part imaginary. According to his investigations of granite powders, the age ratio is found to be very close to what the geological evidence suggests. In such cases, therefore, the low ages obtained appear to be due to a deposit of uranium and thorium on the surfaces of the mineral grains.

*Note (48) (p. 334). Magnetism of Rocks.*—In the Report of the Committee of the Measurement of Geologic Time 1953–4, Putnam Marble states: 'A few years ago it was thought that the orientation of magnetic material to the less magnetic matrix of rocks could be used to establish approximate dates. Recent evidence does not bear this out to any great extent.'

For further information see papers by Graham (1953), Griffiths (1953), Runcorn (1954), Stoyko (1953) and Tuve (1953).

*Note (49) (p. 334). Rubidium-Strontium Method.*—The fact that this method yields ages considerably higher than those obtained by the lead isotope ratios is curious. The latter appear to have a limit at somewhat more than 2,100 million years. Wetherill (1953) considers that with increasing age of a uranium mineral neutron fission increases in importance, setting a limit to the obtainable result.

*Note (50) (p. 341).* Further work on these lines has been done by Hough (1953), Arrhenius (1952), Kullenberg (1953), Phleger *et al.* (1946, 1951, 1953) and Pettersson (1953), and a valuable summary is to be

found in the Report of the Committee on the Measurement of Geologic Time for 1953-4, p. 18.

*Note (51), (p. 341). Half-life of radiocarbon.*—Half-life determinations require much time and a very high degree of experimental accuracy. It is, therefore, not surprising that the half-life of Carbon 14 is not yet accurately known. At present Libby favours the value of  $5568 \pm 30$  years (Engelkemeir and Libby, 1950). The earlier value was  $5720 \pm 37$  years (Engelkemeir, Hamill, Ingram and Libby, 1949). In practice it gave far better results on specimens the age of which was known. Several other values have been obtained recently as shown in the following list:

Previous 'best value'	$5687 \pm 100$ years
Engelkemeir <i>et al.</i>	$5720 \pm 47$ years
Engelkemeir and Libby	$5568 \pm 30$ years
Hawkins <i>et al.</i>	$6360 \pm 200$ years
Jones	$5589 \pm 75$ years
Miller <i>et al.</i>	$6360 \pm 3\%$ years
	(one type of counter)
Miller <i>et al.</i>	$5513 \pm 3\%$ years
	(another type of counter)

The high accuracy required for radiocarbon dates makes an accurate knowledge of the half-life an important matter.

*Note (52), (p. 342). Presentation of radiocarbon results.*—It is perhaps necessary to point out that the results as published by Dr. Libby and his team are given in years ago with a  $\pm$  error of a certain number of years. The error is the standard deviation ( $1\sigma$ ) and consists solely of the error of counting random events, in this case radioactive disintegrations. Other errors involved in the method can be assessed mathematically, but the true error is likely to be larger than the one given. One  $\sigma$  implies that one in every three determinations is liable to fall outside the limits given. A figure like  $\pm 250$ , therefore, does *not* indicate the limit within which the age of the specimen must be, but merely that there is a two to one chance that the actual date lies within these limits. These figures have been misunderstood in archaeological circles and it is important to realize that the margin of error as described by the standard deviation is much wider than is often assumed.

*Note (52a) (p. 346).* The method and its results have been reviewed and summarized from time to time, so that the reader who wishes to obtain more detailed information will find it readily available (Libby, 1955; Libby and Arnold, 1951; Johnson, 1951; Zeuner, 1951).

*Note (53) (p. 347). Age of the Earth and the Solar System.*—For further information, see Jones (1949). A sample of magnetite from Larder Lake District, eastern Canada, has yielded a helium-age of 2,400 million years (Hurley, 1949).

*Note (54) (p. 347). Kinematic and dynamical time-scales.*—Milne (1937a, b, 1938) has put forward the hypothesis of two different time-scales for the universe (' $t$ -time' and ' $\tau$ -time'). Briefly it is based on the fact that the Doppler effect (shift towards the red end of the spectrum of distant nebulae) can be interpreted in two different ways. If it is regarded as due to a recession of the nebulae, i.e. if the universe is thought of as expanding (Eddington, 1932), then the universe was born ('created') at a definite moment in the past which can be calculated from the red-

shift. This 'birth-date' is usually given as  $2 \times 10^9$  years ago. The value is very uncertain and probably larger, though the order of the ninth power of ten is probably correct. The time of such expanding universe is measured by kinematic or '*t*-time'.

On the other hand, if the universe is considered as stationary, then the red light of the distant nebulae is due to the fact that this light was emitted a long time ago, when the characteristic frequency was smaller (on the  $\tau$ -scale). A stationary universe is infinitely old. It keeps dynamical or ' $\tau$ -time'.

This distinction between two scales of time is more than a fanciful way of looking at the universe. Radiation keeps *t*-time, but the movements of the heavenly bodies as described by Newton keep  $\tau$ -time. This has an important consequence for the earlier part of geochronology. Our year as defined by the rotation of the earth around the sun is a  $\tau$ -year, but our radioactive clocks are radiation clocks which keep *t*-time (Milne, 1937*a*, p. 349). The difference causes no trouble if short periods only are under consideration. But, as Haldane (1945) has shown, the matter becomes serious when one goes back to the early part of the history of the earth or of the universe.

It should be clear from what has been said that for very old rocks, the age estimates based on radioactive decomposition (giving values in kinematic or *t*-years) are not identical with those which would have been obtained, had it been possible to establish the age of the same rocks in dynamical or  $\tau$ -years. The amount of the difference between *t*- and  $\tau$ -years depends on the age of the universe on the *t*-scale ( $t_0$ ), and the transformation formula is:

$$\tau = t_0 \log (t/t_0) + t_0$$

From this, the following specimen values are obtained, for two alternative values for  $t_0$  ( $2 \times 10^9$ , and  $3 \times 10^9$  *t*-years, respectively):

	<i>t</i> -years	$\tau$ -years	
		( $t_0 = 2 \times 10^9$ )	( $t_0 = 3 \times 10^9$ )
Base of Cambrian	500 million	571 million	547 million
Pre-Cambrian	1,000 "	1,386 "	1,216 "
" "	1,500 "	2,773 "	2,079 "

If Milne's conception is right, and if  $t_0$  does not prove to be rather greater than workers at the present consider it to be, then Paneth's high age estimates for meteorites cannot be real, but must be due to the presence of primary helium or some other cause.

For a time the age estimates for the earth's crust appeared to confirm that  $t_0$  was of the order of  $2 \times 10^9$ , and this was even accepted by Milne (1937*a*, p. 328) as showing that radioactive clocks indeed keep kinematic time. But Holmes's new results (1947*c*) suggest a minimum figure of about  $3 \times 10^9$ , and the most recent astronomical revision,  $4 \times 10^9$ .

Holmes (1947*d*, p. 148) tried to make use of the increase of the constant of gravitation which takes place on the *t*-scale, in order to account for the phenomenon that sub-crustal processes have become

more vigorous since the Cambrian. He came to the conclusion that what evidence there is suggests no great change in the gravity constant, and that the gravity constant has in any case not varied sufficiently to explain this increase of internal activity.

*Note (55) (p. 348). Argon Method.*—The argon method of estimating ages is a new development which is likely to help with the higher ages. It is based on the decay of potassium ( $K^{40}$ ). It was first suggested by Evans (1940), and the summary is to be found in Rankama (1954).  $K^{40}$  changes into  $A^{40}$  and, since argon is heavier than helium it is likely to diffuse less quickly from the rocks. Two stony meteorites were studied by this method by Gerling and Pavlova (1954), and their result ( $3.0 \times 10^9$ ) compares well with the age found by Holmes for the crust of the earth. Other meteorites, however, dated by Suess, Hayden and Inghram (1951) turned out to be less than 73 million years old.

The method lends itself to the study of common potassium-containing minerals such as feldspar, but the difficulties prove to be considerable. Fleming and Thode (1953) point out that  $A$  derived by fission from uranium must not be present, so that uranium-containing rocks are unsuitable. Gentner *et al.* (1953) found that diffusion of argon can be considerable, at any rate in potash salts, where the loss may amount to as much as 25 per cent.

Several other radioactivity dating methods have been proposed, for which see the Report of the Committee on the Measurement of Geologic Time for 1953-4.

*Note (56) (p. 348).* Paneth (1953) has developed and changed his views in accordance with the evidence available. The mass spectrometer has established the presence of as much as 18-23 per cent. of  $He_3$  (calculated in per cent. of  $He_4$ ). Only  $He_4$  is radiogenic, whilst both  $He_3$  and  $He_4$  are produced by cosmic radiation. Allowing for this fact, the majority of the results are reduced to rather less than 1000 million years.

This matter touches upon the problem of the age of the universe, which is much under discussion. On the whole, estimates tend to converge towards a value of 5-10 thousand million years, but the individual estimates are liable to criticism. One such method, based on the age of the meteorites, has been discussed.

Estimates based on the ages of the two isotopes of uranium have given 4.5 thousand million years for terrestrial material, and it is generally believed that the sun (and the universe) are not very much older.

The age of the stars suggests a minimum of 6.5 thousand million years, and the stability of binary stars a maximum of the order of 5 thousand million years.

The red shift of the spectra of nebulae, following recently revised calculations by the staff of Palomar Observatory, which for some time was regarded as limiting the age of the universe to 2,000 million years, now suggests a minimum of 4,000 million years.

Summaries: Beet, 1954; Carpenter, 1955; Hoyle, 1956; Jones, 1955; Öpik, 1954*a*, *b*.

## PART V. EVOLUTION AND TIME

*Note (57) (p. 366). Oldest known life.*—Rankama (1954) studied the isotopic composition of carbon in shales from the Rice Lake District of

the Canadian Shield. He also upholds the biogenic character of *Corycium*, possibly an alga, from the pre-Cambrian of Finland. The Canadian shales gave the earlier date, 2.55 thousand million years.

Holmes argues that certain algal structures discovered by Macgregor (1931) in graphite limestone of the Bulawayan Series, Rhodesia, are dated by pegmatite intrusions. These gave dates around 2,610 million years—the oldest rocks so far known. The sediments must be older still, and Holmes assigns to them a minimum of 2,700 million.

*Note (58) (p. 392). Time in Evolution.*—The methods of presentation used by Simpson (1944) and Small (1945-8) are so different from those adopted in the present chapter that it was found impossible to develop a synthesis of the three approaches without completely changing the character of the chapter and without introducing a highly technical discussion, out of place in a book like *Dating the Past*. It would be unfair, however, not to point out the significance of the valuable work done by these authors.

Simpson's work is concerned mainly with the modes of evolution and with relative rates of changes. He mentions, however, that the average period of existence of a genus was 5.6 million years in the line of the horses (*Hyracotherium-Equus*), 5.9 million years in the chalicotheres, and 20 million years in Triassic and earlier ammonites and 78 million years for bivalve mollusca. A minor geographical race of a seal (*Phoca vitulina*) is reported to have become isolated in a Canadian freshwater lake some 3,000 to 8,000 years ago.

See also Schmalhausen 1943 (rates of changes in various groups), Meyer, 1947 (an hypothesis of accelerated evolution), Kuhn, 1948 (species concept and time), Zeuner, 1946, 1949 (further data relating to Ch. XII), Haldane, 1949 (quantitative measurement), Parker, 1949 (rates of changes in snakes), and Zeuner, Small and Schindewolf (1951).

*Note (59) (p. 398). Aromorph in the evolution of Homo.*—The two most striking differences between man and ape are (a) the superior development of the brain in man, and (b) the completed change in man of the principal function of the fore-legs from locomotion to seizing and handling objects. In the monkeys and apes both changes are observed in an incipient state. At first sight they appear to be the result of two independent evolutionary trends, but they can be explained as the consequence of one primary change. Locomotion with the aid of the hind-legs only implies a modification of the vertebral column, which developed two concavities (*lordoses*) placing the centre of gravity above the pelvis and relieving the fore-legs entirely of their original function of locomotion. Compensating the erection of the body, the occipital foramen is placed on the underside of the skull in man, so that the direction of sight is at right angles to the direction of the vertebral column (*kyphosis* of the base of the skull). The inevitable consequence of this kyphosis is that space has become available for the development of a large brain. The great development of this organ in *Homo*, therefore, can be interpreted as the result of his erect posture. This has, I believe, first been suggested by Cunningham (1886) and elaborated by Weidenreich (1924).

Other workers consider the shape of the human skull, dependent on the large brain, as the primary feature which entails all others

(Dabelow, 1931). The large brain is regarded as an embryonic character which, by gradual retardation of development, has been shifted into the adult stage (Theory of Foetalisation of Bolk; compare Schindewolf, 1931, p. 46; Haldane, 1932, pp. 28, 149; detailed critical discussion in Weidenreich, 1941, p. 468). The view outlined in the preceding paragraph, however, is the more probable, since there is palaeontological evidence that 'erect posture' preceded the full development of the brain. Weidenreich (1940), who has studied the large material of *Homo erectus pekinensis* (Black) ('Sinanthropus', about 40 individuals) and of *Homo erectus erectus* (Dubois) ('Pithecanthropus', about six individuals), has been able to show that the leg-bones of these primitive men were already similar to those of modern *Homo sapiens*, whilst their skulls were still comparatively much more primitive. Erect posture, therefore, was perfected more rapidly than the enlargement of the braincase.

Since this was postulated, partly on a theoretical basis, partly on the meagre palaeontological evidence then available, the investigation of *Australopithecus* by Le Gros Clark (1949) has provided ample confirmation, on the assumption that this, as yet geologically undated, group of fossils from South Africa proves to be pre-Pleistocene. The *Dryopithecine* femora which may be interpreted as suggestive of upright, or semi-upright, posture extend the aromorph well back into the Tertiary.

The aromorphosis of man in the wider sense was, therefore, spread over a period longer than one million years. It is first indicated in the *Dryopithecus* and *Proconsul* group of Miocene age. The critical point was reached when the fore-legs ceased to be used for locomotion, and the genus *Homo* should, theoretically, be reckoned as beginning at this stage. Since lower Pleistocene man had the erect posture in nearly the same perfection as Recent man, the critical point must have been reached earlier than this. From this point of view, *Australopithecus* will prove to be of great interest (Le Gros Clark, 1947, 1949).

*Note (60) (p. 398). Qualitative differences in genetic mutations.*—It is remarkable that studies in genetics also have in recent years led to the conclusion that evolution does not proceed more or less evenly by innumerable small steps, but that there are qualitative differences in the mutations involved. This has been forcefully elaborated by Goldschmidt (1940), whose view may be stated partly in his own words (p. 199): 'Microevolution by means of micromutation leads only to diversification within the species' and 'The large step from species to species' (and from a higher category to another higher category) 'is neither demonstrated nor conceivable on the basis of accumulated micromutations.' The latter kind of step is called *systemic mutation* by Goldschmidt. It is improbable that this sharp differentiation between mutations producing subspecies and those producing species can be maintained, but it is at least evident that certain results of modern genetics support the view that *qualitative* differences mark the beginnings of new lines of evolution.

Simpson (1944) disagrees with Goldschmidt but he proposes to distinguish 'megaevolution' which occurs among small populations that become preadaptive and evolve continuously at exceptionally rapid

rates to radically different ecological positions. The 'preadaptive' quality of the initial changes thus determines the new direction of evolution.

*Note (61) (p. 399). Radiation producing mutations.*—Since H. J. Muller found in 1929 that radiation affects the chromosomes and that the effects are inherited according to Mendelian rules, much experimental work has been done. The vast majority of mutations produced by irradiation with X-rays are pathological or lethal, but some are harmless, and a few may even be advantageous. It is important to realise that there is no threshold dose for this influence of radiation on the constitution of a living body. The rate of mutation is simply proportional to the amount of radiation. Moreover, neutron radiation is more effective than X-rays. Since cosmic rays produce neutrons, and must be regarded as a factor forming part of the environment of a creature, it is conceivable that its influence on the genetic constitution of animals and plants under natural conditions is not entirely negligible, especially in mountainous regions. Thus, an environmental factor can produce a new character. It may be called an *acquired* character, if the species invaded the new territory and thus exposed itself to this factor. But such new character is inheritable from the start and will spread through the population according to well-known rules.

Certain chemical substances, such as iodine or fluorine, have an effect on the constitution of animals. The amounts in which they are present in nature vary, and there are other environmental factors. It is conceivable that the cytoplasm of the organism becomes adjusted to the presence of a certain amount of such a substance and that this adjustment is included in the structure of the chromosomes only in the course of long periods of time and by mechanisms about which we know very little at the present. Some palaeontologists and biologists hold that this kind of physiological influence is more important than is generally assumed. It is, for instance, conceivable that the intensity of use of a certain organ is recorded in the individual's physiological constitution and that this in turn has an effect on the chromosomes. Some such process might after all make it possible for 'acquired' characters to be incorporated in the genetic make-up of the species.

There are other possibilities in the psychological field, such as habits developed in response to environmental conditions influencing internal secretion, and thus the physiology of the body.

After this note was written an essay on the biological effects of radiation, especially those affecting chromosomes, was published by Kilkenny (1951). C. H. Waddington (1953) is developing a hypothesis to explain how acquired characteristics may become hereditarily fixed by a process of 'genetic assimilation'.



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## CHAPTER VI

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NOTE.—For headings, and subjects discussed at some length, consult Contents, p. xi. For terms, geographical notations, genera and species, and authors' names, use Index. Most compound terms are indexed under the defining epithet; exceptions are some important terms such as 'cycles' which recur frequently in different chapters and are treated from different angles. For dates, consult List of Chronological Tables, p. xix.

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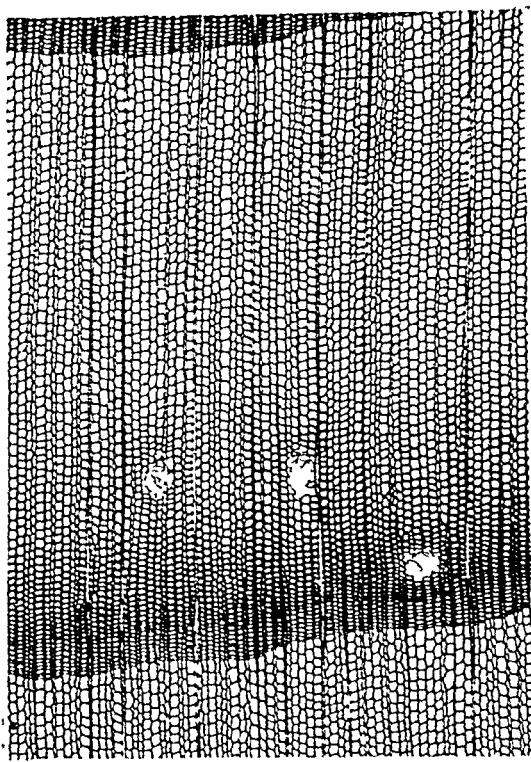
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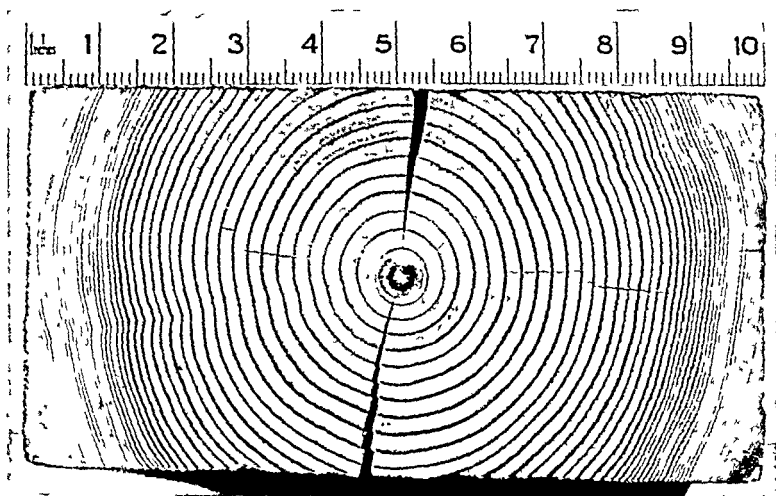
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*Plate 1.*—*A.* Micro-section through an annual ring of Scotch Pine (*Pinus sylvestris* L.), showing the differences in cell-structure which produce the rings. At the top edge, small and thickly-walled cells of the ring of the preceding year are visible. When growth sets in in spring, large, thinly-walled cells are formed. As the season proceeds, the cells become smaller and more thickly-walled. In summer, growth stops after several rows of very small, very thickly-walled cells have been formed.—Reproduced from *British Standards*, no. 565, with permission.

*B.* Cross-section of a log of *Pseudotsuga douglasii*, a North American conifer, showing how the width of the rings decreases with the age of the tree.—Reproduced from *British Standards*, no. 565, with permission.



A



B

*Plate II.—A.* Wood of *Pinus ponderosa* north-east of Flagstaff, Arizona, U.S.A. This pine has supplied most of the logs used in the construction of Indian pueblos, both prehistoric and historic. On it the tree-ring time-scale of Arizona depends.—Photo, M. S. Johnston.

*B.* Excavation of a prehistoric pit-house of the early Pueblo period, north-east of Flagstaff, Arizona. Note the remnants of poles in the ground. From these, sections are taken and the rings studied in the laboratory. The houses of this period were buried by volcanic ash from the eruption of the neighbouring Sunset Crater, about A.D. 800.—Photo, M. S. Johnston.



1



B



*Plate III.*—*A.* Wupatki, near Flagstaff, Arizona, a ruin of the Pueblo III period dating from about A.D. 1100. A masonry structure in which beams were used in the manner shown in fig. *B.*—Photo, M. S. Johnston.

*B.* Modern house (actually a garage) at Cameron Trading Post, Arizona, illustrating the use of wooden beams in the construction of pueblo houses. The ring-dates supplied by a number of these beams indicate the approximate time of the cutting of the trees and, therefore, of the building of the houses. As regards re-use of older beams, see p. 12.—Photo, M. S. Johnston.



4



B

*Plate IV.*—*A.* A series of very coarse varves overlying, and developing from glaciifluvial sands and gravels, at Opava, Sudeten Mountains, Czechoslovakia. Note the extraordinary thickness of the first six varves.—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.

*B.* A series of sandy varves overlying glaciifluvial sands at Sperenberg, near Berlin, of the Brandenburgian phase of the Weichsel Glaciation.—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.



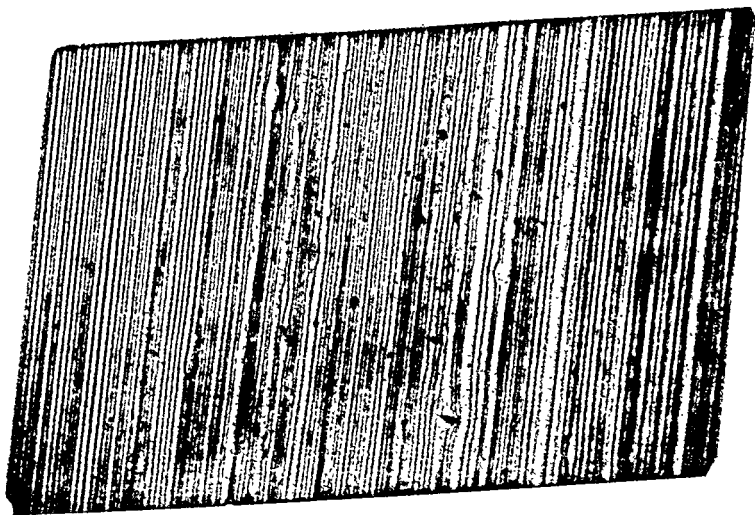
*A*



*B*

*Plate I.*—*A.* Late Palaeozoic varved clays from Faz. Pitanga, west of Limeira, State of São Paulo, Brazil. Polished section of a drill-core from a depth of 202 metres.—From Washburne, Bol. Comm. geogr. geol. São Paulo, no. 22, fig. 33 (1930), with permission.

*B.* The sequence of peat and fen-clay at Peacock's Farm, Cambridgeshire Fenland.—Photo, J. G. D. Clark.



*Plate VI.—A. Spit-shaped shingle-beach of the Late Glacial Lake Algonquin, North America. West side of Gore Bay, Manitoulin Island, of the present Lake Huron, Canada.—Photo, M. S. Johnston.*

*B. Two high beach levels of Postglacial age, east side of Gore Bay, Manitoulin Island, Lake Huron, Canada. The modern beach and the lake are seen in the distance.—Photo, M. S. Johnston.*



A



B



*Plate VII.—A.* Moraines of the Fermunt Glacier, Silvretta, Alps. About 7,400 ft. above sea-level. Looking down the valley, one notices the U-shape of its cross-section, due to the erosional activity of the ice during the Ice Age. The glacier has recently retreated, and the moraines of the halt of 1850 stand out by their freshness. A low wall, the terminal moraines (well visible in the foreground), surrounds the area of coarse bottom moraine. Meltwater has cut a gulley in the wide flat bottom once occupied by the ice. Features of this kind, on a much larger scale, were left behind by the Pleistocene glaciations of the lowlands, and they provide the skeleton of the climatic chronology of the Palaeolithic.—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.

*B.* Lateral moraine of the Fermunt Glacier, Silvretta, Alps. About 8,000 ft. above sea-level. Looking upstream towards Piz Buin (11,053 ft.). Lateral moraine on the left, ice on the right. The lower portion of the ice is saturated with *englacial* moraine, whilst the upper is clean and white. Englacial moraine has supplied a large portion of the deposits known as boulder-clay.—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.

*C.* 'Young End-moraine' of the Würm Glaciation of the Alps, at Heisterkirch, upper Swabia. Standing on earlier glacial deposits, one sees the forested crest of the moraine in the distance, and, in front of it, the bottom of the *urstromtal*, the glaci-fluvial valley which drained the meltwater from the moraine.—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.



*A*



*B*



*C*

*Plate VIII.—A.* Bottom or ground-moraine (boulder-clay) country of the Pomeranian Phase, in the foreground, with an undrained hollow ('kettle-hole'), probably formed by the thawing-out of a lump of dead-ice. Among other features, kettle-holes are evidence that the district was glaciated comparatively recently. North of the Great Baltic End-moraine near Eberswalde, north Germany.—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.

*B.* Section in the Great Baltic End-moraine of the Pomeranian Phase, showing sandy moraine and some boulder-clay (on left) containing enormous quantities of boulders ('erratics'). These are large enough to be quarried and shaped into pavement-stones, which are seen stacked up in the foreground on the right, and on the middle level of the pit on both sides of the screen. Joachimsthal, near Eberswalde, north Germany. Evidence of this kind plays a great part in the reconstruction of halts of the ice and, therefore, of the relative chronology, both in the Scandinavian and Alpine areas of glaciation.—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.



A



B

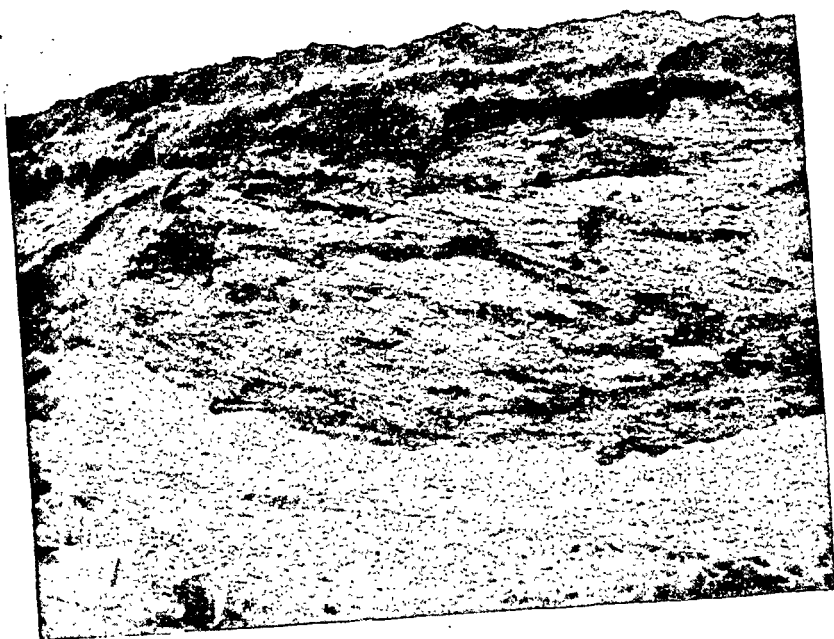
*Plate IX.—A.* 'Subglacial lake,' a water-channel formed below the ice and now occupied by a narrow lake. Area of the Great Baltic End-moraine, near Eberswalde, north Germany.—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.

*B.* Coarse, cross-bedded glaciifluvial gravel, constituting the sandr of the Great Baltic End-moraine, near Eberswalde, north Germany.—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.

*Plates VII, A, B, C ; VIII, A, B ; and IX, A,* illustrate 'fresh glacial surface-features' as observed in areas which have been ice-free for a relatively short time. Ground-moraine (*Pl. VIII, A*) lies to the north of a belt of hilly end-moraines (*Pl. VIII, B*) intersected by chains of lakes of subglacial origin (*Pl. IX, A*). The end-moraines pass southwards into sheets of glaciifluvial gravels and sand (the 'sandr') which is coarse near the moraine (*Pl. IX, B*). The sandrs are often pitted with kettle-holes and intersected by chains of subglacial lakes in the same way as are the ground-moraine areas (*Pl. VIII, A*). They grade into one of the large valleys which carried the water both of the glaciers to the north and of the rivers coming from the south, westwards into the sea (see *Pl. X, A*, and *Pl. VII, C*, for an example from the Alpine area).



A



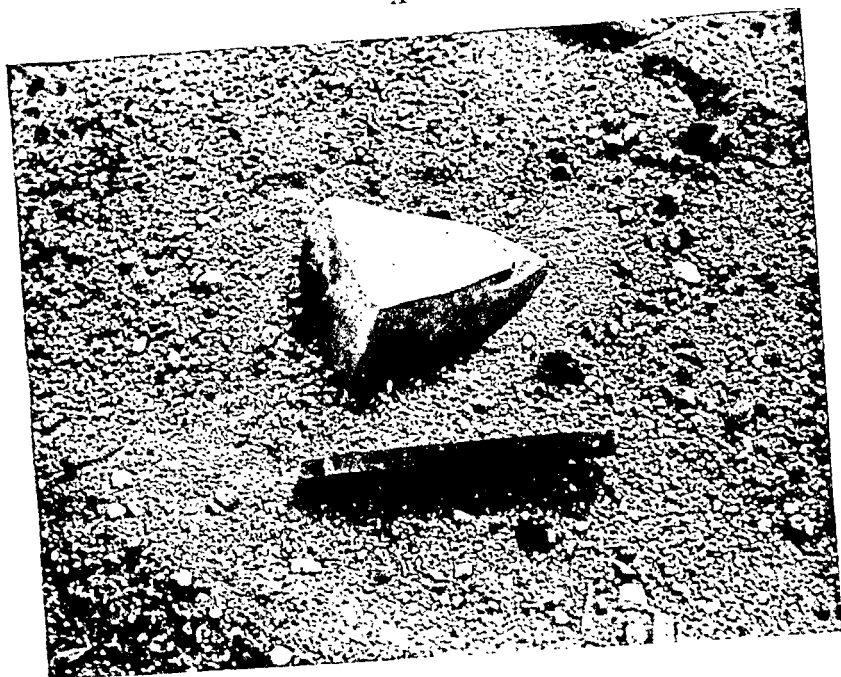
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*Plate X.—A.* Dune sands in an *urstromtal*, at Złoty Potok, near Częstochowa, Poland. The *urstromtal* probably dates from the Warthe Phase. Such 'dune fields' are not unfrequently found on the floors of the great glaciifluvial drainage channels. From the shape of the larger dunes the direction of the prevailing wind at the time of their formation can be deduced. This particular field of inland-dunes is active at the present time. Most others have been fixed by vegetation at least since Atlantic times; they are of considerable archaeological interest since the relation of the sites to the dunes often gives a clue to their age.—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.

*B.* A 'dreikanter,' a quartzite boulder faceted by blown sand, on the surface of a sandr stratum at Kamenz, middle Silesia. Evidence of intense wind action during the glacial phases. Much of the loess is dust blown from the sandr belt into the steppe zone of the periglacial area (see Pl. XII, B).—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.



A



B



*Plate XI.—A.* Three stone-rings or brodel-centres in coarse morainic debris, Klostertal Glacier, Silvretta, Austrian Alps, about 7,400 ft. above sea-level. A measure, 8 inches long, lies on the second ring. Brodel phenomena are caused by regularly repeated freezing and thawing and are typical of snow climates. In the fossil state, they have provided most important evidence for the character of the glacial climate.—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.

*B.* Klostertal Glacier and morainic area in which stone-rings occur. Locality, see *A.*—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.



*A*



*B*

*Plate XII.—A.* Section in a structured frost-soil on Chalk, with separation of coarse constituents at the bottom and in pillars reaching upwards, and of fine material in the centres. Probably a brodel soil, usually called *trail*. Evidence for frost climate during the glacial phases. Thetford, Norfolk, England.—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.

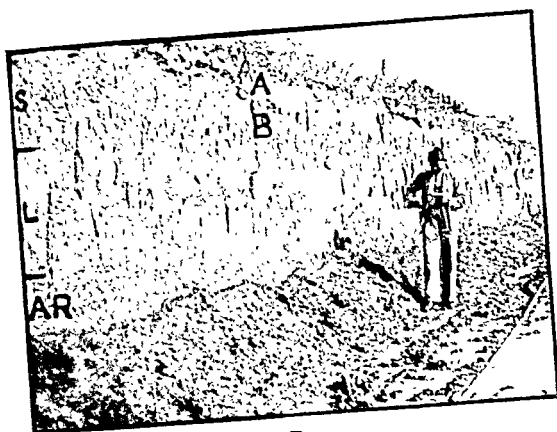
*B.* Loess-section of Fitz-James, near Clermont, Oise, north France. Note the vertical cleavage typical of loess in the unweathered portion. The weathering profile exhibits the A- and B-horizons; it is a slightly podsolized forest-soil.

S: soil.—L: fresh Younger Loess, so-called C-horizon of the soil.—AR: Argile rouge, a fossil, semi-mediterranean soil of the Last Interglacial, resting on Older Loess.—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.

*C.* Gravel (G) of the 30-metre terrace at Cagny, near Amiens, north France, with Lower to early Middle Acheulian, of Penultimate Interglacial age, covered by a solifluction horizon (S) and by Older Loess, the last two from the Penultimate Glaciation. Illustrating the change of climate from temperate (interglacial gravels) to cold and wet (solifluction) and finally to cold and dry (loess) of a glacial phase.—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.



A



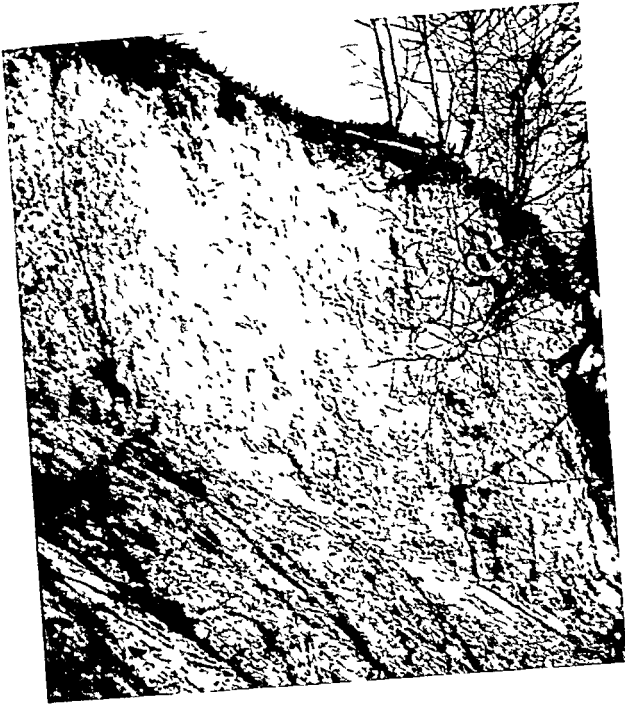
B



C

*Plate XIII.—A.* River gravel passing upwards into sand and loam, as the aggradation came to an end. Example of a climatically aggraded river deposit, beginning during an interglacial and ending with the loess phase of the following glacial phase. Terrace of the first phase of the Last Glaciation, between Dürrhartha and Kamenz, middle Silesia.—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.

*B.* Miniature example of a river aggrading under 'periglacial' conditions, with load exceeding water supply, and with scanty and interrupted vegetation of the country. This is actually a stream formed in ballast pits at Przeslebie, upper Silesia, and not more than 5 to 10 yards wide.—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.



A



B

*Plate XIV.—A.* The undercut or notch, and part of the platform of abrasion, of the Late Monastirian (Late Last Interglacial) sea-level, at Les Rouaux, north coast of Jersey, Channel Islands. Sediments which covered the platform have been removed by the sea. The notch is a most important indicator of high-water mark. This type of evidence (see also *B*, and Pl. *XV*, *A*, *B*) is used in determining the exact height of interglacial sea-levels; it is important for the world-wide correlation both of Pleistocene phases and the stages of the Palaeolithic.—Photo, A. E. Mourant.

*B.* The Cotte à la Chèvre (white cross), north coast of Jersey, Channel Islands. Cave formed during the Main Monastirian phase (60-foot sea-level), followed by occupation by Middle-Upper Levalloisian man. In the foreground the platform of the 25-foot sea-level of the Late Monastirian. Both Monastirian levels are Last Interglacial.—Photo, E. F. Guiton.



A



B



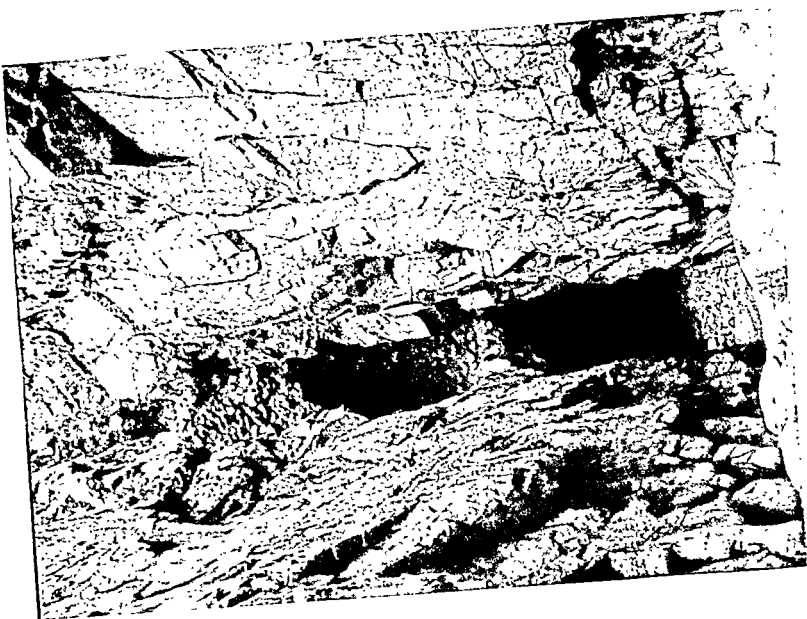
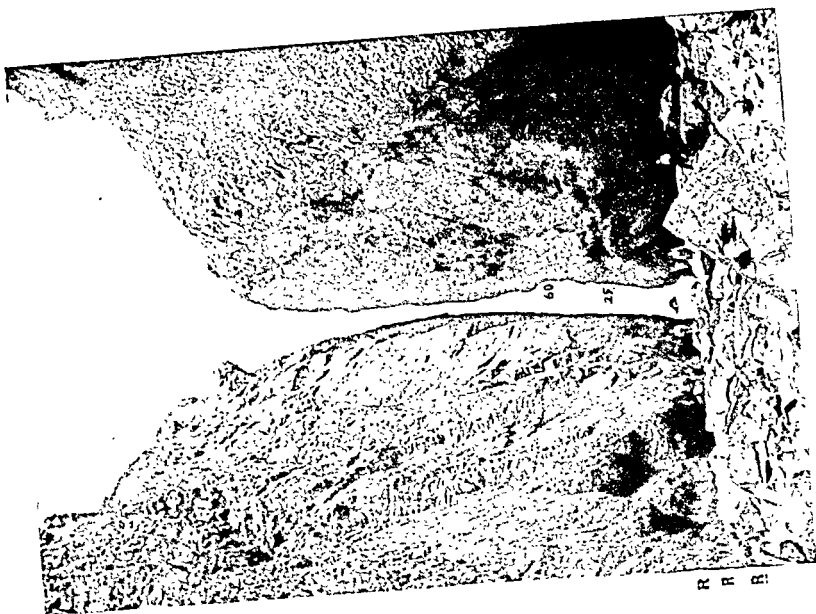
*Plate XV.—A.* The gulley separating Isle Agois from the main isle of Jersey, Channel Islands, during low-water. In the gulley, the notches of the Main Monastirian (60 ft.) and Late Monastirian (25 ft.) levels are marked. There are no fewer than three Recent notches in close succession, the origin of which is not clear.—Photo, E. F. Guiton.

*B.* The Creux Gabourel, north coast of Jersey, Channel Islands, during low-water. In a fissure carved into the granite along a soft basic dyke, the 25-foot beach (Late Monastirian) conglomerate is found in a suspended position. Since its deposition the soft rock underneath has been removed by further wave-action. The upper cave is entirely in the solidified beach-conglomerate.—Photo, E. F. Guiton.

B

A

R R R

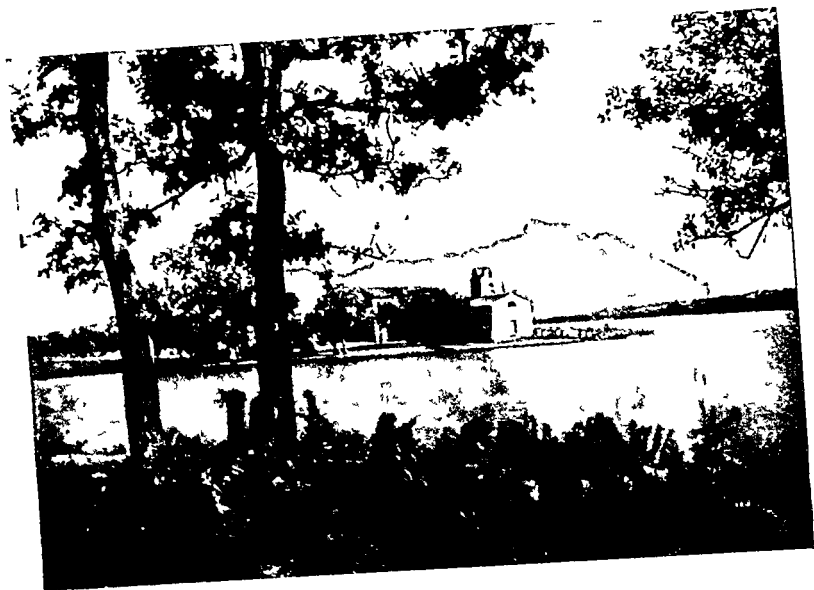


*Plate XVI.—A.* View of the Lower Versilia, northern Italy, towards the north. Town of Viareggio in the foreground, Apuan Alps in the distance. This plain, several miles wide, consists of late Pleistocene deposits at least 300 feet thick. The town stands on the flat modern beachbar, the marshes behind consist of peat. In the succession of deposits, Mousterian and Aurignacian have been found.—From a postcard.

*B.* Lago di Paolo, Pontine Marshes, middle Italy. Standing on the 'red dune' containing Mousterian and Aurignacian, one looks across the lake towards the Monte Circeo, famous for its many Palaeolithic caves. Between the foreground and the chapel (S. Maria della Sorresca), a branch of the lake runs inland; this is one of the drowned river valleys. Between the chapel and the flat ridge in the distance on the right, the main lake is seen. It runs parallel to the sea from which it is separated by the ridge, i.e. the 'white dune'. The white dune runs in a curve towards the right-hand end of Monte Circeo; it is the beach bar formed since the third phase of the Last Glaciation. The drowned river valleys were active during the phase of low sea-level of the third phase of the Last Glaciation, and the red dune, therefore, is at least as old as the preceding interstadial (LG1<sub>2/3</sub>). This illustrates how industries can be dated relative to phases of sea-level.—From a postcard.



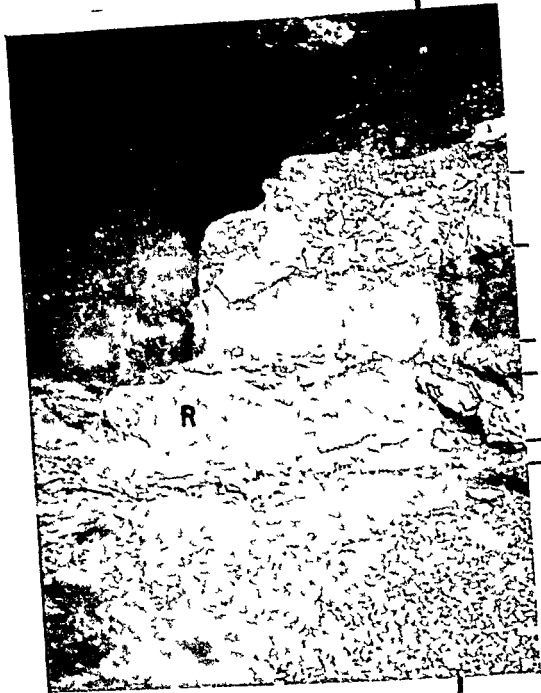
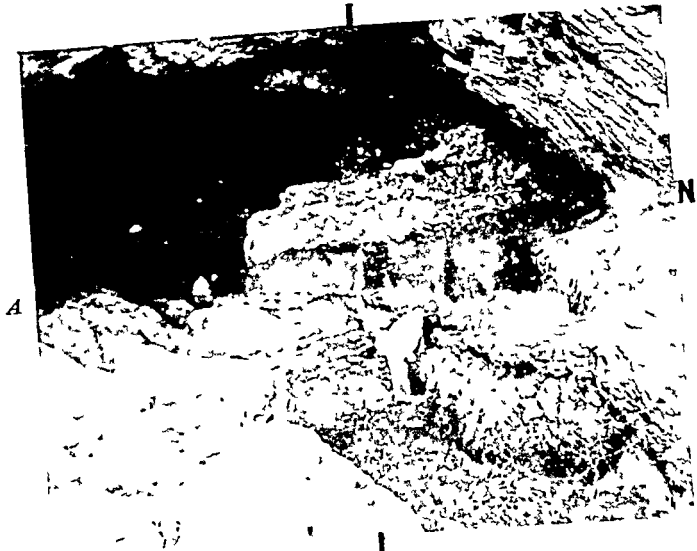
A



B

*Plate XVII.—A.* Grotta Romanelli, Apulia, southern Italy. From the entrance into the interior. In the foreground a channel cut into the rock by the sea. N: notch of the Late Monastirian sea-level formed previous to the filling of the cave.—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.

*B.* Detail of *A.* at the corner in the section marked by the vertical line. Strata lettered as in text, p. 225. Aurignacian of the Grimaldian variety in A to E, and G. R: solid rock.—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.



A  
to Terra  
E Bruna

Blocks with F behind

C Terra Rossa.

H Low Stalagmite.

I

K Beach pebbles

B

*Plate XVIII.—A.* Older Gravels of the River Vaal at Vereeniging, Transvaal, South Africa. 50-foot terrace, antedating the so-called First Wet Phase, with pre-Stellenbosch pebble industry and with Stellenbosch I. The Abbé Breuil picking up implements.—Photo, C. van Riet Lowe.

*B.* Riverview Estates, Windsorton, Cape of Good Hope, South Africa. 80- to 100-foot 'Older Gravel' terrace of Amandelhoogte marked with cross. Photograph taken from the 25-foot Younger Gravels terrace looking downstream River Vaal. The boulders in the foreground were extracted from the 25-foot terrace.—Photo, C. van Riet Lowe.



A



B



*Plate XIX.—A.* Excavation into the 35-foot terrace of the Vaal Rive, (Younger Gravels, First Wet Phase) on the property Riverview Estates opposite Windsorton, Cape of Good Hope. Site II of Solinge, Visser and van Riet *Lower* 1937, plate I. Gravel resting on irregular rock floor, and followed by sands. Pre-Stellenbosch and Stellenbosch I-III rolled in the gravel, Stellenbosch IV unrolled in the gravel, and Stellenbosch V in the sand (rare). *Hipparion* found in the gravel.—Photo, and details of explanation, C. van Riet Lowe.

*B.* Typical Younger Gravels II in the 25-foot terrace of the Vaal at Riverview Estates, Windsorton, Cape of Good Hope. The Abbe Breuil indicating a Stellenbosch III core of Proto-Levallois I form, which is slightly rolled and, therefore, derived. Gravel at this point about 14 feet deep and overlain by a similar depth of calcified sand. Note the size of the boulders. Implements and fossils occur in all levels of these gravels.—Photo, and details of explanation, C. van Riet Lowe.



B



A

*Plate XX.—A.* Smoothed and striated rock-floor exposed beneath Dwyka Tillite, a hardened boulder-clay of Permo-Carboniferous age, at Nooitgedacht, near Riverton, Barkly West district, South Africa. Evidence for a Palaeozoic glaciation. Varved shales also have been found in this area.—Photo, M. S. Johnston.

*B.* A dolerite dyke of Karroo type in Beaufort Sandstone (Triassic), north of Beaufort West, Cape of Good Hope, South Africa. The dyke traverses the sandstone at right angles to the strata. In the photograph it extends from the foreground to the top of the hill. In the distance is seen a sill, intruded into a bedding plane of the sandstone, crossing the dyke.—Photo, M. S. Johnston.



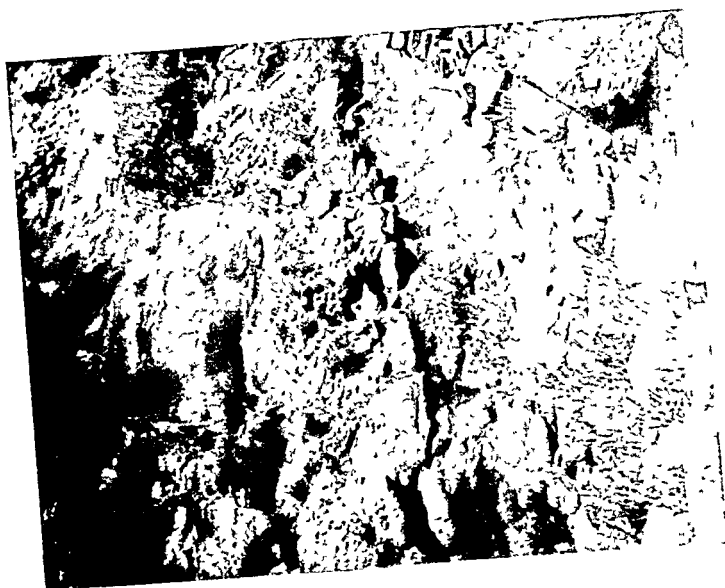
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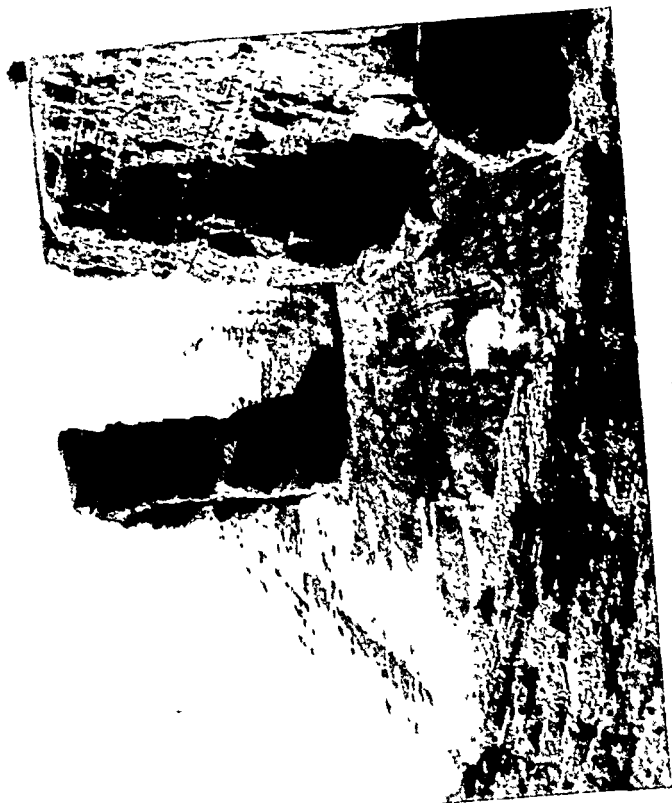
B

*Plate XVI. - A.* Horizon of beach pebbles of the Late Monastirian (25 ft.) sea-level resting on loess-like loam and covered by slightly stratified loessic 'head' (a solifluction deposit), at Portelet Bay, south coast of Jersey, Channel Islands.—Photo. F. E. Zeuner.

*B.* Cliff, undercut and platform of abrasion at Heligoland, North Sea. The undercut is, at this spot, distinct only at the base of the cliff on the right. About half-tide, or mean-sea-level. The platform is normally covered at high-water which, subject to the usual fluctuations, reaches the undercut. This cliff is being cut back at the rate of about three feet per year.—Photo, F. E. Zeuner.



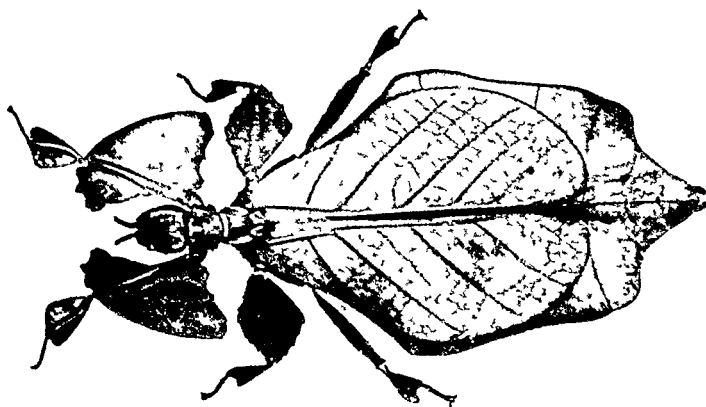
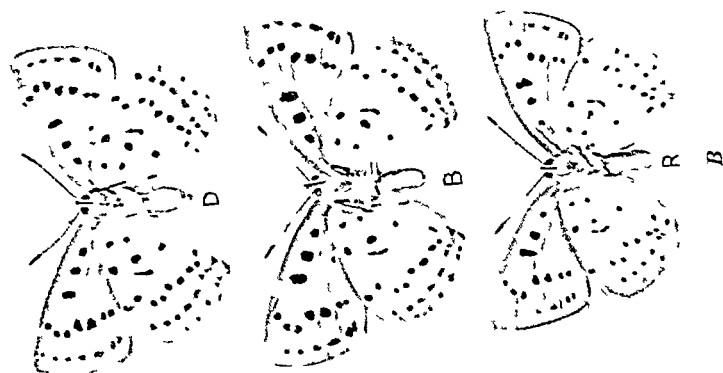
A



B

*Plate XXII.*—*A. Pulchriphyllium crurifolium* Serv., a leaf-imitating insect of the order Phasmoda. Illustrating an extreme case of adaptation without aro-morphosis (p. 395).—Reproduced with permission of the Trustees of the British Museum (Natural History).

*B.* The undersides of females of the three west European races of *Lycaena dispar*. 'D' British race (*L. dispar dispar*); 'B' Dutch race (*L. dispar balanus*); 'R' Continental race (*L. dispar rutilus*). Note the great difference of R from either B or D. Time of separation of D from R about 15,000 years, of D from B about 7,500 years.—Reproduced with permission of the Royal Entomological Society, London.



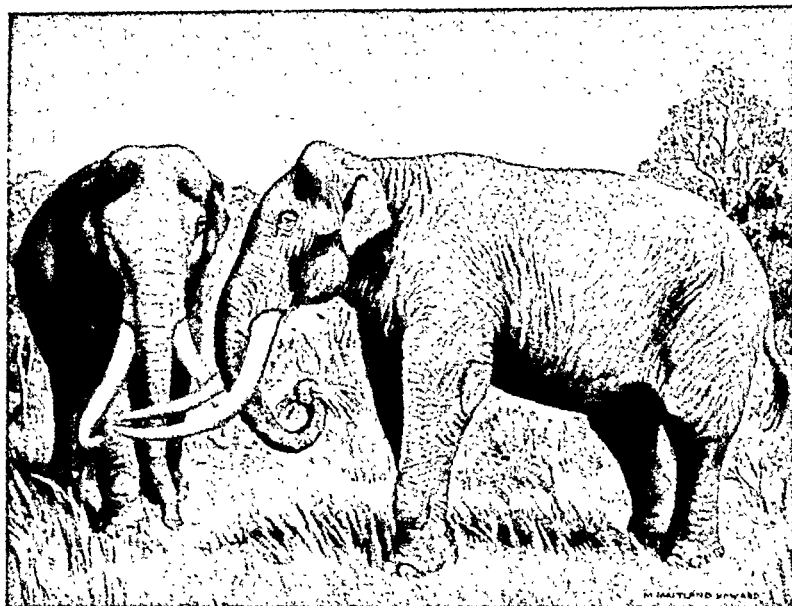


*Plate XXIII. — A. Elephas meridionalis* Nesti, the 'southern elephant', late Pliocene and early Pleistocene, ranging from Europe to North America. The ancestor of both the straight-tusked elephant and the mammoth. An unspecialized form.

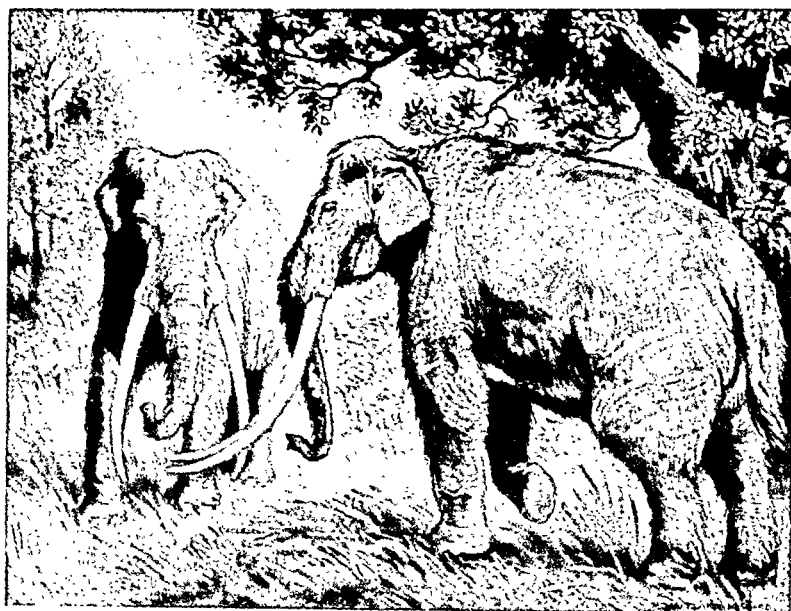
Reconstruction based on the Durfort specimen in the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris, and other osteological material. Painted by Miss M. Maitland Howard under the direction of the author.

*B. Elephas antiquus* Falconer, the straight-tusked elephant of Europe. This was an elephant adapted to forest conditions. Its remains are common in Great and Last Interglacial deposits. In the south-west of Europe it appears to have survived into the First Interstadial of the Last Glaciation, and two Palaeolithic paintings are known, the more important being that in Pindal Cave, northern Spain. It clearly shows the sparse haircoat of this species.

New reconstruction, based on the Upnor skeleton from the lower Thames (British Museum, Natural History), a skull from Steinheim preserved in the Stuttgart Museum, and other material. Painted by Miss M. Maitland Howard under the direction of the author.



A



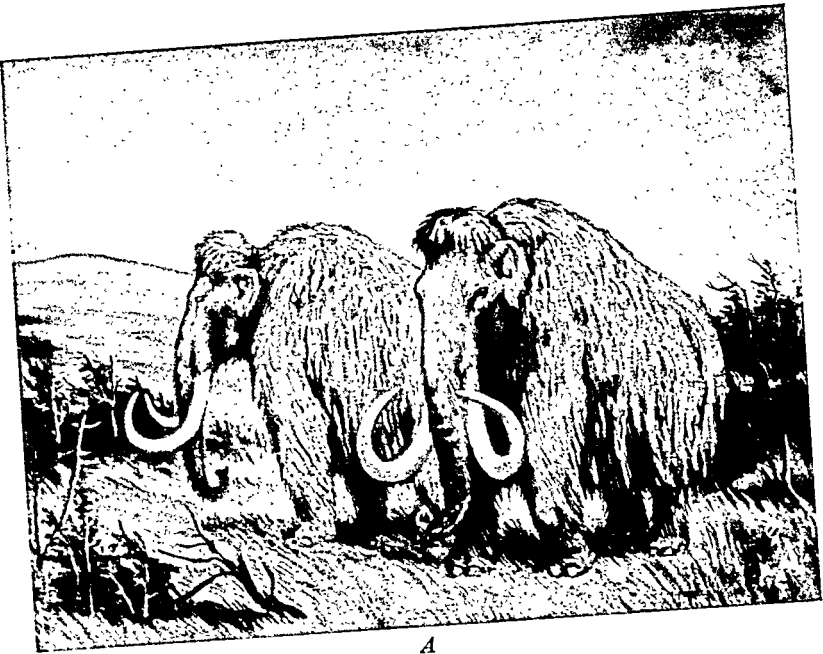
B

*Plate XXIV*.—*A. Elephas primigenius* Blumenbach, the mammoth of Europe, northern Asia and North America. This was the Upper Pleistocene elephant adapted to life in the cold steppe and tundra. Depicted many times by Upper Palaeolithic man. Its coat of long hair is characteristic. Fragments of bodies preserved in Siberian ground-ice have contributed additional information, particularly about the tip of the trunk, the ear and the tail. Abundant during the first and second phases of the Last Glaciation, becoming rare in Europe in the third.

Reconstruction based on pictorial and osteological evidence. Painted by Miss M. Maitland Howard, under the direction of the author.

*B. Megaceros giganteus hibernicus* (Owen), the Giant Deer or Irish Elk, at a lakeside in Ireland, where the species became extinct after the Allerød oscillation. Commonly shown with the head carried proudly on an S-curved neck, but the structure of the vertebrae suggests that the head was, in fact, held low. The antlers of old males were of enormous dimensions, and somewhat sagging; those of young males were more erect (shown in the distance). The head of this deer, which was related to the fallow deer and not to the elk (*Alces*), was comparatively small.

Reconstruction based on specimens in the British Museum (Natural History), and other sources. Painted by Miss M. Maitland Howard, under the direction of the author.



A



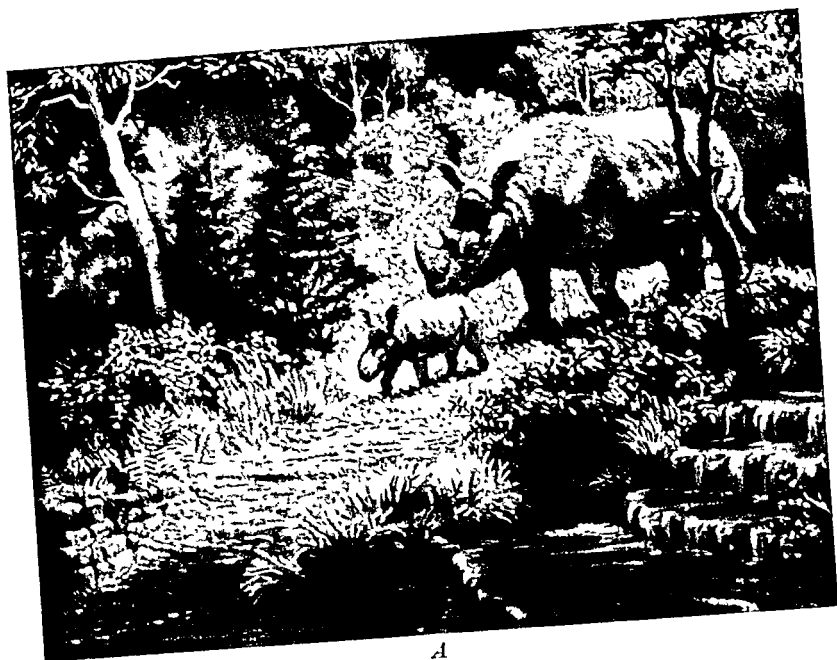
B

*Plate XXI.—1. Dicerorhinus merckii* Jäger, Merck's Rhinoceros, at the Mousterian site of Ehringsdorf, near Weimar, central Germany. It is assumed that the rhinoceroses were caught in pits, and that young specimens were obtained more frequently than old ones. This is suggested by the proportions of the age classes composing the fossil material, as shown by Soergel. Ehringsdorf was a densely forested area of springs producing calcareous tufa in large quantities. The scene shows a mother and child approaching the water at night on a track across which a pit has been dug. The vegetation is based on finds made in the tufas (including *Thuja*), the scene on rhinoceros paths in the temperate forest zone of Mount Kenya, and the pitfall on a report, with film demonstrations, by Major C. C. Wilson, given to the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire and showing methods of catching Indian elephants in pits. The pit would in reality be more carefully camouflaged; in the picture the covering of branches is shown to indicate its position.

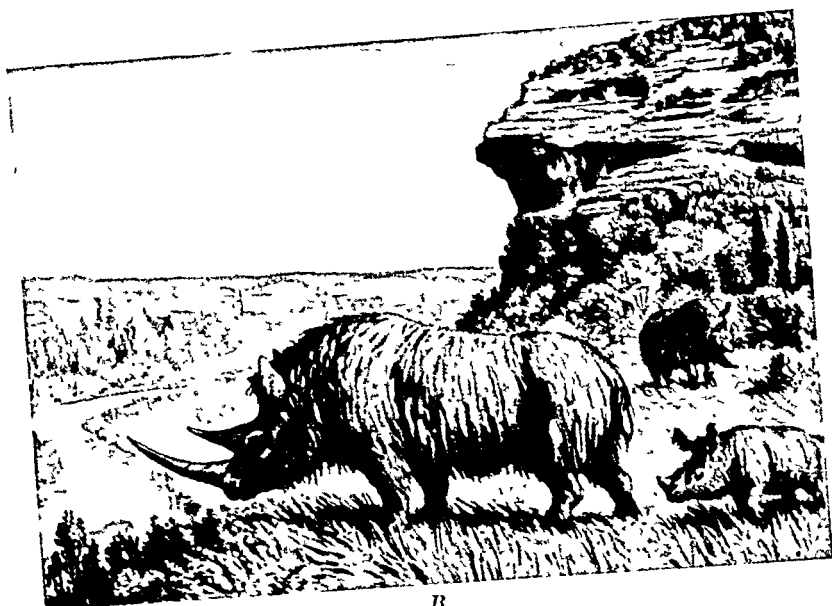
Painted by Miss M. Maitland Howard under the direction of the author.

*B. Tichorhinus antiquitatis* (Blumenbach), the Woolly Rhinoceros, at Les Eyzies, Dordogne, in the Last Glaciation. The scene shows a mother and child on a ledge above the Vézère river. On the opposite valley side lies the cave of Font-de-Gaume, the well-known rhinoceros painting of which was used in this reconstruction. Other evidence for the external appearance of this animal is provided by the specimens found at Starunia, eastern Carpathians (Zeuner, 1934, 1945).

Painted by Miss M. Maitland Howard, under the direction of the author.



A



B

*Plate XXI.*—*A. Equus caballus gmelini* Antonius, the Tarpan, in the park-steppe of south Russia. This horse, which became extinct in 1851, was the western race of the wild horse, ranging from Turkestan to western Europe. It was not averse to forests, though open country was preferred, and it became the ancestor of all ordinary domestic breeds, including the Arab.

The tarpan was more graceful than Przewalski's horse, mouse-grey, with a black upright mane continued by a stripe along the back to the tail. Some British ponies occasionally exhibit tarpan coloration.

Based on literary and pictorial evidence, and on 'reconstituted' specimens of Hellabrunn Park, Munich. Painted by Miss M. Maitland Howard, under the direction of the author.

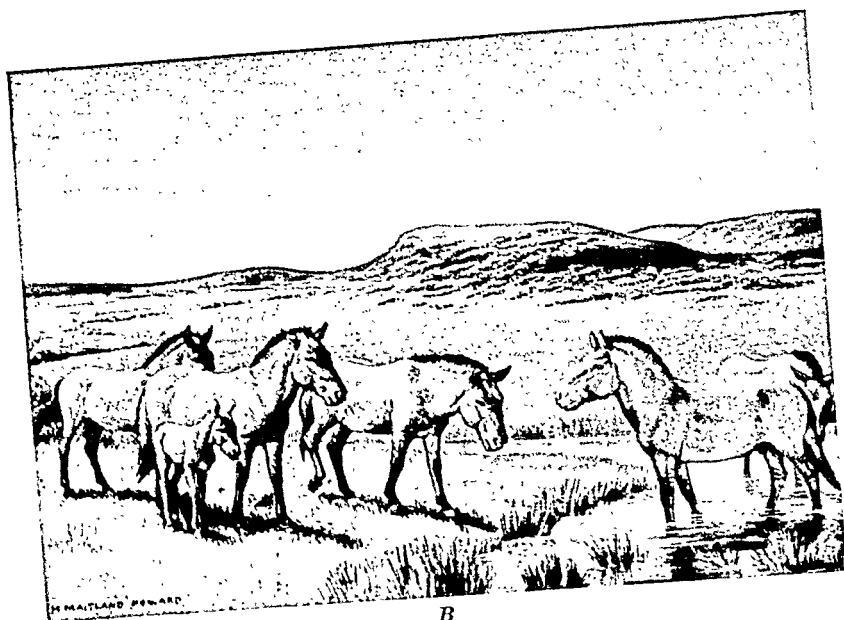
*B.* The Pleistocene horse of Europe, of the cold phases of the Last Glaciation, here shown at the Mousterian site of Wallertheim, Rhenish Hesse.

This horse resembled the Mongolian or Przewalski's horse (*Equus caballus przewalskii* Pol.) so closely that it is assumed to have been identical in appearance. Somewhat stouter than the tarpan, with thicker neck and heavier head, the Mongolian wild horse is yellow-dun, with a black-tipped upright mane, and often some zebra-striping on the legs. This race now only survives in zoological parks and gardens, the largest herd being that of Hellabrunn near Munich.

Based on Palaeolithic pictorial evidence and recent specimens of Przewalski's horse. Painted by Miss M. Maitland Howard under the direction of the author.



A



B



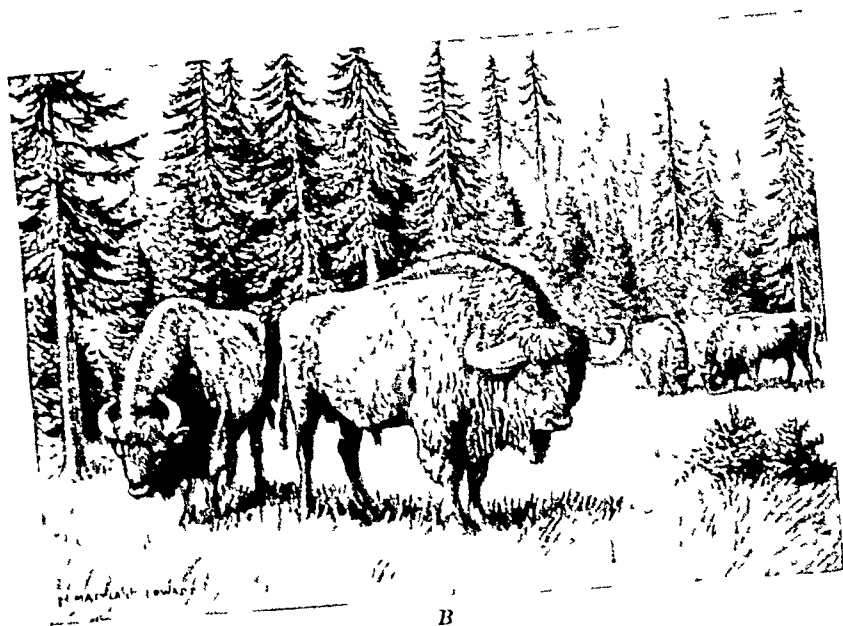
*Plate XXVII. -A. Bos primigenius* Bojanus, the aurochs or wild cattle, in a British woodland glade. This is the ancestor of domesticated cattle. The wild form became extinct in 1627 in Poland. The bull was black with a white stripe along the back and with horns curved outwards and then forwards, coloured whitish with black tips. The cows and the young appear to have been reddish. The bull shown is based on a skull of mid-Pleistocene age from Ilford on the Thames and preserved in the British Museum. It was much larger than the Postglacial aurochs that became the ancestors of our domestic cattle. Painted by Miss M. Maitland Howard under the direction of the author.

*B. Bison priscus* Bojanus, the Pleistocene bison of Europe, in the fir forest of the lower Thames of Great Interglacial times. The Pleistocene forms of bison belong to several types which will be described by Miss Howard in a forthcoming publication. The majority were larger than the surviving European Bison (*Bison bonasus* L.), and they varied greatly in horn shape. The centre figure is a Great Interglacial specimen with depressed horns. The one on the left, with rising horns, is a type more frequent in the Last Interglacial.

Based on a specimen from East Mersea, Thames (Clacton Channel phase of Great Interglacial) in the Department of Environmental Archaeology, London University, and on a skull from Brentford, Thames (Upper Floodplain Terrace, Last Interglacial) in the British Museum (Natural History), and other material. Painted by Miss M. Maitland Howard under the direction of the author.



A



B